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Cadoux, Cecil John, 1883-
1947.

The early church and the
world

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# THE
# EARLY CHURCH AND THE WORLD

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A HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TO PAGAN SOCIETY AND THE STATE DOWN TO THE TIME OF CONSTANTINUS

BY

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EDINBURGH: T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET

1925

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
MORRISON AND GIBB LIMITED

FOR

T. & T. CLARK, EDINBURGH

LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT AND CO. LIMITED
NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

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"Hier ist nun das Problem, . . . ein eigentümliches Doppelproblem, nämlich einerseits die weitgehende Anerkennung der Welt und ihrer Ordnungen nach den stets zu Grunde gelegten Sätzen des Paulus, andererseits die grundsätzliche Verwerfung der Welt und des Staates als eines Erzeugnisses der Sünde und des Reiches der Dämonen. Dabei ist die Grundvoraussetzung die Gleichsetzung des Staates und der Gesellschaft mit der 'Welt.'"—E. TROELTSCH, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*, i. 152.

> Χριστιανοὶ δὲ μᾶλλον εὐεργετοῦσι τὰς πατρίδας ἢ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, παιδεύοντες τοὺς πολίτας καὶ εὐσεβεῖν διδάσκοντες εἰς τὸν πολιέα Θεὸν, ἀναλαμβάνοντες εἰς θείαν τινὰ καὶ ἐπουράνιον πόλιν τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐλαχίσταις πόλεσι καλῶς βιώσαντας.—ORIGENES, *Contra Celsum*, viii. 74.

> "How far that little candle throws his beams!
> So shines a good deed in a naughty world."
> SHAKESPEARE, *Merchant of Venice*, v. i. 90 f.

"And, beyond this, stands forth before the Seer's eye the new state of society, the abode of divine justice, the new heaven and earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. How, then, was this result to be brought about? Partly, no doubt, by the influx of converts, and by the growth of the kingdom itself; partly by the general influence of Christian doctrine, the leaven leavening the whole lump. But, partly also, as a consequence and accompaniment of these processes, by the appropriation of human organizations, which, by the infusion of the Christian spirit, came to realize the Church idea, and thus to become Churches themselves. . . . The history of Christendom, therefore, until the final condition at which we aim is reached, must be the record of an imperfect state, a becoming not a being. If the perfect state is that in which the Church and mankind are one, both must be constantly undergoing change. . . . But these two things seem to follow as practical conclusions from our review of the work of the Founder, and of those who planted the Church during its earliest age. First, since Christ demanded the complete allegiance of His followers, our duty is to strive that whatever calls itself by His name should be absolutely holy. Secondly, since Christ also gave the promise of universal dominion, we need never doubt that we are fulfilling His will by opening wide the gates of the city which were to be shut neither day nor night, and embracing within its hospitable area more and more of the organisms which make up the complete humanity. . . . The design of the Christian community was not to substitute itself for the organized society then existing, but to blend with it, to breathe a new spirit into it, and finally to be so fused with it as to transform it into the body of Christ."—W. H. FREMANTLE, *The World as the Subject of Redemption*, 136–143.

"Die Geschichte ist die Lehrmeisterin der Gegenwart."—JOHANNES MEYER, *Das Soziale Naturrecht in der christlichen Kirche*, Vorwort.

# PREFACE

THE purpose of the following pages is to describe and briefly to discuss the attitude of Jesus and his followers—in the period preceding the Constantinian settlement—towards the non-Christian society around them, more particularly in its political aspect. This attitude can be adequately investigated only by a more or less complete examination of the literary documents which remain to us from the period in question. In the presence of so vast a mass of material, some method of our own must be devised for the arrangement of the available information, despite the risks of misrepresentation incurred by imposing the stamp of a modern schematism upon that which presents all the variety and spontaneity of a natural growth. In order that the multifarious figures of the countless trees may not make our plan of the forest obscure and confused, we must have some systematic method of making our survey. What we want to do is to trace the development of Christian thought during the successive stages of the Church's history; and this perhaps can best be done by piecing together the thoughts expressed in the course of each stage, and building them up into a broad picture of the Christian attitude at that time. This involves, firstly, the division of the whole period into a number of suitable chronological sections, and secondly, the formulation of a general plan for the presentation of the material available for each section.

In regard to the former point, there is need that these chronological divisions be not too numerous, lest the reader be confused by the multiplicity of similar pictures successively presented to him: there is also need that they be not too few to enable him to trace the actual changes wrought by the lapse of time. Most modern writings on the pre-Constantinian Church either treat the whole period (including or excluding that of the New Testament)

almost as a unity, grouping the material primarily around subjects rather than within subdivisions of time, or else they take up the patristic writers one after another in chronological sequence, thus doing full justice to the individuality of the writers, but producing a very large number of small and often strikingly similar sections.[1] The divisions adopted in the ensuing pages, as detailed in the Table of Contents, form, it is submitted, a fairly convenient and reasonable scheme for the treatment of the subject in hand. The dates separating one division from another, while not exempt from that element of arbitrariness which characterizes all that breaks the continuity of history, are not without significance as marking in a rough way the commencement and termination of various pertinent factors and tendencies.[2]

In regard to the arrangement of the material within each time-section, the difficulty of attaining clearness and the risk of misrepresentation are considerable. For purposes of comparison, the same general scheme has been adopted for all sections, though this inevitably means that the contents of one section will, in many respects, be painfully like those of the sections that precede and follow it. For the details of this scheme, reference may again be made to the Table of Contents. The drawbacks of the plan are unmistakable; but perhaps the same would have to be said of any plan, and compensating advantages may be hoped for. Much may be done, by a faithful quotation of our sources, to guard against the danger of misrepresenting them; and the ennui of hearing an oft-told tale may be somewhat relieved by the variety of the personalities who tell it.

Within the limits of each time-section, it seemed desirable that there should be no further chronological or other subdivision, apart from the orderly grouping of the subject-matter itself. That is why Paul is not treated separately from his contemporaries, nor Eastern from Western Christianity,[3] nor canonical from uncanonical writings,[4] nor Jewish Christianity from Catholic. Important as

[1] An instance of the former method is Harnack's *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*; of the latter, Luthardt's *History of Christian Ethics*.

[2] Cf. the similar landmarks recognized by Harnack (*ME* ii. 335f).

[3] Scullard 7–10. [4] Moffatt *INT* 8–12.

these distinctions are, they have, in the interests of simplicity and clearness, been held subordinate to the main fundamenta divisionis.

While it is important that we should know the date and authorship of each literary product of the period with which we are dealing, it will be easily observable that the method by which we intend to proceed enables us to sit loose to all the nicer questions of literary criticism. Our primary object is to sound the mind of Christendom as a whole during each successive sub-period. Comparatively few of the documents before us are of such uncertain date that we cannot place them with confidence in one or other of our sections; and of these few, scarcely one contains matter—or represents an attitude—of a striking or peculiar kind. With the great bulk of our materials, very little turns on the solution of the literary difficulties connected with them. In doubtful cases I have had to take the liberty of assuming what seemed a reasonable and well-supported view, even where the opinions of leading scholars are still far from unanimous. I have prefixed to each section a brief note on the literature that applies to it. In collecting the materials, I have endeavoured to examine the whole of the Christian literature of the period, so far as it was possible and practicable to do so. This last-named condition has meant that certain omissions had to be accepted. I have not, for instance, worked through the whole of the Commentaries and Homilies of Origenes; nor have I attempted to incorporate every pertinent passage in the Apocryphal Gospels and Acts. Nor can I claim to have obtained access to many minor fragments of uncertain date and authorship referred to up and down our great histories of Christian literature. Subject to these limitations, I have tried to base my results on a fresh and personal study of the whole of the available data.

I have not made any attempt to delineate the Jewish and Gentile antecedents and parallels to the various ideas that make their appearance in Christianity. Not that such comparisons are unimportant or uninteresting: on the contrary, for the thorough understanding of Christian thought on any subject, a comparison with non-Christian ideas may be said to be a necessity; and most works bearing on Christian ethics (e.g. Schmidt, Lecky, and Uhlhorn) provide the reader accordingly with the materials

necessary for making such a comparison. It is, in fact, because in these and other works the thoughts of the non-Christian world have been so thoroughly and adequately treated—as well as because the space at my disposal (not to mention my capability for such a task) was subject to severe limits—that, beyond a few casual allusions and references to other literature, I have not added Jewish, Hellenic, or Roman parallels to my account of the products of Christian thought and feeling.

If the question be asked why the plea of adequate treatment elsewhere, if it excuses one from the task of describing non-Christian ideas, does not likewise render the fresh description of Christian ideas a superfluity, one can reply only that hitherto the subject before us has not, as a matter of fact, received the special and thorough attention it deserves. It enters, indeed, to some extent into most of the recognized studies concerned with the Christianity of the period : it would, for instance, be impossible to treat of the history of the Church or of Christian ethics or doctrine or even of Christian literature, without trenching, to a greater or less degree, on the Christian attitude to the world that lay beyond the pale of the Church. Hence my great indebtedness to the work of scholars in these various fields. At the same time, I have been able to discover no work wholly devoted to this particular subject and at the same time aiming at a complete treatment of it. Harnack's *Mission and Expansion of Christianity* touches, in a remarkably full and scholarly way, on most of the topics investigated in the following pages ; but the pertinent passages in it are not collected or arranged on the principle that will have to guide our study, and they occur amid a vast amount of extraneous material. Other books, like Harnack's *Militia Christi*, De Jong's *Dienstweigering bij de oude Christenen*, Weinel's *Die Stellung des Urchristentums zum Staat*, and Bigelmair's *Die Beteiligung der Christen am öffentlichen Leben in vorkonstantinischer Zeit*, deal with subjects that lie in their entirety within the scope of the topic before us ; but none of them, not even that of Bigelmair, aims at covering the whole ground ; while dealing fully with the question in its practical bearings, the last-named author is but slightly concerned with the more abstract questions that gather around the Christian view of paganism.

The present undertaking may therefore claim to be a venture upon new lines into the field of early Christian studies.[1] At the same time, my indebtedness to the work of others has necessarily been great. In a field of knowledge that has been so thoroughly worked as the New Testament and the history of the early Church, one can hardly take up a single question that has not been already handled by competent scholars. To focus in the following pages anything like the complete results of expert investigation on every pertinent topic would have been beyond my powers. All I have attempted to do has been to consult the best recent works, which bear more or less directly on the chief topics I have undertaken to handle. The footnotes will bear witness to the extent of my indebtedness in this respect.

It remains to touch upon one or two points of detail. It has often been difficult to decide how much of the material ought to be transcribed in the original in footnotes, how much translated and embodied in the text, and how much adduced with bare references. The original has been transcribed wherever it was felt that the importance of the subject-matter or the risk of misrepresentation demanded it and space permitted: I have usually followed in transcriptions the spelling of the edition I happened to be quoting from: hence some variation in Greek and Latin styles. Words inserted in translations in order to bring out the sense are enclosed within round brackets. The references in the footnotes are put in as brief a form as possible, with the object of saving space; and the reader is referred to pages xxxiii–li for fuller details.

I am cherishing the hope that my esteemed critics will not give themselves the trouble of chastising me too lengthily for my unconventional spelling of certain proper names. The matter cannot be fully discussed here; but I can assure them that I have not been actuated by any perverse desire to differ from others, but

[1] Cf. the remarks of K. J. Neumann (*SK* v: "Dagegen habe ich mich bei der Beantwortung der Frage, wie die Kirche sich zum Staate und zur Welt gestellt hat, auf Vorarbeiten kaum stützen können") and H. Weinel, (*SUS* 2: "Wie der Staat sich zu dem jungen Christentum stellte und wie er es empfand, das ist . . . klar geworden. . . . Die Empfindungen und Gedanken der Gegenseite, der Christen dem Staat gegenüber, sind viel weniger scharf erkannt").

simply by a wish for greater consistency and accuracy, even where the complete attainment of these excellences seemed, at least for the present, out of reach. And may I remind them that, unless a beloved convention in this matter had sometimes been set at defiance in the past, we should not enjoy even that very imperfect measure of accuracy on which we usually insist as a minimum to-day. Would those scholars who are offended with my ' Pilatus ' and ' Plinius ' and ' Hadrianus ' like to go back to the days of ' Ponce Pilate ' and ' Tully ' and ' Anthony Pie ' ?

A word may be added in regard to the relation of this work to my former book, *The Early Christian Attitude to War*, published by Messrs. Headley Bros. in 1919. The materials of that book are included within the present work, but they are arranged on quite a different plan. Further, not only was the earlier book very much narrower in scope than the one now presented to the public, but the latter, even in those sections that deal specifically with war, contains some matter not to be found in the former. I desire to express my thanks to Messrs. Geo. Allen & Unwin, the publishers now responsible for *The Early Christian Attitude to War*, for their kindness in leaving it open to me to republish the material in another form, and for their explicit permission to reproduce from the book the tabular statement given below on pages 432f.

It would be impossible to enumerate the names of all those friends from whom I have received personal help in the preparation of this work. To all such I am sincerely grateful. But I should like to make special mention of two. Dr. Vernon Bartlet, of Mansfield College, Oxford, was my first teacher in Church-History, and to him I owe—besides abundant and kindly help on specific points—a deep reverence for the spirit and ideals of Christian scholarship. Dr. A. J. Carlyle, of University College, Oxford, I have to thank for the close personal interest he took in my task when I was engaged on it as a member of his seminar on ' Church and State,' and for the valuable advice and encouragement he gave me again and again in the pursuit of it.

C. J. CADOUX.

SHIPLEY, YORKSHIRE,
*April* 1925.

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# LIST OF PRINCIPAL AUTHORS AND WORKS REFERRED TO

THE words and letters in the first column represent the abbreviations used in the footnotes.

Dates within round brackets are those of editions or impressions not used. Dates within square brackets are those of the composition of early works; they are in many cases approximate only.

ET = English translation.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ac . . . . . | the Book of the Acts of the Apostles [80 A.D.]. |
| *Acta Disput. Achat.* . | *Acta disputationis S. Achatii* [250 A.D.] (in Gebhardt 115–120). |
| *Act. Andr.* . . . . | *Acts of Andrew* [160 A.D.] (in Bonnet, Pick, and James). |
| *Act. Apoll.* . . . . | *Acts of Apollonius* [180–185 A.D.] (in Conybeare and Gebhardt). |
| *Act. Joh.* . . . . . | *Acts of John* [160 A.D.] (in Bonnet, Pick, and James). |
| *Act. Petr.* . . . . . | *Acts of Peter* [200–250 A.D.] (in Lipsius, Pick, and James). |
| *Act. Thec.* . . . . . | *Acts of Paul and Thecla* [170 A.D.] (in Lipsius, Conybeare, Pick, and James)—a part of the *Acts of Paul.* |
| *Act. Thom.* . . . . | *Acts of Thomas* [230–250 A.D.] (in Bonnet, Pick, and James). |
| *Adamant.* . . . . . | The anonymous *Dialogus de Recta in Deum Fide*, or Διάλεξις Ἀδαμαντίου, τοῦ καὶ Ὠριγένους, περὶ τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ὀρθῆς πίστεως [300–313 A.D.]. My quotations are from the Latin version of Rufinus, which follows the original better than do the extant Greek MSS, the latter representing an extensive revision (Krüger 245; Harnack, *Gesch. der altchr. Litt.*, I. 479). |
| *AI* . . . . . | the *Ascension of Isaiah* [for date, see below, p. 138] (see Charles). |
| Allen . . . . . | *A critical and exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew*, by W. C. Allen. (*International Critical Commentary*). Edinburgh (Clark, 1907) 1912. |
| *Anal. Bolland.* . . . | *Analecta Bollandiana* (a selection of Martyr-acts). Paris and Brussels, 1882ff. |
| *ANCL* . . . . . | *Ante-Nicene Christian Library: translations of the writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325.* Edited by Rev. Alexr. Roberts, D.D., and Jas. Donaldson, LL.D. 24 vols. Edinburgh (Clark) 1867–1872. |
| Ap . . . . . | the Apocalypse of John [93 A.D.]. |

*Apoc. Petr.* . . . . . *Apocalypse of Peter* [120–140 A.D.] (the first number is that of the fragment or section, the second (in brackets) that of the page in Preuschen) (ET in James).

Arist. . . . . Aristeides [140 A.D. or (?) 125–126 A.D.] (the first number is that of the chapter in his apology, the second (in brackets) that of the page in *TS* I. 1).

Arnob. . . . . Arnobius [304–310 A.D.] (the numbers represent the book and chapter of his work *Aduersus Nationes*).

Athenag. *Legat.* . . . Athenagoras' *Legatio pro Christianis*, or Πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν [177–180 A.D.].

Athenag. *Res.* . . . Athenagoras' *de Resurrectione Cadaverum*, or Περὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν [177–180 A.D.].

I have usually added in brackets to the chapter-number the number of Otto's page as given in the inside margins of Schwartz (*TU* IV. 2).

B. . . . . the (so-called) Epistle of Barnabas [75 A.D.].

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B.-Baker *ICW* . . . *The Influence of Christianity on War*, by J. F. Bethune-Baker. Cambridge (Macmillan and Bowes) 1888.

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Bigg *CE* . . . . . *The Church's Task under the Roman Empire*, by Chas. Bigg. Oxford (Clarendon Press) 1905.

Bigg *CPA* . . . . . *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, by Chas. Bigg. (The Bampton Lectures). Oxford (Clar. Press) 1886.

Bigg *PJ* . . . . . *A critical and exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, by Chas. Bigg. (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*). Edinburgh (Clark, 1901) 1902.

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1 C . . . . . the First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians [55 A.D.].

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*Can. Arel.* . . . . the *Canons of the Synod of Arelate* (*Arles*) [314 A.D.].

*Can. Illib.* . . . . . the *Canons of the Synod of Illiberis* (*Elvira*) [300 A.D.].

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Cl. *Hyp.* . . . . . *Hypotyposeis* (Ὑποτυπώσεις) of Clemens of Alexandria [185 A.D.].

Cl. *Paed.* . . . . . *Paedagogus* (Παιδάγωγος) of Clemens of Alexandria [195 A.D.].

Cl. *Protr.* . . . . . *Protrepticus* (Προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας) of Clemens of Alexandria [185 A.D.].

Cl. *Quis Dives* . . . *Quis dives salvetur?* (Τίς ὁ σῳζόμενος πλούσιος;) of Clemens of Alexandria [205 A.D.].

Cl. *Strom.* . . . . . *Stromata* (Στρωμάτεις) of Clemens of Alexandria [190–210 A.D.].

1 Cl. . . . . the (so-called first) *Epistle of Clemens of Rome* to the Corinthians [94 A.D.].

2 Cl. . . . . the (so-called) *second Epistle of Clemens of Rome* to the Corinthians [150 A.D.].

*Clem. Ep. Jac.* . . . the (so-called) *Epistle of Clemens to Jacob*, prefixed to the *Clementine Homilies* [265 A.D.].

*Clem. Ep. Virg.* . . . the two (so-called) *Epistles of Clemens to Virgins* [? 250 A.D.].

*Clem. Hom.* . . . . the *Clementine Homilies*
*Clem. Recog.* . . . . the *Clementine Recognitions* } [for date, see below, p. 457].

Commod. *Carm.* . . . Commodianus' *Carmen apologeticum* [250 A.D.].

Commod. *Instr.* . . . Commodianus' *Instructiones per litteras uersuum primas* [250 A.D.].

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| *Const. Apost.* | The *Apostolic Constitutions* [±375 A.D.] in Funk *DCAp.* i. 3–385 (odd nos.), 386–595. ET in *ANCL* xviib. |
| *Const. Eg.* | *Constitutiones Ecclesiae Aegyptiacae*, otherwise known as the *Egyptian Church-Order* [for date, see below, pp. 289f, 460]. The chapters and sections quoted are those given by Funk in *DCAp.* ii. 97ff. |
| Conybeare | *The Apology and Acts of Apollonius and other Monuments of Early Christianity*, edited by F. C. Conybeare. London (Swan Sonnenschein) 1894. |
| Cooper and Maclean | *The Testament of our Lord: translated into English from the Syriac*, by Jas. Cooper and A. J. Maclean. Edinburgh (Clark) 1902. |
| Cunningham | *Christianity and Politics*, by W. Cunningham, Archdeacon of Ely. London (Murray) 1916. |
| Cypr. *Act. Procons.* | the *Acta Proconsularia*, or official record, of the trial and death of Cyprianus [258 A.D.]. |
| Cypr. *Bon. Pat.* | Cyprianus' *de Bono Patientiae* [256 A.D.]. |
| Cypr. *Demetr.* | Cyprianus' *ad Demetrianum* [252 A.D.]. |
| Cypr. *Dom. Orat.* | Cyprianus' *de Dominica Oratione* [252 A.D.]. |
| Cypr. *Donat.* | Cyprianus' *ad Donatum* [247 A.D.]. |
| Cypr. *Ep.* | Cyprianus' *Epistolae* [250–258 A.D.]. The first number is that of the Epistle in Hartel's edition in the Vienna *Corpus*, the second (in brackets) that of the same Epistle in *ANCL* viii, the third that of the paragraph. A certain number of the Epistles in this collection, viz.: 8 (2), 21 (20), 22 (21), 23 (16), 24 (18), 30 (30), 31 (25), 36 (29), 42 (38), 49 (45), 50 (47), 53 (49), 75 (74), 77 (77), 78 (78), 79 (79), were written by others than Cyprianus. |
| Cypr. *Fort.* | Cyprianus' *ad Fortunatum*, or *de Exhortatione Martyrii* [257 A.D.]. |
| Cypr. *Hab. Virg.* | Cyprianus' *de Habitu Virginum* [249 A.D.]. |
| Cypr. *Laps.* | Cyprianus' *de Lapsis* [251 A.D.]. |
| Cypr. *Laud.* | Cyprianus' *de Laude Martyrii* [250 A.D.]. |
| Cypr. *Mort.* | Cyprianus' *de Mortalitate* [252–256 A.D.]. |
| Cypr. *Op. El.* | Cyprianus' *de Opere et Eleemosynis* [252–256 A.D.]. |
| Cypr. *Test.* | Cyprianus' *Testimonia aduersus Iudaeos* (*ad Quirinum*) [248 A.D.]. |
| Cypr. *Unit.* | Cyprianus' *de Catholicae Ecclesiae Unitate* [251 A.D.]. |
| Cypr. *Zel. Liv.* | Cyprianus' *de Zelo et Livore* [256 A.D.]. |
| *D* | *Didache*, or *the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* [85–90 A.D.]. |
| *DAC* | *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, edited by Jas. Hastings, etc. 2 vols. Edinburgh (Clark) 1915, 1918. |
| Dale | *The Synod of Elvira, and Christian Life in the fourth century; a historical essay*, by A. W. W. Dale. London (Macmillan) 1882. |

*DB* . . . . . *A Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by Jas. Hastings, etc. 5 vols. Edinburgh (Clark) 1898, 1899, 1900, 1902, and (1904 etc.) 1909.

*DCA* . . . . . *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, edited by Wm. Smith and S. Cheetham. 2 vols. London (Murray) 1875, 1880.

*DCB* . . . . . *A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines*, edited by Wm. Smith and Hy. Wace. 4 vols. London (Murray) 1877–1887. (The first vol. in my copy is the new impression of 1900).

*DCG* . . . . . *A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, edited by Jas. Hastings, etc. 2 vols. Edinburgh (Clark) (1906 etc.) 1908 and (1908) 1909.

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*Didasc.* . . . . . the *Didascalia* [250 A.D.] (see Funk *DCAp.* i. 2–384 (even nos.), from which I quote). A German version is published by Achelis and Flemming in *TU(NF)* x. 2 (1904) 1–145, with different divisions from those of Funk.

*Diog.* . . . . . the *Epistle to Diognetus* [150 A.D.] (see also under Hipp. *Diog.*).

Dion. Alex. . . . . Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, 247–265 A.D.

Dobschütz . . . . . *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, by Ernst von Dobschütz. London (Williams & Norgate) 1904. ET from the German.

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*EB* . . . . . *Encyclopædia Biblica: a critical Dictionary . . . of the Bible*, edited by T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black. London (Black) 1903.

*Eclog. Prophet.* . . . *Eclogae Propheticae* (found with the eighth book of Clemens' *Stromateis*) [see below, p. 207].

*ERE* . . . . . *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by Jas. Hastings. 12 vols. Edinburgh (Clark) 1908–1921.

Eus. *DE* . . . . . *Demonstratio Evangelica* (εὐαγγελικὴ ἀπόδειξις) of Eusebius [? 310–318 A.D.]. The numbers give the book, chapter, and section (sections 1–22 being the pages of Fabricius and being followed by sections 1a–510d which are the pages of Stephen). I have added in brackets the vol. and page in Ferrar (q.v.), of whose translation I have generally availed myself in quotations.

Eus. *HE* . . . . . the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius [305–314 A.D.].

Eus. *Hier.* . . . . . the work of Eusebius *against Hierocles* [300 A.D.]. Edited by T. Gaisford. Oxford (Univ. Press) 1852. To the paragraph number I have added in brackets that of the page in Gaisford.

Eus. *Mart.* . . . . *The Martyrs of Palestine* [313 A.D.] found at the end of the eighth book of Eus. *HE.*

Eus. *PE* . . . . . *Praeparatio Evangelica* (εὐαγγελικὴ προπαρασκευή) of Eusebius [? 303–314 A.D.]. The numbers and letters refer to the sections in Gifford (q.v.).

Eus. *Vit. Const.* . . . the *Life of Constantinus*, by Eusebius [337–340 A.D.].

*Excerp. Theod.* . . . *Excerpta ex Theodoto* (found with the eighth book of Clemens' *Stromateis*) [see below, p. 207].

Farrar *EDC* . . . . *The Early Days of Christianity*, by F. W. Farrar. London (Cassell, 1882) 1903.

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Farrar *P* . . . . . *The Life and Work of St. Paul*, by F. W. Farrar. London (Cassell, 1879) 1903.

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Fisher . . . . . *History of Christian Doctrine*, by G. P. Fisher. Edinburgh (Clark) 1896.

Frame . . . . . *A critical and exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians*, by J. E. Frame. (*Inter. Crit. Comment.*). Edinburgh (Clark) 1912.

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Funk *DCAp.* . . . . *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, edidit F. X. Funk. 2 vols. Paderborn (Schoeningh) 1905.

Funk *PA* . . . . . *Patres Apostolici*, edidit F. X. Funk. Vol. i. Tübingen (Laupp) 1901.

G . . . . . the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians [49 A.D.].

Gass . . . . . *Geschichte der christlichen Ethik*, by W. Gass. *Erster Band. Bis zur Reformation.* Berlin (Riemer) 1881.

*GEb* . . . . . *The Gospel according to the Ebionites* [200 A.D.]. The numbers give the fragment (and page) in Preuschen (q.v.).

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| Gebhardt . . . . . | *Acta Martyrum Selecta. Ausgewählte Märtyreracten und andere Urkunden aus der Verfolgungszeit der christlichen Kirche*, edited by Oscar von Gebhardt. Berlin (Duncker) 1902. |
| Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn | *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, edited by O. de Gebhardt, A. Harnack, and Th. Zahn. 3 fasciculi. Leipzig (Hinrichs) 1875–1877. |
| *GEg.* . . . . . | *The Gospel according to the Egyptians* [100–130 A.D.]. The numbers give the fragment (and page) in Preuschen (q.v.). |
| Gelzer . . . . . | *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, by H. Gelzer. 2 vols. Leipzig (Teubner) 1880, 1885. |
| *GH* . . . . . | *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* [?80 A.D.]. The numbers give the fragment (and page) in Preuschen (q.v.). (ET in *DB* v. 341f, 345f, and in James.) |
| Gibbon . . . . . | *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, by Edward Gibbon. Edited in 7 vols. by J. B. Bury. London (Methuen) 1897–1900. |
| Gifford . . . . . | *Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicae Praeparationis libri xv*, etc. Edited by E. H. Gifford. 4 vols. in 5. Oxford (Univ. Press) 1903. |
| *GP* . . . . . | *The Gospel according to Peter* [120 A.D.]. The numbers give the fragment (and page) in Preuschen (q.v.). |
| Greg. Thaum. *Paneg.* . | Gregorius Thaumaturgus' *Panegyric on Origenes* [240 A.D.]. Ed. Koetschau. Freiburg i. B. and Leipzig (Mohr) 1894. |
| Greg. Thaum. *Ep. Can.* | Gregorius Thaumaturgus' *Epistola Canonica* [254 A.D.] (in Routh iii. 256–264). |
| Guignebert . . . . | *Tertullien: étude sur ses sentiments à l'égard de l'empire et de la société civile*, by Chas. Guignebert. Paris (Leroux) 1901. |
| Guischard . . . . . | *Mémoires critiques et historiques sur plusieurs points d'antiquités militaires*, by Chas. Guischard. Tome premier. Berlin 1774. |
| Gwatkin *ECH* . . . | *Early Church History to A.D. 313*, by H. M. Gwatkin. 2 vols. London (Macmillan) 1909. |
| Gwatkin *S.* . . . . . | *Selections from Early Writers illustrative of Church History to the time of Constantine*, by H. M. Gwatkin. London (Macmillan, 1893) 1911. |
| H . . . . . | the Epistle 'to the Hebrews' [64–70 A.D.]. |
| Hardy . . . . . | *Christianity and the Roman Government: a study in imperial administration*, by E. G. Hardy. London (Longmans, Green) 1894. |
| Harnack *A* . . . . | *Die Ueberlieferung der griechischen Apologeten des zweiten Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter*, by Adolf Harnack, in *TU* (q.v.) I. 1 and 2 (1882). |

Harnack *C* . . . . *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, by A. Harnack, being the second part of *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*. 2 vols. Leipzig (Hinrichs) 1897, 1904.

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Harnack *KS* . . . . 'Kirche und Staat bis zur Gründung der Staatkirche,' by A. Harnack, being I.A. 2 (129–160) of *Die christliche Religion*, etc., by J. Wellhausen, A. Jülicher, A. Harnack, etc. (=Teil I., Abteilung iv., of *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, ed. by Paul Hinneberg). Berlin and Leipzig (Teubner) 1906 (1909).

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Harnack *ME* . . . . *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the first three centuries*, by A. Harnack. London (Williams & Norgate, 1904, 1905) 1908. ET from 2nd German edn. of 1906.

Harnack *SAC* . . . *Sources of the Apostolic Canons*, by A. Harnack. London (Black) 1895. ET from the German.

Hartel . . . . . *S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani Opera Omnia* recensuit . . . G. Hartel: being vol. iii. (in three parts) of the *Corpus Script. Ecclesiast. Latinorum*. Vienna (Gerold) 1868–1871.

Hatch *ECC* . . . . *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, by Edwin Hatch. (The Bampton Lectures, 1880). London (Rivingtons) 1881.

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Heges. . . . . Hegesippus [180 A.D.] (fragments in Routh, q.v.).

Herm. *M* . . . . . *Mandata* (ἐντολαί)
Herm. *S* . . . . . *Similitudines* (παραβολαί)
Herm. *Vis.* . . . . *Visiones* (ὁράσεις)
} parts of the *Shepherd* of Hermas [100–140 A.D.].

Herrmann . . . . . see *SG*.

Hilgenfeld . . . . . *Evangeliorum secundum Hebraeos, secundum Petrum*, etc. etc., *quae supersunt*, or *Librorum deperditorum fragmenta*, edited by Adolphus Hilgenfeld. Leipzig (Weigel) 1884 (2nd edn.).

Hipp. *Ant.* . . . . Hippolytus' *de Antichristo* [200 A.D.].

Hipp. *Can.* . . . . the so-called *Canons of Hippolytus* [see below, pp. 288–290].

Hipp. *Dan.* . . . . Hippolytus' *Commentary on Daniel* (εἰς τὸν Δανιήλ) [203–4 A.D.]. Where the Greek is defective, I have quoted Bonwetsch's German version of the Old Slavonic.

Hipp. *Diog.* . . . . the last two chapters of the *Epistle to Diognetus*, conjecturally ascribed to Hippolytus [200–230 A.D.].

Hipp. *Gaius* . . . . κεφάλαια κατὰ Γαΐου [211–217 A.D.]. ET from Syriac in Gwynn's 'Hippolytus' "Heads against Gaius,"' in *Hermathena*, vi. 397–418 (1888). The number in my footnotes indicates the page in Gwynn's article. A fuller version of the *Heads* (in German) is given by Achelis in the edition of Hippolytus in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, etc., ii. 241–247.

Hipp. *Noet.* . . . . Hippolytus' ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν αἵρεσιν Νοήτου τινός [200–210 A.D.].

Hipp. πρὸς Ἕλληνας . . Hippolytus' πρὸς Ἕλληνας περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας (or αἰτίας) [220 A.D.].

Hipp. *Ref.* . . . . Hippolytus' *Refutatio omnium haeresium* [222–230 A.D.]. The references are to Duncker and Schneidewin's edition, Göttingen (Dieterich) 1859. The figure in brackets indicates the chapter in the *ANCL* translation.

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Holtzm. *GA* . . . . *Die Gütergemeinschaft der Apostelgeschichte*, by H. Holtzmann, being part (25–60) of the *Strassburger Abhandlungen zur Philosophie*, dedicated to Zeller on his 70th birthday. Freiburg and Tübingen (Mohr) 1884.

Holtzm. *RS* . . . . *Das neue Testament und der römische Staat*, by H. Holtzmann. Strassburg (Heitz) 1892. An address—at once scholarly and monarchistic—given at Strassburg University on the birthday of Kaiser Wilhelm.

Holtzm. *Th.* . . . . *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie*, by H. Holtzmann. 2 vols. Tübingen (Mohr, 1897) 1911.

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Hort *CE* . . . . . *The Christian Ecclesia: a course of lectures on the early history and early conceptions of the Ecclesia*, by F. J. A. Hort. London (Macmillan) 1897.

Ig. *E* . . . . . the Epistle of Ignatius *to the Ephesians*.
Ig. *M* . . . . . the Epistle of Ignatius *to the Magnesians*.
Ig. *P* . . . . . the Epistle of Ignatius *to Polycarpus*.
Ig. *Ph.* . . . . . the Epistle of Ignatius *to the Philadelphians*.
Ig. *R* . . . . . the Epistle of Ignatius *to the Romans*.
Ig. *S* . . . . . the Epistle of Ignatius *to the Smyrnæans*.
Ig. *T* . . . . . the Epistle of Ignatius *to the Trallians*.

} [106–115 A.D.].

Innes . . . . . *Church and State: a historical handbook*, by A. Taylor Innes. (*Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students*). Edinburgh (Clark) 1890 (1892).

Iren. . . . . Irenæus' *Adversus Haereses* or ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, in 5 bks. [181–189 A.D.]. The book and chapter according to Massuet's edition are given, and then (in brackets) the vol. and page in Harvey's edition (Camb. 1857).

Iren. *Demonstr.* . . Irenæus' εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος [190 A.D.]. The first number gives the section, and the second (in brackets) the page in J. A. Robinson's *St. Irenæus: The Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*. London (S.P.C.K.) 1920.

Iren. *fr.* . . . . . the fragments of Irenæus [± 190 A.D.]. The bracketed figures give the vol. and page in Harvey.

J . . . . . the Gospel according to John [105 A.D.].

1 J, 2 J, 3 J . . . . the first, second, and third Epistles of John [? 95 A.D.].

Jac . . . . . the Epistle of Jacob (James) [120 A.D.].

James . . . . . *The Apocryphal New Testament, being the apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles and Apocalypses, with other narratives and fragments, newly translated*, by M. R. James. Oxford (Clar. Press) 1924.

Jd. . . . . the Epistle of Judas (Jude) [90 A.D.].

Just. *1 Ap.* . . . . the (so-called *first*) *Apology* of Justinus [153 A.D.]. I quote the chapters and sections as given in Blunt's edition.

Just. *2 Ap.* . . . . the (so-called *second*) *Apology* of Justinus [153 A.D.]. References are to Blunt's divisions, except in chapters iii.–viii., where I follow the numeration usually adopted and given by Blunt in brackets.

Just. *Dial.* . . . . . Justinus' *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo* [155–160 A.D.]. The first figure gives the chapter, and the second (in brackets) the page in Otto's edition, tom. I. pars ii.

Just. *fr.* . . . . . Justinus' *fragments* [± 155 A.D.]. The first number is that of the fragment in Otto, tom. II. 250ff; the second (in brackets) is that of the frag. in *ANCL* ii. (355ff).

Just. *Res.* . . . . . Justinus' *De Resurrectione* or περὶ ἀναστάσεως [150 A.D.]. The first figure gives the chapter, and the second (in brackets) the page in Otto, tom. II.

Knowling . . . . . *The Acts of the Apostles:* commentary by R. J. Knowling in *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, vol. ii. London (Hodder) 1900.

Krüger . . . . . *History of early Christian Literature in the first three centuries*, by Gustav Krüger. New York (Macmillan) 1897. ET from the German.

Lact. *Inst.* . . . . Lactantius' *Divinae Institutiones* [304–305 A.D.].

Lact. *Ira Dei* . . . . Lactantius' *de Ira Dei* [305 A.D.].

Lact. *Mort. Pers.* . . Lactantius' *de Mortibus Persecutorum* [314 A.D.].

| | |
|---|---|
| Lact. *Opif. Dei* . . . | Lactantius' *de Opificio Dei* [303–304 A.D.]. |
| Lc. . . . . | the Gospel of Luke [75 A.D.]. |
| Lecky . . . . . | *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*, by W. E. H. Lecky. London (Longmans, Green, 1869) reprint, 2 vols. in one, 1913. |
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| Mathews . . . . . | *The Social Teaching of Jesus: an essay in Christian Sociology*, by Shailer Mathews. New York (Macmillan, 1897) reprint 1910. |
| Mayor *J* . . . . . | *The Epistle of St. James: the Greek Text, with Introduction, Notes, and Comments*, by J. B. Mayor. London (Macmillan, 1892) 1897. |
| Mc . . . . . | the Gospel of Mark [65–70 A.D.]. |
| McGiffert . . . . . | *A history of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, by A. C. McGiffert. Edinburgh (Clark) 1897. |
| Mc *W* . . . . . | the ending of the Gospel of Mark in Codex W (Detroit) [reading as old as (?) 100 A.D.]. |
| Menzies . . . . . | *The Earliest Gospel: a historical study of the Gospel according to Mark*, by A. Menzies. London (Macmillan) 1901. |
| Method. . . . . | Methodius, bishop of Olympus [270–311 A.D.]. |
| Method. *Symp.* . . . | Methodius' *συμπόσιον τῶν δέκα παρθενῶν ἢ περὶ ἁγνείας* [270–300 A.D.]. |
| Meyer . . . . . | *Das Soziale Naturrecht in der christlichen Kirche*, by Johannes Meyer. Leipzig (Deichert) 1913. |
| Migne *PG* . . . . . | *Patrologiae Cursus Completus* (the Greek Fathers, 165 vols.), ed. Migne. Paris 1857–1866. |
| Migne *PL* . . . . . | *Patrologiae Cursus Completus* (the Latin Fathers, 221 vols.), ed. Migne. Paris 1844–1855. |

Milman *HC* . . . . *The History of Christianity, from the birth of Christ to the abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire*, by H. H. Milman. 3 vols. London (Murray, 1840) 1867–1875.

Minuc. . . . . Minucius Felix' *Octavius* [238–248 A.D.]. I have followed the divisions of Halm's edition in the Vienna *Corpus* (1866). They differ in a few places from those adopted by Wallis in *ANCL* xiii.

*M. Just.* . . . . . *Martyrium Justini et sociorum* [163–167 A.D.] (references are to the divisions in Gebhardt, q.v.).

*M. Lugd.* . . . . . the *Epistle of the Church of Lugdunum*, describing the persecution of 177 A.D. (in Eus. *HE* v. i–iii).

Moffatt *INT* . . . . *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, by Jas. Moffatt. Edinburgh (Clark) 2nd edn., 1912 (1918).

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Montefiore *SG* . . . *The Synoptic Gospels, edited with an introduction and a commentary*, by C. G. Montefiore. 2 vols. London (Macmillan) 1909.

*M. Paul.* . . . . . *Martyrium Pauli* [165 A.D.] (in Lipsius, Pick, and James) —a part of the *Acts of Paul.*

*M. Petr.* . . . . . *Martyrium Petri* [200–250 A.D.] (in Lipsius, Pick, and James)—a part of *Act. Petr.* (q.v.).

*M. Pionii* . . . . . *Martyrium Pionii* [250 A.D.] (in Gebhardt).

*M. Pol.* . . . . . *Martyrium Polycarpi* [155 A.D] (in the Apostolic Fathers).

Mt . . . . . the Gospel according to Matthew [75 A.D.].

Neumann *H* . . . . *Hippolytus von Rom in seiner Stellung zu Staat und Welt. Neue Funde und Forschungen zur Geschichte von Staat und Kirche in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, by Karl Johannes Neumann. *Erste Abteilung.* Leipzig (Veit) 1902.

Neumann *SK* . . . . *Der römische Staat und die allgemeine Kirche bis auf Diocletian*, by K. J. Neumann. Vol. i. Leipzig (Veit) 1890.

Novat. *Bon. Pud.* . . Novatianus' *de Bono Pudicitiae* [253 A.D.].

Novat. *Cib. Jud.* . . . Novatianus' *de Cibis Judaïcis* [253 A.D.].

Novat. *Spect.* . . . . Novatianus' *de Spectaculis* [253 A.D.].

Novat. *Trin.* . . . . Novatianus' *de Trinitate* [250 A.D.].

Orig. *Cels.* . . . . . Origenes' *contra Celsum* [248 A.D.].

Orig. *Mart.* . . . . Origenes' *de Exhortatione Martyrii* [236 A.D.].

Orig. *Orat.* . . . . Origenes' *de Oratione* [233 A.D.].

Orig. *Princ.* . . . . Origenes' *de Principiis* [228–230 A.D.].

In quoting from Origenes' *exegetical* works, I have added to each reference the vol. and page in Lommatzsch's edn.

Overbeck . . . . . *Studien zur Geschichte der alten Kirche*, by Franz Overbeck. *Erstes Heft.* Schloss-Chemnitz (Schmeitzner) 1875.

*Ox. Log.* . . . . . *The Oxyrhynchus 'Logia of Jesus'* [100–130 A.D.]. The first number is that of the Logion, the second (bracketed) that of the page in Preuschen (q.v.). (ET in James).

P i., ii., iii., etc. . . . the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians [60 A.D.].

P 1, 2, 3, etc. . . . . the Epistle of Paul to Philemon [59 A.D.].

1 P . . . . . the (so-called first) Epistle of Peter [65 A.D.].

2 P . . . . . the (so-called) second Epistle of Peter [130–150 A.D.].

Pap. . . . . Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις of Papias, bishop of Hierapolis [125 A.D.]. I have quoted his fragments and the sections thereof according to the numeration of Funk (*PA* 346–375). For the convenience of readers who use Lightfoot, I give here a key to the numeration used by the two editors.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| fr. i. | in Funk = | xiv. | in Lft. | fr. xi. | in Funk = | v. | in Lft. |
| ,, ii. | ,, | iii. | ,, | ,, xii. | ,, | vi. | ,, |
| ,, iii. | ,, | xviii. | ,, | ,, xiii. | ,, | ii. | ,, |
| ,, iv. | ,, | xi. | ,, | ,, xiv. | ,, | i. | ,, |
| ,, v. | ,, | x. | ,, | ,, xv. | ,, | vii. | ,, |
| ,, vi. | ,, | xii. | ,, | ,, xvi. | ,, | viii. | ,, |
| ,, vii. | ,, | xiii. | ,, | ,, xvii. | ,, | ix. | ,, |
| ,, viii. | ,, | xv. | ,, | ,, xviii. | ,, | xix. | ,, |
| ,, ix. | ,, | xvi. | ,, | ,, xix. | ,, | xx. | ,, |
| ,, x. | ,, | xvii. | ,, | ,, xx. | ,, | — | ,, |

Lightfoot puts J vii. 53—viii. 11 as fragment iv., but does not include what Funk has as fragment xx.

Patrick . . . . . *The Apology of Origen in reply to Celsus: a chapter in the history of Apologetics*, by John Patrick. Edinburgh and London (Blackwood) 1892.

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Peake . . . . . *Hebrews . . . with notes*, edited by A. S. Peake. (*Century Bible*). Edinburgh (Jack) no date.

*Perpet.* . . . . . *Passio Sanctae Perpetuae* [203 A.D.].

Pick . . . . . *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul, Peter, John, Andrew and Thomas*, by Bernhard Pick. Chicago (Open Court Publg. Company) 1909.

Plummer . . . . . *A critical and exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Luke*, by Alfred Plummer. (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*). Edinburgh (Clark) 1896 (1901).

Pol. . . . . the Epistle of Polycarpus *to the Philippians* [106–115 A.D.].

Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* . . . Pontius' *Vita Cypriani* [259 A.D.].

*Praedic. Petr.* . . . . *Praedicatio Petri*, or κήρυγμα Πέτρου [100–130 A.D.]. The first number gives the fragment, the second (in brackets) the page in Preuschen (q.v.).

Presb. . . . . 'The Elders' quoted by Irenæus. [See below, p. 205 n 12].

Preuschen . . . . . *Antilegomena. Die Reste der ausserkanonischen Evangelien und urchristlichen Überlieferungen, herausgegeben und übersetzt*, by Erwin Preuschen. Gieszen (Töpelmann, 1901) 1905.

*P. Scill.* . . . . . *Passio Sanctorum Scillitanorum* [180 A.D.]. The number represents the section in Gebhardt (q.v.).

Ps-Cypr. *Ad Novat.* . . Pseudo-Cyprianus' *ad Novatianum* [257–258 A.D.].

Ps-Cypr. *Aleat.* . . . . Pseudo-Cyprianus' *de Aleatoribus* [260–300 A.D.].

Ps-Cypr. *Jud.* . . . . Pseudo-Cyprianus' *aduersus Judaeos* [± 255 A.D.].

Ps-Cypr. *Mont.* . . . . Pseudo-Cyprianus' *de Montibus Sina et Sion* [210–240 A.D.].

Ps-Cypr. *Pasch.* . . . . Pseudo-Cyprianus' *de Pascha computus* [243 A.D.].

Ps-Cypr. *Quod Idola* . Pseudo-Cyprianus' *Quod Idola dii non sint* [? 250 A.D.].

Ps-Cypr. *Rebapt.* . . . . Pseudo-Cyprianus' *de Rebaptismate* [256 A.D.].

Ps-Just. *Cohort.* . . . . Pseudo-Justinus' *Cohortatio ad Gentiles*, or λόγος παραινετικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας [? 200 A.D.].

Ps-Just. *Mon.* . . . . . Pseudo-Justinus' *de Monarchia* [160 A.D.]. The bracketed figure gives the page in Otto, tom. II.

Ps-Just. *Orat.* . . . . Pseudo-Justinus' *Oratio ad Gentiles*, or λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας [170–200 A.D.].

Ps-Mel. . . . . Pseudo-Meliton's Syriac Apology, addressed (probably) to Caracalla [215 A.D.]. I give the number of the section in Otto's version, and the page in *ANCL* xxii b.

Purves . . . . . *The Testimony of Justin Martyr to early Christianity*, by Geo. T. Purves. London (Nisbet) 1888.

R . . . . . the Epistle of Paul to the Romans [56 A.D.].

Ramsay *CRE*. . . . . *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D.* 170, by W. M. Ramsay. London (Hodder & Stoughton, 1893) 1900 (6th edn.).

Riedel . . . . . *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien. Zusammengestellt und zum Teil übersetzt*, by W. Riedel. Leipzig (Deichert) 1900.

Robertson *RD* . . . . *Regnum Dei: eight lectures on the Kingdom of God in the history of Christian Thought*, by Archibald Robertson. (The Bampton Lectures, 1901). London (Methuen) 1901.

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Robinson and James . *The Gospel according to Peter, and the Revelation of Peter: two lectures on the newly recovered fragments together with the Greek Texts*, by J. Armitage Robinson and Montague R. James. London (Clay) 1892.

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Routh . . . . . *Reliquiae Sacrae: sive, auctorum fere jam perditorum secundi tertiique saeculi post Christum natum quae supersunt* . . . recensuit M. J. Routh. 5 vols. Oxford (Univ. Press, 1815) 1846–1848.

Ruinart . . . . . *Acta Martyrum P. Theodorici Ruinart opera ac studio collecta selecta atque illustrata.* (Paris 1689) Ratisbon (Manz) 1859.

Sanday and Headlam . *A critical and exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, by W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam. (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*). Edinburgh (Clark, 1895) 1907 (5th edn.).

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Scullard . . . . . *Early Christian Ethics in the West, from Clement to Ambrose*, by H. H. Scullard. London (Williams & Norgate) 1907.

Seeley . . . . . *Ecce Homo: a survey of the life and work of Jesus Christ*, by J. R. Seeley. London (Macmillan, 1865) 1900.

*SG* . . . . . *Essays on the Social Gospel*, by A. Harnack (1894–1902) and W. Herrmann (1903). London (Williams & Norgate) 1907. ET from the German.

*Sib. Orac.* . . . . . *Sibylline Oracles* [see below, pp. 139, 205]: original edited by Geffcken in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, etc. (Leipzig, 1902), and ET in Charles *APOT* (q.v.).

Souter *NT*. . . . . *Nouum Testamentum Graece: textui a retractoribus Anglis adhibito breuem adnotationem criticam subiecit* Alexander Souter. Oxford (Clar. Press) 1910.

Souter *TC* . . . . . *The Text and Canon of the New Testament*, by A. Souter. London (Duckworth) 1913.

Stevens . . . . . *The Theology of the New Testament*, by G. B. Stevens. Edinburgh (Clark) 1899 (1918).

Stöcker . . . . . *Die Frau in der alten Kirche*, by Lydia Stöcker. Tübingen (Mohr) 1907.

Streane . . . . . *The Book of Leviticus*, by A. T. Chapman and A. W. Streane. (*Cambridge Bible*). Cambridge (Univ. Press) 1914.

Strong . . . . . *The Next Great Awakening*, by Josiah Strong. London (Melrose) 1903.

Swete *M* . . . . . *The Gospel according to St. Mark: the Greek Text, with Introduction, Notes, and Indices*, by H. B. Swete. London (Macmillan, 1898) 1913 (3rd edn.).

*Syn. Carth* . . . . Synod of Carthago, the proceedings of which are generally known as *Sententiae episcoporum numero LXXXVII de haereticis baptizandis* [256 A.D.].

**T** . . . . . the Epistle of (?) Paul to Titus [?63 A.D.—but see below, p. 69].

**T, 2 T** . . . . . the first and second Epistles of (?) Paul to Timotheus [?63–64 A.D., but see below, p. 69].

**Tat.** . . . . . Tatianus' *Oratio ad Graecos*, or *πρὸς Ἕλληνας* [155 A.D.]. I have usually added in brackets to the chapter-number the number of Otto's page as given in the inside margins of Schwartz (*TU* IV. 1).

**Tat.** *fr.* . . . . . Tatianus' *Fragments* [155 A.D.]. The first number is that of the frag. in Schwartz (*TU* IV. 1), and the second (in brackets) is that in *ANCL* iii. (46ff).

**Tert.** *Anim.* . . . . Tertullianus' *de Anima* [208–213 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Apol.* . . . . Tertullianus' *Apologeticus* [197 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Bapt.* . . . . Tertullianus' *de Baptismo* [198–203 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Carn.* . . . . Tertullianus' *de Carne Christi* [208–213 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Cast.* . . . . Tertullianus' *de Exhortatione Castitatis* [203–206 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Cor.* . . . . . Tertullianus' *de Corona Militis* [211 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Cul.* . . . . . Tertullianus' *de Cultu Feminarum* [198–203 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Fug.* . . . . . Tertullianus' *de Fuga in Persecutione* [211–212 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Herm.* . . . . Tertullianus' *aduersus Hermogenem* [198–203 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Idol.* . . . . . Tertullianus' *de Idololatria* [198–203 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Jejun.* . . . . Tertullianus' *de Jejunio* [218–219 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Jud.* . . . . . Tertullianus' *aduersus Judaeos* [198–203 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Marc.* . . . . Tertullianus' *aduersus Marcionem* [208–213 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Mart.* . . . . Tertullianus' *ad Martyres* [197 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Monog.* . . . . Tertullianus' *de Monogamia* [218–219 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Nat.* . . . . . Tertullianus' *ad Nationes* [197 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Orat.* . . . . Tertullianus' *de Oratione* [198–203 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Paen.* . . . . Tertullianus' *de Paenitentia* [198–203 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Pall.* . . . . . Tertullianus' *de Pallio* [209–210 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Pat.* . . . . . Tertullianus' *de Patientia* [198–203 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Praescr.* . . . Tertullianus' *de Praescriptione Haereticorum* [198–203 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Prax.* . . . . Tertullianus' *aduersus Praxean* [213–218 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Pudic.* . . . . Tertullianus' *de Pudicitia* [220 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Res.* . . . . . Tertullianus' *de Resurrectione Carnis* [208–213 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Scap.* . . . . Tertullianus' *ad Scapulam* [212 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Scorp.* . . . . Tertullianus' *Scorpiace* [213 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Spect.* . . . . Tertullianus' *de Spectaculis* [198–203 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Test.* . . . . Tertullianus' *de Testimonio Animae* [197 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Ux.* . . . . . Tertullianus' *ad Uxorem* [198–203 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Val.* . . . . . Tertullianus' *aduersus Valentinianos* [207–208 A.D.].

**Tert.** *Virg.* . . . . Tertullianus' *de Virginibus Velandis* [203–206 A.D.].

The numbers in brackets indicate the volume and page in Oehler's edition (1853); but here and there I have actually followed the *text* and punctuation given in Migne.

*Test. XII Patr.* . . . *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*, in Charles *APOT* (ii. 296ff) [100 B.C., but see below, p. 205].

*TH* . . . . . *The Testament of Hezekiah* [88–100 A.D.], being iii. 13b—iv. 18 of *AI* (q.v.).

1 Th, 2 Th . . . . the first and second Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians [50 A.D.].

Theonas . . . . . the (doubtful) *Epistle* of Theonas, bishop of Alexandria, to Lucianus (see below, p. 458). The numbers indicate the section and then (in brackets) the vol. and page in Routh (q.v.).

Theoph. . . . . Theophilus of Antioch's three books *ad Autolycum* (*πρὸς Αὐτόλυκον*) [182 A.D.].

*Trad. Matth.* . . . . *Traditions of Matthias* [120 A.D.]. The first number gives the fragment, the second (in brackets) the page in Preuschen (q.v.).

Troeltsch . . . . . *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*, by Ernst Troeltsch. *Erste Hälfte.* Tübingen (Mohr, 1912) 1923.

*TS* . . . . . *Texts and Studies: contributions to biblical and patristic literature*, edited by J. Armitage Robinson. Cambridge (Univ. Press) 1891ff.

*TU* . . . . . *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, herausgegeben von Oscar von Gebhardt und Adolf Harnack.* Leipzig (Hinrichs) 1883–1897. *Neue Folge* (*NF*), 1897ff.

Uhlhorn *C.* . . . . *The Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, by G. Uhlhorn. London (Sampson Low) 1879. ET from 3rd German edn.

Uhlhorn *Ch.* . . . . *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, by G. Uhlhorn. Edinburgh (Clark) 1883 ET from the German.

*VI* . . . . . *The Vision of Isaiah* [100 A.D.], being vi.—xi. 40 of *AI* (q.v.).

Vict. . . . . Victorinus, bishop of Petavium [± 290 A.D.].

Vict. *Comm. Apoc.* . . Victorinus' *Commentary on the Apocalypse* [± 290 A.D.]. The chapter, section (and page) in Haussleiter (q.v.) are given.

Weinel *SUS* . . . . *Die Stellung des Urchristentums zum Staat*, by H. Weinel. Tübingen (Mohr) 1908.

Weinel *Th.* . . . . *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments. Die Religion Jesu und des Urchristentums*, by H. Weinel. Tübingen (Mohr) 1921 (3rd edn.).

Wendt . . . . . *The Teaching of Jesus*, by H. H. Wendt. 2 vols. Edinburgh (Clark, 1892) 1898, 1896. ET from the German of 1890.

Westcott *TE(J)* . . . *The Epistles of St. John*, by B. F. Westcott, containing (247–282) an essay on *The Two Empires: The Church and the World*. London (Macmillan, 1883) 1902.

Westcott *TE* . . . . *The Two Empires: The Church and the World*, by the late B. F. Westcott. London (Macmillan) 1909. This is a volume of lectures on Church History, edited by the Author's son, and rather unfortunately given the same title as the quite distinct essay in the Commentary on the Johannine Epistles. The eighth lecture (170–181) is by the editor.

Westermarck . . . . *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, by E. Westermarck. 2 vols. London (Macmillan) 1906, 1908.

Windelband . . . . *A History of Philosophy*, by W. Windelband. New York (Macmillan) 1907. ET from the German

Workman . . . . . *Persecution in the Early Church: a chapter in the history of renunciation*, by Herbert B. Workman. London (Kelly) 1906.

Ziegler . . . . . *Geschichte der christlichen Ethik*, being the 2nd part of *Geschichte der Ethik*, by Theobald Ziegler. Strassburg (Trübner) 1886.

Zscharnack . . . . *Der Dienst der Frau in den ersten Jahrhunderten der christlichen Kirche*, by L. Zscharnack. Göttingen (Vanderhoeck und Ruprecht) 1902

## OTHER ABBREVIATIONS, ETC. USED

Generally speaking, Roman and Arabic numerals stand respectively for book and section in an ancient work, and for vol. (or—when bracketed—chapter) and page in a modern work.

Large and small Roman numerals are used when further subdivisions have to be indicated.

esp. = especially.

f, (ff) = 'and the following verse (verses)' or 'chapter(s),' etc.

‖, ‖s = 'the parallel passage(s) in the other Gospel(s).'

Cross-References.—The use of the initials 'p.' (page), 'pp.' (pages), is, for the sake of convenience, confined to cross-references to other parts of *this* work, the pages of other books referred to being indicated simply by numbers.

A reference to a footnote of this work includes a reference also to the portion of text to which that footnote is attached.

A reference to a footnote in this work, indicated simply by the letter 'n' with no number following, refers to the latter portion of the footnote continued from the page preceding the page indicated.

# CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF ROMAN EMPERORS

| | |
|---|---|
| Augustus | B.C. 27–A.D. 14 |
| | A.D. |
| Tiberius | 14–37 |
| Gaius (Caligula) | 37–41 |
| Claudius | 41–54 |
| Nero | 54–68 |
| Galba | 68–69 |
| Otho | 69 |
| Vitellius | 69 |
| Vespasianus | 69–79 |
| Titus | 79–81 |
| Domitianus | 81–96 |
| Nerva | 96–98 |
| Trajanus | 98–117 |
| Hadrianus | 117–138 |
| Antoninus Pius | 138–161 |
| Marcus Aurelius | 161–180 |
| Commodus | 180–192 |
| Pertinax, etc. | 193 |
| Septimius Severus | 193–211 |
| Caracalla and Geta | 211–212 |
| Caracalla alone | 212–217 |
| Macrinus | 217–218 |
| Elagabalus | 218–222 |
| Alexander Severus | 222–235 |
| Maximinus Thrax | 235–238 |
| Gordianus I., II., etc. | 238 |
| Gordianus III. | 238–244 |
| Philippus Arabs | 244–249 |
| Decius | 249–251 |
| Gallus and Volusianus | 251–253 |
| Æmilianus | 253 |
| | A.D. |
| Valerianus | 253–260 |
| Gallienus | 260–268 |
| Claudius II., etc. | 268–270 |
| Aurelianus | 270–275 |
| Tacitus, etc. | 275–276 |
| Probus, etc. etc. | 276–284 |
| Diocletianus | 284–305 |
| Maximianus | 286–305 |
| Galerius and Constantius Chlorus made Cæsares | 293 |
| Galerius and Constantius succeed as Augusti: Maximinus Daia and Severus become Cæsares | 305 |
| Constantius dies: Constantinus becomes Cæsar in West: Maxentius supplants Severus in Italy | 306 |
| Licinius made Cæsar, and later Augustus by Galerius | 307 |
| Constantinus assumes title of Augustus | 307 |
| Maximinus Daia becomes Augustus (?) | 309 |
| Death of Galerius | 311 |
| Maxentius defeated by Constantinus at Milvian Bridge and slain | 312 |
| Edict of Mediolanum issued by Constantinus and Licinius | Jan. 313 |
| Maximinus Daia, defeated by Licinius, kills himself | 313 |
| Constantinus sole emperor after defeat and death of Licinius | 323–337 |

# THE EARLY CHURCH AND THE WORLD

## PART I.—JESUS

### LITERARY INTRODUCTION

PECULIAR difficulties beset the path of him who attempts in these days to put forward anything constructive or positive in regard to the historical Jesus. The scantiness and peculiar character of the records of his life and teaching, the endless diversity of opinion as to the tests for arriving at his ipsissima verba, as to the interpretation of them when found, and in particular as to the nature of his views concerning the Last Things, and the enormous output of scholarly work in recent years on all these questions—are factors that might seem to put the hope of a reasonable certainty as to the words and thoughts of the Founder of Christianity well-nigh out of reach. At the same time, the determination of those words and thoughts is a matter of the first importance for the history of the Church during the early centuries of our era, as well as for the duty of the Christian disciple of to-day. The reader will naturally look elsewhere for the discussion and treatment of these literary and historical difficulties. For the purpose of the investigation before us, however, some provisional answer at least must be given to the great questions that criticism has raised about Jesus, though of course many of the more ultimate details of the problem will have little or no bearing on our results.

In writing the following pages, then, I have been content to take the Synoptic records as giving us in the main a faithful account of what Jesus said and did, trying to make some allowance for the special features stamped upon the Gospels by the minds that contributed to their composition, and for the impossibility of two conflicting versions of the same saying being both equally accurate. I am painfully aware that these simple canons are very imperfect

instruments for arriving at exact results; but whatever the uncertainties of criticism may be, the assumption that the Synoptics are, in their main features at least, historically reliable is one that would command the assent of a very large majority in the critical world. If the main features, then, be authentic history, the presumption that the details are equally so may perhaps be allowed to hold good, except where strong special reasons can be given to the contrary. While, therefore, we may be found quoting as coming from the lips of Jesus a good many sayings the historicity of which could not be demonstrated in detail, there is no serious danger that the resultant picture will be incorrect in any of its essentials owing to a faulty estimate of the value of our sources.

With the exception of one or two sayings of peculiar character and interest, I have not embodied in this part of the work the statements made about Jesus and the words ascribed to him in the Fourth Gospel. Whatever be the amount of historical truth contained in that work, it is generally allowed to comprise a far larger element of the author's or compiler's own thoughts than is the case with the earlier biographies. The contents of the Gospel are therefore reserved for the study of the period in which it was probably composed.

In regard to the thorny problem of Jesus' eschatological outlook, something will have to be said later in the course of our investigations. It will be sufficient here to remark that I have not felt either compelled or inclined to adopt what is usually understood by the thoroughgoing eschatological view. Without attempting to maintain that Jesus possessed a full and perfect knowledge of the facts of science or the future course of history, or denying that he was influenced to a considerable extent by the apocalyptic ideas of his time and looked forward to some sort of catastrophic intervention of God in human affairs in connection with the coming of His Kingdom—I yet regard it as certain that he had a far profounder insight into the truth of things than had his disciples and reporters, by whom he was frequently misunderstood and misrepresented, that his eschatological anticipations, whatever they were, were no fixed obsession, but at most a subordinate feature of his main gospel, and that in any case his ethical principles can safely be regarded as independent of his forecast of the history of the immediate future. It would be impossible to include within the scope of this inquiry a fully reasoned justification for these statements; they are meant merely to indicate briefly in advance the position from which it is suggested that the subject before us

should be approached. Occasion will arise later on for dealing somewhat more fully with certain aspects of the question.

Another difficulty arises in connection with the question as to how far it is legitimate to systematize on the plan here adopted—or indeed on any plan—the spontaneous and occasional utterances of Jesus.[1] For to impose a modern schematism of our own upon statements originally made by some teacher of the past in a totally different sequence and combination, always involves the risk of representing his meaning as being something other than it really was ; and in no case is this danger greater than in that of Jesus. It is fatally easy to read into his sayings more or other things than he meant to put into them. The position is complicated by the obvious fact that, while a statement always implies more than it actually expresses, we can rarely or never be sure that our own idea of what it implies coincides with the real meaning of the speaker. Serious, however, as the risk is, we have no option but to accept it, unless we are willing to give up altogether the attempt to understand the teacher in question. All we can do is to treat our sources with care and faithfulness, and to hold our judgment in reserve whenever the evidence is fragmentary or problematic. But we shall need to remember that, in endeavouring to arrive at general formulations on the basis of isolated and occasional statements, our constructions, even when they seem to be clear and legitimate inferences from what Jesus said, may be taking us beyond the limits of what was explicit, or consciously implicit, in his own mind.

# CHAPTER I

## MANKIND AND THE KINGDOM OF GOD

The Interest of Jesus in the Life of Mankind on Earth.—Whatever view may be taken of the relative predominance of spiritual, as compared with material, interests in Jesus' idea of the Kingdom of God,[2] or of the mode by which he expected the Kingdom to be established, there can be little doubt that he concerned himself very deeply with the conditions and methods of human life on this earth. It is true that he did not centre his

[1] Wendt i. 106ff ; Holtzm. *Th.* i. 176–178 ; eissmann *LVO* 326.
[2] Wendt i. 212–218, 225–234, 240–242.

attention upon mere externals, or raise an agitation for this or that concrete social reform: nor does he seem to have had any 'programme' in the modern reformer's sense of the term. He was primarily concerned with the spiritual condition of individual men and women.[1] At the same time, inasmuch as his gospel affected the convert's life in all its relationships, and the scope of his appeal was, as we shall see presently, universal, his view of the Kingdom necessarily involved the social regeneration of mankind.[2] He taught his disciples to pray that God's will might be done (a condition of things evidently equivalent to the coming of the Kingdom) on earth.[3] He looked forward to the time when the gentle would "inherit the earth."[4] The great bulk of his teaching was concerned with the duties of this life. "The Kingdom of God, the reign of the Divine Will in and through men on earth, is a conception fundamentally social, and casts light upon the principles underlying every social institution."[5] We can therefore be sure that in studying his teaching in its reference to, and bearing upon, human society at large, that is to say, upon 'the world'—the mass of mankind that lay beyond the limits of his own group of disciples—we shall not be straying away from what was for him a central line of interest, or busying ourselves with topics that he would have regarded as in any way irrelevant to his life-mission.

Jesus views Mankind as defiled by Sin.—Human nature in its actually existing form—whatever promise or potency of better things it might possess—was regarded by Jesus as being deeply tainted with evil. "That which comes out of the man, that defiles the man. For from within, out of the heart of men, issue

[1] Peabody (ii.) 33, 35a; Troeltsch 15, 33f, 48 ("So fehlt jedes Programm einer sozialen Erneuerung," etc.).

[2] "Christ worked only in his own sphere, the sphere of men's hearts; although, indeed, by operating upon the heart, he meant to operate upon everything else; for all human relations grow out of it" (Neander, *Life of Jesus Christ* [ET], 344). Similarly Sidgwick, quoted in *Lux Mundi*, 355, and F. D. Maurice, *Theological Essays*, 265.

[3] Mt vi. 10. [4] Mt v. 5.

[5] Bartlet *P* 94; cf. 93. On the Kingdom of God as a social ideal, and the significance of Jesus' teaching and of the Christian Gospel generally for the social life of men on this earth, see Seeley (xvii.) 219, (xviii.) 230, 232f, 239f, (xix.) 270; Westcott *TE(J)* 250f; Wendt i. 369–377, 399f; Fremantle 108, 113; Mathews 3f, 8, 32–38, 40, 42, 54, 58f, 70, 72; Peabody (ii.) 37b, 42a ("Nothing could be more contrary to the teaching of Jesus than the vulgar notion that he diverts attention from this world and fixes it on another. His ministry is for this life, quite as much as for any world"); Strong passim, esp. 72; Harnack *SG* 9–33; Weinel *SUS* 8; Troeltsch 34f, 48; B. H. Streeter, in *The Spirit* (1919), 355 n ("I hold that, to our Lord, the idea of the Kingdom of Heaven included the corporate regeneration of society on earth as well as a life in the world to come. The evidence is, to my mind, conclusive against the view of some recent scholars that it included the latter only").

the evil designs—fornications, thefts, murders, adulteries, lusts, wickednesses, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, railing, arrogance, folly: all these wicked things issue from within, and defile the man."[1] Even the dutiful parent, who knows how to give good gifts to his children, is "evil";[2] even the disciples of Jesus are taught to pray daily for the forgiveness of their sins.[3] It is inevitable that "hindrances" should come.[4] The generation in which Jesus lived he characterized as evil, sinful, and adulterous.[5] Many there are who go through the gate and down the road that leads to perdition.[6]

Jesus has Compassion on the Sufferings of Mankind.—In close connection with the general sinfulness lay the general suffering of mankind. Satan and the evil spirits were interested in promoting both.[7] The paralytic who was brought to Jesus for healing was told, "Thy sins are forgiven thee."[8] That Jesus was profoundly concerned over the suffering due to illness and disease, and linked it closely with evil of a moral kind, is shown by the twofold form of his early ministry: it was on the one hand a demand for repentance and righteousness, and on the other hand a campaign of healing and exorcism. Nor was he untouched by human suffering and need in the wider sense. According to Luke, he declared that God had sent him "to proclaim release to captives and restoration of sight to the blind, to set the oppressed at liberty."[9] He invited all who were toiling and burdened to come to him for the refreshment of their souls.[10] When he saw the crowds around him, "he was moved with pity for them, because they were worried and bewildered, like sheep having no shepherd."[11] He urged his disciples to pray that God would send out more labourers into His harvest-field.[12] He regretted the obtuseness which prevented men from turning to him for healing.[13] He often longed to gather the children of Jerusalem together, as a hen gathers her chicks under

[1] Mc vii. 20–23 = Mt xv. 18–20. [2] Mt vii. 11‖.

[3] Mt vi. 12 = Lc xi. 4: the preceding petition for food marks the prayer as a daily one. In view of the passages quoted, it is misleading to say that "Jesus is silent as regards universal sinfulness" (Mathews 35). Cf. Stevens 100–102; Bruce *KG* 133ff.

[4] Mt xviii. 7; Lc xvii. 1.

[5] Mc viii. 38; Mt xii. 39; Lc xi. 29. Much has of course been written on the moral condition of the world at this time. See, for example, Schmidt 3–133; Lecky i. 161–318; Uhlhorn *C* 13–149; Farrar *EDC* 1–10; Bigg *CE* 90–121; Gwatkin *ECH* i. 13–50. For the attitude of Jesus to the world in general, see Mathews 59–62 and Holtzm. *Th.* i. 274–283.

[6] Mt vii. 13.

[7] Mc i. 32, vi. 13; Mt ix. 32f; Lc xiii. 16: Wendt i. 163–168.

[8] Mc ii. 5‖s. [9] Lc iv. 18f. [10] Mt xi. 28f.

[11] Mt ix. 36; Mc vi. 34. [12] Mt ix. 37f‖. [13] Mt xiii. 15.

her wings.[1] He had come to seek and to save that which was lost,[2] to call and to cure sinners.[3]

The Kingdom of God as the Remedy for Human Ills.—The hope of *the Kingdom of God* was, as is well known, a conception which in Jesus' time had long been familiar to the Jewish mind.[4] Jesus himself had been born and bred in the atmosphere of Jewish piety, and he adopted the same conception as the starting-point of his own gospel.[5] It is therefore probable a priori that he appropriated and wove into his own presentation of the truth many of the elements that went to make up the average Jewish idea of the Kingdom. His own ideal and that of his fellow-countrymen must have had more in common than the mere name. At the same time it is well to remind ourselves at the outset that it is also probable a priori that, in adopting the language and ideas of his day, he modified their meaning very profoundly. We get an initial confirmation of this suggestion in the emphasis he lays on the *newness* of his Gospel. It is related to Judaism and its usages as new wine is to old leathern bottles, as a piece of unshrunk cloth is to an old garment.[6] In place of what was "said to them of old," he substituted his own authoritative "but I say unto you."[7]

When we come to examine the ideas of Jesus in greater detail, we find in his conception of the Kingdom at least one important feature which was but imperfectly represented, though not entirely lacking, in the current notions of the time—viz. *its world-wide and universal scope.* Contemporary Jewish piety, as we see it at its best in the Protevangelion of Luke, was apt to be narrowly particularistic, and to confine the blessings of the Kingdom to the people of Israel.[8] It was naturally expected of Jesus that he would undertake to realize the national hopes as they were usually understood. Even his disciples hoped that he would "redeem Israel" and "restore the Kingdom to Israel."[9] Men hailed him as "Son of David."[10] On his entry into Jerusalem, the crowds cheered him as one who was coming in the name of the Lord

[1] Mt xxiii. 37||. [2] Lc xix. 10.

[3] Mc ii. 17||s. Cf. Schmidt 139; Seeley (xix.) 270 ("He announces a great mundane project of regeneration. He will not consent to lose those who have apostatised from virtue").

[4] On the Jewish idea of the Kingdom, see Holtzm. *Th.* i. 85–110; Dalman, *Words of Jesus* (ET), 91–147.

[5] On the Kingdom as "Ausgangspunkt" and "Zentralbegriff" of Jesus' teaching, see Holtzm. *Th.* i. 182 and n 1.

[6] Mc ii. 21f||s. [7] Mt v. 21f, 27f, 31f, 33f, 38f, 43f.

[8] Lc i. 32f, 54f, 68–79, ii. 11, 25, 38. [9] Lc xxiv. 21; Ac i. 6.

[10] Mt ix. 27, xii. 23, xv. 22, xxi. 9, 15; Mc x. 47f||s.

to revive the glories of the Davidic kingdom.[1] The inscription fastened to his cross ran : " This is Jesus, the King of the Jews." [2] Nor were these expectations altogether without foundation in the attitude and words of Jesus himself. It seems clear that he recognized in some very real sense the special privileges, claims, and functions of Israel. It is possible that, at the commencement of his ministry, he cherished the hope that the Jewish nation as a whole would accept his message,[3] and thus become, not indeed the sole possessors of the Kingdom, but its first members, upon whom would then devolve the task and the privilege of extending it to the gentiles, as Deutero-Isaiah had suggested. A good deal of his language implies a special concentration of his efforts and interests upon his fellow-countrymen. " Do not depart into the way of the gentiles," he says to the Twelve on sending them out on their first mission-journey, " and do not enter into (any) city of the Samaritans : but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." [4] He tells the Phœnician woman : " I was not sent to any but the lost sheep of the house of Israel. . . . It is not right to take the children's bread, and throw (it) to the dogs." [5] He regards the fact of descent from Abraham as one of prime significance in the case of the woman whom he cured of deformity, and in the case of Zacchaeus to whose house he brought salvation.[6] He is said to have told his disciples that they should sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.[7]

But even Judaism contained within itself the germs of universalism. The very idea of the one God of all the earth, not to mention a number of other passages in the Old Testament,[8] involved the ultimate inclusion of the gentiles in the Divine blessings. While this wider view was not entirely forgotten in the time of Jesus,[9] it was largely swallowed up in the fierce patriotism that had been produced by a long series of national struggles and calamities. " Thus the Jew renounced his duty to the world just when his training for it was completed." [10] Jesus, however, seems to have

[1] Mc xi. 9f||s.

[2] Mt xxvii. 37||s.

[3] Note the apparent absence from many of his earlier sayings of any distinction between ' fellow-Jew ' and ' fellow-disciple,' e.g. Mt v. 22, 24, 47. See also below, pp. 26 n 1, 29f.

[4] Mt x. 5f.

[5] Mt xv. 24, 26 ; Mc vii. 27.

[6] Lc xiii. 16, xix. 9.

[7] Mt xix. 28||.

[8] Isa xlii. 1–7, xlix. 6, lvi. 7 ; Hab. ii. 14 : cf. Montefiore *RH* 146–149, 273f, 371ff, 437, *SG* i. lxxxi, and A. Causse, *Israël et la Vision de l'Humanite*, Strasbourg and Paris, 1924.

[9] Lc ii. 30–32.

[10] Gwatkin *ECH* i. 18. The heathen nations figured in the Jewish eschatological programme, but principally as the objects of a Divine world-judgment (Holtzm. *Th.* i. 96 ; Harnack *ME* i. 17).

been conscious from the first—and never to have lost sight—of the universal scope of the Kingdom, which he made it his life's duty to establish and proclaim. He told his first disciples that they were to become fishers of *men*,[1] that they were the salt of the *earth* and the light of the *world*, and were to pray that God's will might be done on *earth*.[2] He found in a gentile centurion greater faith than he had found anywhere in Israel; and he is recorded to have declared: "Many will come from east and west, and will recline with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the Kingdom of Heaven; but the sons of the Kingdom will be cast into the outer darkness."[3] In the parable of the Leaven, the leaven pervades the whole lump.[4] In the parable of the Tares, "the field is the world."[5] When he spoke in the synagogue at Nazareth, he provoked his audience by reminding them how Elijah had been sent to none of the widows of Israel in the time of famine, but only to the gentile woman of Sareptah, and how Elisha had cured none of the Hebrew lepers, but only the gentile Naaman.[6] He chose one of the hated Samaritan race—in striking contrast to the Jewish priest and Levite—to serve as a type of neighbourly love and compassion, such as the Jewish Law itself enjoined. He was struck by the fact that, out of ten lepers whom he cured, only one returned to give glory to God, and he was a Samaritan.[7] He taught that, according to Scripture, the Temple was intended to be a house of prayer for all the nations.[8] In the one corner of the Roman Empire where the ideal of a distinctly national state survived and flourished, he coldly bade his fellow-countrymen pay tribute to the foreigner.[9] Whatever was his precise meaning when he said to the Jewish leaders: "The Kingdom of God will be taken away from you and given to a nation producing the fruits thereof," his words clearly implied the forfeiture, in some sense, of Jewish privileges, and their transfer to others to whom they had not originally been promised.[10] In his parabolic description of the Last Judgment, the gentiles are summoned to inherit the Kingdom prepared for them from

[1] Mc i. 17||s.
[2] Mt v. 13f, vi. 10.
[3] Mt viii. 10–12||s.
[4] Mt xiii. 33||.
[5] Mt xiii. 38.
[6] Lc iv. 24–27.
[7] Lc x. 27–37, xvii. 12–19.
[8] Mc xi. 17: the parallels omit *πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*.
[9] Troeltsch 45 bottom. Weinel, however (*SUS* 6f), describes Jesus as intensely patriotic, as sharing the hopes of his compatriots for the downfall of the Roman overlordship, and differing from them only as to the means to be used to compass this end. See below, pp. 35, 39, 43f.
[10] Mt xxi. 43. In the preceding parable of the Wicked Husbandmen, the vineyard was to be given "to others" (Mt xxi. 41||s).

the foundation of the world.[1] In the last few days of his life he spoke on two occasions of the gospel of the Kingdom being preached to all nations throughout the world.[2] It is true that he was conscious of having a special mission to the Jews, and that on the whole he confined his personal ministrations to them ; and the adoption of this policy might well occasion perplexity when circumstances brought him immediately face to face with an urgent call for help on the part of a gentile. This apparently was what happened when he was asked by the Phœnician woman to cure her daughter, and it accounts for the hesitation he felt in complying with her request. But the fact that he did after all comply with it leaves us in no doubt as to the real attitude of his mind. Without making use, therefore, of the post-resurrection commandment of a world-wide mission [3]—a commandment the historicity of which is open to some question—we may safely infer from the passages already quoted that the universal scope of the Kingdom of God as Jesus conceived it was something more than a mere unconscious implication of the deep principles of his teaching, and that, despite the limitations imposed by circumstances upon his own personal activity, he anticipated practically from the first the entrance of men of every race into the Kingdom of God.[4]

While the province of the Kingdom of God therefore is as wide as humanity itself, the secret of its growth lies in the appeal it makes to *the individual.* There are certainly traces in the teaching of Jesus of a recognition of the corporate responsibilities of communities ; [5] but however these are to be explained, there can be no doubt that Jesus recognized the strategic centre of his campaign to lie in the soul of the individual man. He placed an immense value on the individual life ; and, though he often in his earlier ministry addressed himself to large crowds, his ethical teaching nearly always concerned itself with the duty of the single disciple. The Kingdom is world-wide in its aim ; but it becomes world-wide

[1] Mt xxv. 31–34.
[2] Mc xiii. 10, xiv. 9‖s (cf. Mt x. 18).
[3] Mc xvi. 15 ; Mt xxviii. 19 ; Lc xxiv. 47.
[4] On the particularism and universalism of Jesus, cf. Seeley (vi.) 64, 77, (xii.) 146f ; Fremantle 96–98, 101 ; Wendt ii. 197–201, 346–351 ; Bruce *KG* 54–58 ; Mathews 199–201, 206 ; Holtzm. *Th.* i. 274–283 ; Stevens 36f ; Carlyle 83–85 ; Troeltsch 41. Harnack (*ME* i. 36–43) argues that Jesus neither commanded nor contemplated any universal mission embracing the gentiles ; he grants, however, that there was a certain universalism implicit in his teaching. His results are arrived at by means of a somewhat free handling, including some excisions, of the sayings attributed to Jesus in the Synoptic records. For a criticism of Harnack's position, see Hobhouse 348–350.
[5] Mc iii. 24f ; Mt xi. 21–24, xii. 41f, xxiii. 36–39‖s ; Lc xix. 41–44.

in fact also, only through the entrance of one individual after another into it.[1]

Furthermore, the Kingdom, as Jesus proclaimed it, was definitely *ethical* in its character and demands, and in the treatment it applied to the problem of humanity. In a certain sense this was true also of the Kingdom of God as usually understood by the Jews. Righteousness was a regular feature of the Messianic age so eagerly expected.[2] Only it has to be said that the content Jesus gave to the term was something very different from that given to it by the pious Pharisee with his burning patriotism and his devotion to the letter of the Law.[3] Jesus put the demand for 'repentance' in the forefront of his preaching. "Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand."[4] And repentance and the forgiveness of sins involved an earnest effort to abstain from sin in the future; that is, it involved a thorough ethical change in the life of the penitent.[5] What the righteousness of the Kingdom meant in actual practice Jesus undertook to explain in principle, and to a certain extent in detail also, in his own ethical teaching. "Why call ye me, Lord, Lord," he asked, "and do not the things which I say?" "Every one then who hears these words of mine and does them, will be compared to a sensible man, who built his house upon the rock," etc.[6] The post-resurrection saying, in which Jesus bids his disciples teach the gentiles "to observe every single thing that I have commanded you,"[7] may or may not have been actually spoken by Jesus himself; but at any rate it indicates in a marked way the

[1] On the individualism of Jesus, Mt x. 29–31, xii. 12, xvi. 24–26, xviii. 10–14||s. Cf. Schmidt 151f; Lecky ii. 147; Brace 43f; B.-Baker *ICW* 8–10 ("Christianise the individual, and society will christianise itself"); Mathews 210–212; Peabody (ii.) 36b, 37a ("He was not primarily the deviser of a social system, but the quickener of single lives"), 40f; Holtzm. *Th.* i. 229–231; Troeltsch 39–41. This concentration of effort on the individual involves nothing inconsistent with the idea of the Kingdom of God as a social ideal, or with the duties of social righteousness: the one is the means to the other (see Bruce *KG* 132f; Holtzm. *Th.* i. 229 n 2, 234 n 2; Bartlet *P* 93).

[2] E.g. *Book of Enoch* 48f; Holtzm. *Th.* i. 170; Montefiore *SG* i. xcvii; Lc i. 74–77: note the strongly ethical tone of the Baptist's preaching, Mc i. 4; Mt iii. 2, 8, 11; Lc iii. 3, 8, 10–14 (cf. Mc vi. 17f||s).

[3] Holtzm. *Th.* i. 92.

[4] Mt iv. 17; Mc i. 15; Lc v. 32 (xxiv. 47).

[5] Peabody (ii.) 45a ("The fact that he approaches, first of all, the individual indicates how large a part of social ills proceeds, in his opinion, not from social maladjustments, but from the fault of human beings themselves, in their own interior, misdirected and redeemable lives"); Seeley (ix.) 103 ("The object of the Divine Society is that God's will may be done on earth as it is done in heaven. In the language of our own day, its object was the improvement of morality").

[6] Lc vi. 46; Mt vii. 24–27||.

[7] Mt xxviii. 20.

deep impression which his insistence on obedience to his own teaching had made upon his early followers.

In speaking of the ethics of Jesus, we touch upon one of the acutest problems connected with his teaching, the problem, viz., as to how far his ethical teaching was determined by the expectation of the imminent break-up of the whole existing order of things, the catastrophic intervention of God, and His establishment of the Kingdom. How far, in other words, was it an '*interim-ethic*'? We cannot here attempt to follow the problem in all its ramifications; but on the other hand, it is one that cannot be entirely ignored. It involves obviously some consideration of the question how far the idea of an imminent catastrophe is a complete or satisfactory description of Jesus' own forecast of the future. On this point the evidence is unfortunately conflicting. There are undoubtedly many sayings ascribed to Jesus in the Gospels, which speak of a catastrophic coming of the Son of Man, or of the Kingdom, as about to occur within the near future, before the generation of his contemporaries had died out. There are other sayings reported which, while they do not actually contradict this idea, seem to ignore it, and to represent the Kingdom as a present reality, and as destined to go through a lengthy period of development. Whether both these strands of teaching are equally original, or whether one or other of them has been wholly or partly superimposed on the record of Jesus' words by the mind of the Church—are questions to which perhaps no final answer can be given. We are not, however, bound to assume that the apocalyptic passages give us the one and all-sufficient key to the teaching of Jesus as a whole. The passages in which the apocalyptic outlook is ignored have, a priori, at least as much claim to be considered genuine and central as those in which that outlook is prominent. On the thoroughgoing eschatological view, "in disposing of one difficulty of interpretation another difficulty is introduced."[1] If we may infer anything from the course of Christian thought, which tended to overlook even such traces of a present Kingdom as the Gospels undoubtedly contain, and to identify the Kingdom more and more with the future life, it would seem that the non-apocalyptic sayings have a better claim than the others to be regarded as representing the real meaning of Jesus.[2] The obsession of the Jewish mind with

[1] Peabody (ii.) 39a: cf. Liberty 82–87.

[2] See this point illustrated from an examination of the various gospel-documents by Canon Streeter in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, 424–436. Cf. Holtzm. *Th.* i. 417 and O. Holtzmann, *Life of Jesus* (ET), 141f, 160 n.

apocalyptic hopes, the frequently mentioned failure of the disciples to understand their Master's meaning, and the general fact of his spirituality and insight being far greater than theirs, lend weight to this view. Jesus doubtless enunciated certain great and abiding laws of reward and punishment governing the lives of men: he was doubtless confident that beyond his own death lay the triumph of his Cause: he foresaw and foretold how these laws would work out in the lives of men: he may even have closely connected the approaching downfall of the Jewish nation, which was repudiating him, with his own triumph, and have conceived the latter in a highly pictorial form. But can we be sure that this last combination of ideas constantly dominated his outlook on the world and his thoughts touching the advent of the Kingdom? The broad features of the Kingdom and the laws governing its growth seem to be very largely independent of its catastrophic coming.[1]

The view taken of the place and meaning of Jesus' eschatological beliefs will naturally affect the view taken of his ethics. When it is said that the ethical teaching of Jesus is an interim-ethic, what is meant is that it was framed wholly or mainly with an eye to the approaching break-up of the existing world-order within the lifetime of that generation—the implication being that, had Jesus foreseen the long course of human history that has actually elapsed since his own day, his ethical teaching (more particularly on the subjects of property, non-resistance, social and political duties, and so on) would have been very different from what it actually was. The problem, as distinct from the larger question of his general eschatological outlook, is one that is important for the ethics of the modern Christian rather than for the history of Jesus. That he did not foresee in clear detail the indefinite prolongation of human history, that many of his recorded precepts were given to meet particular situations that faced him and were never intended to be general principles of conduct, that some of them were spoken by him with the thought of an approaching cataclysm

[1] The following passages (in varying degrees of clearness) imply a *present* Kingdom: Mt v. 3, 10, xi. 11 (cf. xviii. 4), xi. 12 (=Lc xvi. 16), xii. 28‖, xiii. 24ff, 38ff, 31–33, xxi. 31, xxiii. 13; Mc x. 14‖s; Lc xvii. 21 — more doubtfully Mc i. 15‖s, xii. 34; Mt vi. 33, vii. 13f, x. 7; Lc x. 17–20 (*Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, 433), xii. 32. On the Kingdom as present and future and on the eschatological standpoint, cf. Bruce *KG* 273–292 (who argues that Jesus anticipated a lengthened period of development for the Kingdom on earth); Wendt i. 369–377, 399f; Beyschlag i. 49–54; Mathews 49–53, 73–76 ("In a word, Jesus concentrates his attention upon the period of development"); Holtzm. *Th.* i. 284ff; Peabody (ii.) 37–40; Manson, *Christ's View of the Kingdom of God*, 83–101; Headlam, *The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion*, 21f; Cadoux *GJT* 37f.

in his mind—all this is not to be denied. But to argue that his more general principles of love, gentleness, peace, generosity, and freedom from anxious absorption in the material interests of life, were so dependent upon the limitations of his historical outlook that they lose their validity for practical conduct as soon as those limitations are transcended, and must not be allowed to interfere with the supposed necessities of modern economic and political life, is virtually to deny that there can be any such thing as a modern Christian ethic founded on the teaching of Jesus: and if these general principles do *not* lose their validity with the enlargement of the historical horizon, then there is no point in using the term 'interim-ethic.' It has been said with regard to the teaching of Jesus about property, that "the historical and temporal perspective of Christ's message of 'the Kingdom' as 'at hand,' is immaterial, save in so far as it helps to explain why the Gospel at first had nothing to say directly as to social reform. The social principles involved are intrinsic to the relations of men to God and to each other, whatever be the scale of time or space to which they may be applied." [1] If this be true of the social and economic teaching of Jesus, it is equally true of his ethical teaching in general. "There is no reason for thinking that . . . His ethics were determined by the thought of the approaching end; for where He gives the ground of His command, as in the case of loving enemies, forgiveness, and seeking the lost, it is the nature of God that He dwells upon, and not anything expected in the near or distant future." [2]

[1] Bartlet *P* 94 n.

[2] J. A. Halliday and others, *The Witness of the Individual Christian in Relation to the Church, the Nation, and International Life* (a pamphlet printed for private circulation, 1917), 9.

Herrmann handles the subject in *SG* 176–185, 202–225. On the ground of the supposed discovery that Jesus looked upon human society as near its end, he cheerfully emancipates the modern Christian from the duty of "absolutely obeying in our rule of life to-day, the traditional words of Jesus." "Now, historical research . . . prevents us from following Jesus in the same way that those who aim at perfection in the Church of Rome try to do. The result is a great gain, for such supposed imitation of Jesus *must eventually produce insincerity*. Where it prevails, we find manly energy expended in restricting men to a childish existence. . . . Endeavours to imitate Jesus in points inseparable from His especial mission in the world, and His position—which is not ours,—towards that world—efforts like these *lacking the sincerity* of really necessary tasks, have so long injured the cause of Jesus, that our joy will be unalloyed when scientific study at last reveals to every one the impossibility of all such attempts. . . . As a result of that frame of mind whereby we are united with Him, we desire the existence of a national State, with a character and with duties with which Jesus was not yet acquainted; we will not let ourselves be led astray, even if in this form of human nature various features are as sharply opposed to the mode of life and standpoint of

The Establishment and Advancement of the Kingdom.—First and foremost among the practical measures contemplated by Jesus for the establishment and advancement of the Kingdom, we must consider *his own personal position and functions as Messiah.* However cautious he may have been in avoiding even the semblance of political ambition, and however guarded the way in which he expressed his belief in his own Messiahship, the fact of that belief cannot now be questioned.[1] Now Messiahship on any view involved exalted personal rank and far-reaching authority, and these Jesus did not hesitate to claim from the first—even before his Messiahship was openly professed. He acted and spoke as one commissioned by God and invested with full powers.[2] He taught with authority.[3] He called upon men to follow him at a moment's notice.[4] He was the one and only Master,[5] lord of the Sabbath,[6] greater than Solomon or Jonah or the Temple.[7] He approved warmly of the centurion's unquestioning faith in his miraculous healing powers.[8] To receive him or to reject him would be equivalent to receiving or rejecting God.[9] Upon a man's obedience or disobedience to his words would depend his safety or his ruin in the coming time of danger.[10]

As Jesus had received from God the authority needful for his work, so *he conferred upon his followers the authority required* for its continuance and extension. During his lifetime, this

Jesus as is *the dauntless use of arms*" (180–182, 217 f.: italics mine). The charge of insincerity is repeated on 205, 208, 210. Herrmann will not allow the command to love our enemies to be ruled out on eschatological grounds; but he gives no clear reason for making this exception. See further Lake, *Stewardship of Faith*, 30–36, 71; Manson, *op. cit.*, 102–121; and Cadoux in *Expositor*, Feb. 1920, 96–110.

[1] Mc viii. 27–30, xiii. 6, 21f, xiv. 61f||s. Messiahship of course theoretically involved royalty; but, reserved as Jesus was on the former topic, he was still more reserved on the latter (Wendt ii. 184–188, 201–203; J. Weiss in *DCG* i. 931f: cf. Neumann *SK* 3: "Die Messianität, zu der er sich selbst bekannt hat, war nicht in seinem Geiste gedeutet, wenn sie den Vorwurf begründen konnte, er nehme das jüdische Königtum für sich in Anspruch"). The evidence may be briefly summarized. Jesus refers to himself as king in parabolic and eschatological passages (Mt xvi. 28, xxv. 31, 34, 40; Lc xix. 11–27, xxii. 29–30), admits his royalty in reply to Pilatus' question (Mc xv. 2||s), is greeted as a king by others (J xii. 13 = Lc xix. 38—cf. parallels; ? J i. 49; Lc xxiii. 42), refuses to be made a king by the Galilæans (J vi. 15), is accused at the end of his life of having called himself a king (Lc xxiii. 2; J xix. 21), and is taunted with the royal title during his last sufferings (Mc xv. 9, 12, 18, 26, 32||s). In the representation of Jesus' plans given by Seeley in *Ecce Homo* (ii.–iv.), his royal claims are represented as being far more prominent than the Gospel-records warrant.

[2] Mt xi. 27||; Lc iv. 18f. [3] Mc i. 22, 27; Mt vii. 29; Lc iv. 32, 36.
[4] Mc i. 17, 20, ii. 14, x. 21||s; Mt viii. 22||.
[5] Mt xxiii. 8, 10. [6] Mc ii. 28||s. [7] Mt xii. 6, 41–42||.
[8] Mt viii. 8–10||. [9] Mt x. 40; Lc x. 16. [10] Mt vii. 24–27||.

authority was given mainly in connection with the preaching and exorcising work of his apostles on their mission journeys.[1] They went forth as his representatives, and to receive or reject them would be equivalent to receiving or rejecting him.[2] What is of still greater importance for our present purpose is the constitution by Jesus of his followers into an organized society under apostolic leadership—*the Church*. There are only two passages in the Gospels where Jesus mentions the Church, and both of these occur in the Gospel of Matthew. It is perhaps only natural that their genuineness as sayings of Jesus should have been challenged, and their presence in the Gospel attributed to the pious imagination of his followers long after his own death. But the fewness, as well as the peculiar character, of these allusions to the Church, and the mention, in the latter, of "the gentile and the tax-collector," tell somewhat against the theory of their having been invented. They are hardly more improbable or extraordinary than some admittedly genuine sayings. It is indeed difficult to know how to relate them to those eschatological beliefs which many hold to have coloured in some way or other every one of his utterances. They seem to belong to a chain of thought largely independent of the apocalyptic element in Jesus' teaching, and thus, if genuine, would confirm the view that we have ventured to take up in regard to that element. They may be said to imply a lengthy sojourn of the disciples on this earth after the departure of Jesus.[3] The passages are too well known to need quoting in extenso,[4] and provoke questions of exegesis too intricate to be examined here. The important points for us to notice are that, if the passage be genuine, Jesus contemplates and provides for the unification of his followers in a powerful, permanent, and growing[5] society, separate from the outside world,[6] invincible in its

[1] Mc iii. 14f, vi. 7–13; Mt x. 1, 8, 11, 14; Lc ix. 1–6, x. 19f: cf. Wendt ii. 377–381.

[2] Mt. x. 40; Lc x. 16.

[3] Mt xvi. 18; cf. xviii. 20. Bruce (*KG* 274) says: "Why set about building an edifice on rock foundations, and with walls strong enough to defy time, if the end was to come before the work of construction had been well begun?"

[4] Mt xvi. 18f, xviii. 15–20.

[5] See below, p. 18, for references to the growth of the Kingdom. Jesus evinced a great desire for an increase in the number of his missionaries, Mt ix. 37f||.

[6] A powerful and original teacher cannot help attracting some, and repelling others. In proportion to his influence, men find neutrality towards him difficult: and further, their attitude to him unmistakably reveals their own character. This fact—as well as the use of the Greek word κρίσις to express both 'separation' and 'judgment'—justifies the views taken of the Messianic Judgment in the Fourth Gospel (J iii. 18–21; Scott 17f, 213–217: cf. Lc ii. 34f). How far this view of the judgment was that of Jesus himself it would be

conflict with evil,[1] pervaded by a spirit of brotherly concord, aided by his own spiritual presence, and apparently controlled by apostolic leaders invested with large, if obscurely indicated, powers.[2]

For the extension of the Kingdom Jesus relied upon the possibility of being able to persuade and convince men of the truth and importance of the Gospel concerning it. The work of persuasion had to be carried on by means both of words and of deeds. There was bound, therefore, to be much *publicity* in his life and teaching. He mixed freely with the common people that he might call sinners to repentance.[3] A good deal of his early teaching—as well as that of his disciples—was delivered in public.[4] His anticipations as to the preaching of the Gospel throughout the world[5] imply the sowing of the seed broadcast over the face of the earth (to borrow a figure from his own parables).[6] He often likened the teaching and the conduct of his followers to a light, whose office is, not to be concealed, but to be openly visible to all in its neighbourhood.[7] "Let your light shine before men in such a way that they may see your good works and glorify your

difficult to say; but it is at all events clear that he regarded the members of the Kingdom on earth as sharply distinct from the rest of mankind (Mt xii. 30‖; Lc ix. 50‖): cf. Seeley (i.) 8, (vi. 'Christ's Winnowing Fan') 66. Troeltsch somewhat misrepresents Jesus when he contrasts his antithesis between present and future with the Pauline antithesis between Church and World (93f: "War das allgemeine Leben für Jesus trotz aller Sünde noch voll von Spuren göttlicher Güte, konnte er in Kindern, Sündern, und Samaritern den naiven Naturlaut der Frömmigkeit anerkennen und *lag für ihn der Schnitt nicht zwischen Welt und Kirche*, sondern zwischen Gegenwart und Zukunft, so steht schon für Paulus das Reich Christi oder die Kirche im vollen Gegensatz zum Reiche des ersten Adams, des Fleisches, der Sünde, des Gesetzes und des bösen Geistes"—italics mine). This sharp distinction, however, is first and foremost a spiritual fact, not a prohibition of intercourse between members of the Kingdom and others. We may notice that the parables of the Tares and of the Fishes (Mt xiii. 24–30, 36–43, 47–50) imply that the distinction between good and bad—vital as it is—cannot under present conditions be visibly, materially, or locally realized.

[1] "'The gates of Hades shall not prevail against the Church' is a pictorial way of saying, 'The organised powers of evil shall not prevail against the organised society which represents My teaching'" (Allen 176).

[2] Seeley (ix.) 105f ("To organise a society, and to bind the members of it together by the closest ties, were the business of his life"); cf. 110: he tends to exaggerate the political aspects of the Church, see chs. xi., xii., xxiv.; cf. (xvii.) 214; Fremantle 98–101; Bruce *KG* 252–272; Wendt ii. 351–356; Beyschlag i. 160–183; Hort *CE* 8–21; Stevens 135–149; Harnack *KS* 131f; Hobhouse 15–24; Headlam, *The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion* (1920), 16–47 (an admirable and thorough study).

[3] Mc ii. 15–17‖s.

[4] Mc i. 14, 38f, ii. 13, vi. 6–13, etc. etc.

[5] References above, on p. 9 n 2.

[6] Mt xiii. 3ff‖s, 24ff, 36ff.

[7] Mc iv. 21f; Mt v. 14f, x. 26f; Lc viii. 16f, xi. 33, xii. 2f.

Father who is in heaven." [1] The popularity and esteem which Jesus won and the favourable impressions made by his character, teaching, and miracles,[2] were all parts of his propagandist work for the Kingdom. He thus appears to have countenanced, both by precept and example, a definite publicity of righteous conduct and the acquirement of a good reputation with men, for the purpose of prompting them to glorify God.[3] It is worth while to notice in passing what is implied in this desire to conciliate the favour of others: it implies that the righteousness of the Kingdom does not in its essence contradict the world's ideal of righteousness, but fulfils it. At the same time, inasmuch as the world is shortsighted, inconsistent, and untrue even to its own ideal, it is inevitable that cases must arise where popularity can be purchased only by the reverse of righteousness.[4] For this reason, if for no other, the attempt to acquire favour with men is one that must be kept strictly subordinate to higher laws. Of those who publicly perform acts of almsgiving, prayer, and fasting, with the primary object of being "seen by men," Jesus speaks in terms of scathing censure.[5] So strongly does he deprecate selfish ostentation, that his injunction that acts of righteousness should be performed in secret [6] seems almost to contradict his command to let one's light shine before men. But further than this—apart from the duty of avoiding ostentation—there is a place in Jesus' propagandist work for privacy and retirement, a method of *concealment*, if one may so say, parallel and complementary to the method of publicity. It appears in various forms: in his withdrawal in the face of danger [7] or marked disfavour [8] or even coldness,[9] in his injunction of secrecy on those whom he cured [10] and occasionally on the disciples,[11] in his concealment of his movements,[12]

[1] Mt v. 16. Jesus did not share the monastic exclusiveness of the Essenes, who, as Holtzmann (*Th.* i. 168) says, "ihr Licht unter den Scheffel des Klosterlebens stellten."

[2] Mc i. 22, ii. 12||s, vii. 37, xi. 18||, xii. 12||s, xiv. 1f||s; Mt vii. 28f; Lc ii. 52, iv. 15, 22, 32, vii. 16f, ix. 43: cf. the impressions made on Pilatus' wife, Mt xxvii. 19, and on the thief, the centurion, and the bystanders at the crucifixion, Lc xxiii. 40–43, 47, 48.

[3] In one of his table-sayings (Lc xiv. 7–11), he holds out to his hearers the esteem of others as a reward for their obedience to his teaching of humility.

[4] Hence the words "Woe (unto you), when all men speak well of you," Lc vi. 26, cf. 22f=Mt v. 10–12; Lc xvi. 15.

[5] Mt vi. 1–6, 16–18, xxiii. 5. [6] Mt vi. 1–6, 16–18.

[7] Mc iii. 6f||: cf. Mt x. 23. [8] Mc v. 15–18||s; Lc ix. 51–56.

[9] Mc vi. 5f||s. [10] Mc i. 44f||s, etc.

[11] Mc ix. 9||. That Jesus' secret teachings were meant to be only temporarily so appears from Mt x. 26f.

[12] Mc ix. 30f.

in his special reticence as to his Messianic claims,[1] in his thanksgiving to the Father for hiding certain things from the wise and learned and revealing them to babes,[2] in his use of parables and his own (?) explanation of the parabolic method,[3] in his total or partial refusal of the request for a sign,[4] in his warning against giving that which is holy to dogs and casting pearls before swine,[5] in his willingness to let the offended Pharisees alone,[6] and in his refusal to answer the question of the priests, scribes, and elders as to his authority.[7]

Consequent upon the nature of the Gospel message and of the medium—often inert or hostile—in which it has to spread, the growth of the Kingdom is naturally *a gradual and secret process.* The prayer for the coming of the Kingdom is to be one of the daily and permanent prayers of its members.[8] Its advance is compared to such natural processes as the growth of corn and mustard from tiny seeds and the leavening of a lump of dough.[9] "The Kingdom of God comes not in such a way that it can be watched for, nor will they say, 'See, here (it is)!' or 'There (it is)!'; for see, the Kingdom of God is within you."[10]

Another result of the unfavourable reception often accorded to the Gospel of the Kingdom is that its preachers are conscious of being faced with immense and apparently insurmountable *obstacles which faith alone can enable them to overcome.* Jesus strove to foster in his disciples a confident assurance of success in the face of overwhelming difficulties. Both he and they looked upon the conflict very largely as one that had to be waged against the power of the evil spirits, who were ultimately responsible alike for disease and sin. Lack of faith accounted for the disciples' failure to cure the epileptic boy: faith in God, on the other hand,

[1] Mc i. 34, iii. 11f, viii. 30||s. [2] Mt xi. 25f||.

[3] Mc iv. 10–12, 25; Mt xiii. 10–17; Lc viii. 9f, 18, x. 23f. The meaning of these sayings seems to be that part of the punishment of moral carelessness is a certain mental obtuseness which makes the acceptance of truth in its pure state impossible. Pauline determinism is suspected by many to be the origin of these sayings attributed to Jesus.

[4] Mc viii. 11–13; Mt. xii. 38f, 41, xvi. 1–4; Lc xi. 16, 29 (cf. xii. 54–56).

[5] Mt vii. 6. [6] Mt xv. 12, 14. [7] Mc xi. 27–33||s.

[8] Mt vi. 10||.

[9] Mc iv. 26–29; Mt xiii. 31–33||s. Cf. also the parables of the Sower and the Tares (Mt xiii. 3–9, 18–23, 24–30, 36–43). These parables do not exclude the idea of the growth of the Kingdom culminating in a cataclysm: some indeed seem rather to imply it. Nor are they definite as to the *rate* of growth: the seed-parables suggest slowness, the leaven-parable rapidity. The point of them is that the process of advancement is for the present a process of *growth,* i.e. of mysterious increase by tiny increments.

[10] Lc xvii. 20f.

so Jesus picturesquely assured them, would enable them to transplant a tree or remove a mountain by a simple word of command, and to obtain from God whatever they should ask for in prayer.[1]

## CHAPTER II

## THE LAWS OF REWARD AND PUNISHMENT

'PURE' AND 'APPLIED' ESCHATOLOGY.—I cannot venture here upon the labyrinthine task of describing the expectations of Jesus in regard to the future history of the human race. That task would involve, as has already been mentioned, the solution of the as yet unsolved eschatological problem. I have already briefly indicated [2] the attitude taken up in these pages in regard to that problem. It may be granted that Jesus spoke sometimes of the cataclysmic coming of the Kingdom, of his own return in triumph, of the future judgment, of the punishment of the wicked, of the resurrection, and of the future life: but in seeking for his meaning in such passages, due weight has to be given to his own pictorial and parabolic habit of speech, to the materialistic outlook of his contemporaries and early followers—the sole witnesses through whom his words reach us—and their frequent failure to understand him, and lastly to Jesus' interest in spiritual laws, as well as to the concrete occasions on which they may be seen at work among men. This last point is of some importance; for it was only likely in the nature of things that sayings referring to rewards and punishments in the abstract—'pure eschatology,' if we may call them so—were interpreted by his hearers as concrete announcements of something destined to take place on a certain date in the future. 'Applied eschatology' is indeed to be found in his teaching: his sayings about the life after death [3] show how he applied his beliefs about rewards and punishments to the case of the individual, and his words bearing on the downfall of the Jewish state and the destruction of the Temple show how he applied them to the case of his fellow-countrymen as a national entity; but in both cases the sphere of applied eschatology has probably encroached somewhat on that of the pure.[4]

[1] Mt xvii. 19f, xxi. 21f; Mc xi. 22–24; Lc xvii. 5f.
[2] See above, pp. 11–13.
[3] E.g. Lc xiv. 14, xx. 34–36||s.
[4] Cf. Dobschütz, *The Eschatology of the Gospels*, 80–91.

THE REWARD.—In many passages Jesus either speaks of "the reward" (ὁ μισθός) quite generally, or briefly qualifies it by adding "in heaven" or "from your Father." In some cases it is represented, implicity or explicitly, as present,[1] in others as future.[2] The content of the bare idea of reward is filled out in various ways.[3] Thus it is sometimes described as the possession of, or *entrance into, the Kingdom of God*, again both a present[4] and a future[5] experience, or as the present or future possession of *eternal life*,[6] or as present or future *salvation*.[7] The conceptions of salvation and its contrary, loss, drive us back upon the idea, which they both imply, of *the Will of God* for human life, salvation meaning the fulfilment of that Will, and loss its non-fulfilment.[8] Salvation is thus both the reward itself and the attainment of the reward. It is both the

[1] Mt v. 11f||, vi. 1: cf. Lc x. 20. [2] Mt vi. 4, 6, 18, x. 41f||; Lc vi. 35.

[3] The allusions to the Messianic feast (Mt viii. 11||, xxii. 2–10, xxv. 1–10; Mc xiv. 25||s; Lc xiv. 16–24, xxii. 29–30) are parabolic utterances couched in the style of contemporary Jewish apocalyptic. At the same time, the distinction between the parable and what it is meant to teach is often less clearly marked in Scripture than in the mind of a modern reader.

[4] Mc ix. 47||, x. 25||s; Mt v. 3, 10; Lc vi. 20, xii. 32.

[5] Mc x. 23||s; Mt v. 20.

[6] That the entrance into eternal life is synonymous with entrance into the Kingdom appears from Mc ix. 43, 45, 47, x. 17; cf. 23, 25||s. For life as present Mc ix. 43, 45 = Mt xviii. 8f; Mt iv. 4|| (the idea is present, though the verb is actually future); Lc xii. 15: as future, Mc x. 17, 30||s; Mt (?vii. 14), xxv. 46; Lc x. 25, 28.

[7] The root-idea of salvation was deliverance from peril: hence in the OT the word often stood for victory, e.g. 1 Sam xiv. 45. It was one of the standard terms of Jewish nomenclature; see, e.g., Lc i. 47, 69, 71, 77, ii. 11, 30, iii. 6; Mt i. 21. Jesus himself made large use of the idea—as well as of its antithesis: he said that he had come to seek and to save that which was lost, Lc (ix. 56), xix. 10, (Mt xviii. 11). That salvation was with him synonymous with entrance into the Kingdom appears from Mc x. 23–26||s; that it was also synonymous with life appears not only from the identity of eternal life with entrance into the Kingdom, but also from such passages as Mc v. 23, Lc xv. 24, 32 (where 'being found' is obviously synonymous with 'being saved,' which is the more usual antithesis to 'being lost'). The term 'salvation' and its antithesis 'loss' express respectively the fulfilment and non-fulfilment of the *purpose* for which the owner or maker of a thing intends or wishes to use it. This becomes clear from the frequent use of the verb 'to save' in connection with the removal of bodily disease or danger or even death (Mc iii. 4||, v. 23, 28, 34||s, vi. 56||, x. 52||, xv. 30f||s; Mt viii. 25, xiv. 30, xxvii. 49, [cf. Mc xv. 36]; Lc viii. 36, 50, xvii. 19), and still more so from the use of the word ἀπώλεια and various parts of the verb ἀπόλλυμι to describe the state of things or creatures to which something happens other than that for which they were—or ought to have been—intended (Mc ii. 22||s, xiv. 4f||; Lc xv. 4, 6, 8, 9, 24, 32; J vi. 12). Salvation in the religious sense, therefore, really means the fulfilment of God's purpose for one's life. For salvation as present, either as an accomplished fact or as a process, see Lc vii. 50, xiii. 23, xix. 9: as future, Mc viii. 35||s, xiii. 13, 20||s.

[8] See last note. The connection of salvation with the Will of God is most explicit in Mt xviii. 14: cf. Lc i. 47; Mc x. 26f||s. It also comes out in the connection between the Will of God and the Kingdom (Mt vi. 10||, vii. 21, xxi. 31).

task of fitting oneself for use by God, and the privilege of being used by Him. Its first step is repentance and the remission of sins : [1] but it involves permanent changes in the practical life of the sinner.[2] Many promises of future reward centre round this idea of the *moral improvement* implied in salvation. Those who hunger and thirst after righteousness are assured that they will be satisfied.[3] In the parable of the Sower, those who understand and keep the Word bring forth fruit abundantly.[4] The disciple that is perfectly trained will be like his master.[5] Knowledge and insight go hand-in-hand with moral growth : the pure in heart will see God.[6] The doing of God's Will makes the doer resemble God, makes him a 'son of God,' a true kinsman of Jesus : [7] the peacemakers will be called "sons of God." [8] The reward of him who loves his enemies is that he becomes a son of Him who gives sunshine and rain to good and bad alike.[9]

The idea of *happiness* fills an important place in Jesus' conception of the Divine reward. As with other leading features of the reward—with one or other of which happiness is usually connected—it is something that is enjoyed in the present, as well as in the future.[10]

Most significant, however, for the purpose of our present inquiry is the form, sometimes given to the reward, of exaltation, *authority, and influence over men.* The elevation of the lowly was part of the currently accepted Messianic programme ;[11] and Jesus appears to have re-echoed this sentiment on more than one occasion, when speaking of the Kingdom of God.[12] It is however chiefly in the parables and parabolic passages that the idea is most clearly expressed. In highly pictorial terms, Jesus promises his disciples that they shall sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.[13] The faithful and prudent slave is given control of the whole of his master's property.[14] In both the parables of the slaves entrusted with money, those who had traded diligently are rewarded

[1] Mt i. 21 ; Lc i. 77, vii. 48, 50, xv. 4–10.

[2] As in the case of Zacchæus, Lc xix. 1–10. In the parable of the Two Houses (Mt vii. 24–27‖), though the word 'salvation' is not used, safety is represented as depending upon hearing and doing the words of Jesus.

[3] Mt v. 6. [4] Mc iv. 20‖s. [5] Lc vi. 40 : cf. Mt x. 24f.

[6] Mt v. 8 ; cf. xiii. 16‖, xvi. 17. [7] Mc iii. 35‖s.

[8] Mt v. 9. [9] Mt v. 44–48‖.

[10] Present happiness, Mt v. 3–12, xi. 6, xiii. 16, and Lucan parallels ; Mt xvi. 17 ; Lc x. 20, probably also Lc xi. 28. Future, Lc xiv. 14 ; probably Mt xxiv. 46f ; Lc xii. 37f, 43.

[11] Lc. i. 52. [12] Mt xviii. 4, xxiii. 12 ; Lc xiv. 11, xviii. 14.

[13] Mt xix. 28 ; Lc xxii. 29f : cf. Dan vii. 22 ; Wisdom of Solomon iii. 8.

[14] Mt xxiv. 46f‖.

with additional responsibility and authority.[1] Jesus' comparison of his followers to salt and light implies a power of changing and leading the lives of others. Most explicit is the declaration : " Happy are the gentle ; for they shall inherit the earth." [2] The authority clearly rests on no physical compulsion, but is none the less actual and far-reaching.

The Punishment.—A description of the results that follow the rejection of the claims of Jesus would naturally follow the same lines as that of the various rewards of obedience. As before, the outcome of man's attitude is depicted in a variety of ways. It may be described, to begin with, as exclusion from the Kingdom [3]—parabolically as exclusion from the joyful Messianic feast.[4] Death is used to express it on two occasions only.[5] The most usual term for it is ἀπώλεια (or something from the same root), meaning loss or perdition.[6] (It is better to avoid the English rendering ' destroy ' and ' destruction,' as these terms commit the speaker to an expression of finality, which the original may occasionally admit, but certainly does not always require, and sometimes excludes. If the sheep of the house of Israel were ' destroyed ' in the final sense, what would have been the use of trying to seek and save them ?) We have already discussed [7] the root-meaning of this and kindred words : as applied to the lives of men, they bear reference to the purpose or Will of God : " It is not the Will of your Father . . . that one of these little ones should be lost." [8] The frustration of God's purpose appears also in the words : " He that rejects me rejects Him that sent me," and in the references to the savourless salt, the useless fish, the unfruitful tree, and the barren seed.[9] As salvation starts with repentance and pardon, so perdition involves the guilt and penalty of unforgiven sin.[10] While members of the Kingdom become sons of God, its opponents are addressed as " offspring of vipers." [11] As the reward comprises a

[1] Mt xxv. 21, 23, 28, 29 ; Lc xix. 17, 19, 24–26.
[2] Mt v. 5 ; cf. 13f. [3] Mathews 227f.
[4] Mt vii. 21–23 and viii. 11f=Lc xiii. 24–29 ; Lc xiv. 15–24 ; Mt xxii. 1–14, xxv. 1–13.
[5] Lc xv. 32, xix. 11f, 14, 27.
[6] Mt x. 6, xv. 24, xviii. 12–14, Lc xv. 4–10, 24, 32, xix. 10. ἀπώλεια is implied in Lc xiii. 23–30 (cf. Mt vii. 13f, 21–23) as the antithesis of οἱ σωζόμενοι. It may perhaps be added that these words indicate not only the state of those who reject Jesus, but also of those who transgress the Will of God before Jesus comes to them.
[7] See above, p. 20 n 7. [8] Mt xviii. 14.
[9] Lc x. 16 ; Mt v. 13 (Lc xiv. 34f), vii. 19, xii. 33‖, xiii. 48 ; Lc xiii. 6–9 (cf. Mt iii. 10‖) ; Mc iv. 3–7, 15–19‖s.
[10] Mt xi. 20–24‖, xviii. 23–35.
[11] Mt xii. 34 (cf. 28), xxiii. 33 (cf. 13) ; cf. iii. 7‖.

clearer vision of God and His truth, the punishment comprises a mental and moral blindness. It was not given to the indifferent to know the mysteries of the Kingdom : [1] the Pharisees were blind guides : [2] Jerusalem knew not the day of her visitation.[3] The idea of unhappiness bulks largely in the descriptions of punishment, as appears from the various 'woes' [4] that Jesus uttered against the rich and comfortable,[5] against those who cause others to stumble,[6] and against the traitor-disciple.[7] The unhappiness of exclusion from the festivities of the Kingdom is expressed under such powerful figures as weeping and gnashing of teeth, being cast into the outer darkness, and being cast into the furnace of fire.[8] Fire as an element in the punishment occurs also in the parabolic words relating to the unfruitful tree (possibly an unauthorized re-echo of the Baptist's threat) [9] and in the still more striking passages about Gehenna.[10] The difficulty of obtaining a reliable interpretation of these passages is no doubt very great ; but no interpretation will be satisfactory which does not make due allowance for the habitually pictorial and parabolic nature of Jesus' speech, for the obsession of his hearers' minds with the imagery of a somewhat materialistic eschatology, and for their frequent failure to grasp his real meaning. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to observe that the principle, that pain and unhappiness result from refusing to do God's Will, underlies all these utterances of Jesus as to punishment by fire. By no means the least significant form which punishment takes is that which falls last to be mentioned, viz. the loss of power and influence over others : the drunken and undutiful servant is deposed from his position of trust and authority over his fellow-servants : [11] the slothful servant, who does not trade with his master's money, not only gets no more money and no new position of responsibility, but forfeits

[1] Mt xiii. 10–15||s, xxv. 29 ; Lc xix. 26.
[2] Mt xv. 14. [3] Lc xix. 44.
[4] From the use of *οὐαί* to describe the lot of *innocent* sufferers (Mt xviii. 7a, xxiv. 19||s), we can see that the word rather foretells misery than utters disapprobation.
[5] Lc vi. 24–26. These sayings fill out the conception of unhappiness as involving discomfort, hunger, tears, and the disgrace of resembling the false prophets.
[6] Mt xviii. 7b. [7] Mc xiv. 21||s.
[8] Weeping and gnashing of teeth occur whenever mention is made of expulsion into the outer darkness (Mt viii. 11f : cf. Lc xiii. 28 ; Mt xxii. 13, xxv. 30—the unprofitable servant had no share in the *joy* of his lord, vv. 21, 23) and into the furnace (Mt xiii. 42, 50). Cf. Mt xxiv. 51.
[9] Mt vii. 19 ; cf. iii. 10|| (the words are absent from Lc's version of the Sermon on the Mount, vi. 43f) ; J xv. 2, 6.
[10] Mt v. 22, 29f||s, x. 28||, xxiii. 15, 33. [11] Mt xxiv. 45–51.

even the small sum entrusted to him, and is dismissed from his master's service into the darkness outside.[1]

Lastly, note must be taken of the fact that the punishment is present, as well as future. The word 'perdition' and its cognate verb are used to describe the existing, as well as the future, state of men.[2]

Dependence of Reward and Punishment on Ethical Conditions.—It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the rewards and punishments just enumerated are definitely attached, in the teaching of Jesus, to certain modes of human conduct; that is to say, they have a distinctly ethical bearing, and in several cases an essential connection is visible between the nature of the good or evil act and the nature of its reward or punishment. A glance at a few of the sayings will suffice to demonstrate this.

The reward, in some form or other, is promised to those who do the Will of God,[3] who hear the word of God and keep it,[4] who take on themselves the yoke of Jesus,[5] who become his disciples [6] and are not offended by him,[7] who listen to his words and do them,[8] who are pure in heart,[9] who are righteous[10] or who hunger and thirst after righteousness,[11] who are gentle,[12] humble,[13] merciful,[14] hospitable and generous to the stranger and the distressed,[15] who make peace,[16] and love and forgive their enemies,[17] who pray and fast,[18] who are faithful and diligent in their service,[19] who are persecuted for righteousness' sake,[20] who give up property or kinsfolk for the sake of the Son of Man.[21] Several passages occur expressing the need of effort for the attainment of the reward.[22]

On the other hand, punishment in one or other of its various forms is denounced against the evil,[23] the workers of lawlessness or injustice,[24] the impenitent,[25] the hypocrites,[26] the treacherous,[27] the unforgiving,[28] those who hear the words of Jesus and do them not,[29] who refuse God's invitation[30] and reject both God and

[1] Mt xxv. 28–30; Lc xix. 24–26.
[2] See above, p. 22 n 6.
[3] Mt vii. 21, xxi. 31.
[4] Lc viii. 15, 21, xi. 28.
[5] Mt xi. 28–30.
[6] Lc vi. 40||.
[7] Mt xi. 6||.
[8] Mt vii. 24f||.
[9] Mt v. 8.
[10] Mt v. 20, xiii. 43, xxv. 46.
[11] Mt v. 6.
[12] Mt v. 5.
[13] Mt. xxiii. 12; Lc xiv. 11, xviii. 14.
[14] Mt v. 7.
[15] Mt vi. 1–4, x. 41f||, xxv. 34–40; Lc xiv. 13f.
[16] Mt v. 9.
[17] Mt v. 44–46||, vi. 14; Mc xi. 25.
[18] Mt vi. 6, 17f.
[19] Mt xxiv. 42–47||; and the parables of the Talents and the Pounds (Mt xxv. 14–30||).
[20] Mt v. 10–12||.
[21] Mc x. 29f||s.
[22] Mc x. 25||s; Mt vii. 14, xi. 12||; Lc xiii. 23f.
[23] Mt xiii. 38, 49.
[24] Mt vii. 23, xiii. 41; Lc xiii. 27.
[25] Mt xi. 20–24||.
[26] Mt xxiv. 51.
[27] Mc xiv. 21||s.
[28] Mt vi. 15||, xviii. 34f.
[29] Mt vii. 26f.
[30] Lc xiv. 24.

Jesus,[1] bring forth no good fruit,[2] cause others to stumble,[3] take the broad and easy way,[4] are slothful and negligent in the work entrusted to them,[5] are offended by affliction or persecution,[6] and in whom the word is choked by the pleasure of riches, worldly worries, and other passions.[7]

## CHAPTER III

## ETHICAL PRINCIPLES AND THEIR APPLICATION TO DEALINGS WITH OUTSIDERS

Classification of the Ethical Teaching of Jesus.—Taking the word 'ethical' in its broadest sense as applying to the whole field of human duty, the ethical precepts of Jesus might be roughly grouped under the following three headings :

I. Those concerned with the disciple's inner life and experience, such as faith, prayer, temptation, repentance, forgiveness of sins, etc.
II. Those concerned with the disciple's relations with his fellow-disciples.
III. Those concerned with the disciple's relations with the larger world outside the Christian community, i.e. with human society in general and its institutions.

It is only with the third of these that we are here concerned ; but it is by no means a simple matter to isolate the relevant material. For one thing the demarcation between the second and third divisions is often hard to draw. Further, there is the difficulty of distinguishing precepts delivered simply ad hoc, in the interests of the enterprise of the hour, from those which the speaker intended as permanent ethical principles of the Kingdom. But the most serious complication arises from the fact that from the very beginning the Christian community had to relate itself, not only to the pagan world, but also to Judaism. Judaism constituted a special factor in the relations of Jesus and his early followers with

[1] Lc x. 16, xix. 14, 27.
[2] Mt vii. 16–20, xii. 33, xiii. 40–42 ; Lc xiii. 6–9 : cf. Mt iii. 10||.
[3] Mt xiii. 41, xviii. 7||.
[4] Mt vii. 13.
[5] Mt xxiv. 48–51||, xxv. 1–30 ; Lc xix. 20–26.
[6] Mc iv. 17||s.
[7] Mc iv. 19||s ; Lc vi. 24.

the rest of the world: and the complexity of the problem is at its maximum when we are studying the ministry of Jesus himself. For Jesus was born and bred, not among a nation of godless aliens, but in the bosom of the Chosen People, the Israel of God, possessors of the inspired Scriptures, recipients—throughout a long course of history—of Divine favours and revelations, inheriting many glorious promises and cherishing many golden Messianic hopes. In these circumstances it was only natural that Jesus, in the earlier part of his ministry at all events, should regard all his fellow-countrymen as virtual or prospective members of the Kingdom, and therefore as 'brothers,' not only of one another, but of his own disciples.[1] But as the antipathy and opposition of the Jews became in process of time both more marked and more extensive, this hope must have been given up;[2] and the average Jew would, as a natural consequence, come to be regarded as being virtually on the same level as the unenlightened heathen, both being equally beyond the pale of the Kingdom. The subject—in so far as it concerns the thoughts of Jesus himself—is extremely obscure, and we are unfortunately no longer in a position to clear it up. It is possible that, in the face of so complicated and ambiguous a situation, his own mind never reached a definite and final determination on the point. While, therefore, a broad distinction is discernible between the teaching that handles the relations of Christians with one another and that which handles their relations with outsiders, we must not expect to be able to divide all the precepts of Jesus

[1] See above, p. 7. The word 'brother' in the ordinary Jewish speech of the time was often simply an equivalent for 'fellow-Jew' (e.g. Ac ii. 29, 37, iii. 17, vii. 2; R ix. 3). "The Jewish schools distinguish between 'brother' and 'neighbour'; 'brother' meant an Israelite by blood, 'neighbour' a proselyte. They allowed neither title to the Gentiles" (Farrar, in Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, 2nd edn. I. i. 461a: cf. Hatch *ECC* 44; Harnack *ME* i. 406 n). At the same time it has throughout the New Testament the meaning of 'fellow-Christian.' Was there a time in the ministry of Jesus when virtually no distinction was drawn between these two meanings? Apparently there was: see, for instance, the way in which he contrasts ἀδελφοὶ and ἐθνικοί, in Mt v. 47: Luke in his version of the saying (vi. 32–34) has ἁμαρτωλοὶ instead of ἐθνικοί (cf. G ii. 15). The bulk of the Sermon on the Mount (Mt v.–vii.) is in fact clearly addressed to pious Jews in general, as such. Cf. also Lc xxiv. 7 with xviii. 32f‖s; the τελῶναι, though they might by birth be Jews, are grouped equally suitably with either ἐθνικοί (Mt. v. 46f, xviii. 17) or ἁμαρτωλοί (Mc ii. 15f‖s; Mt xi. 19‖; Lc xv. 1, xviii. 13, xix. 7). See also the next note, and cf. Weinel *Th.* 186 (small print).

[2] In Mt viii. 11f (cf. Lc xiii. 28), the Jews are described as οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας, i.e. they were its natural members; but they are cast out into outer darkness. In Mt xiii. 41f evildoers are cleared out of the Kingdom, implying that previously they had been in it. In Mt xxi. 43 the Kingdom is taken away from the Jews, and given to a nation producing the fruits of the Kingdom. In Mc xiv. 41‖s—as well, of course, as on earlier occasions (Mc ii. 17‖s, viii. 38; Lc xiii. 2, (4), xv. 7, 10: cf. Lc v. 8)—Jesus uses ἁμαρτωλοὶ of Jews. Cf. Seeley (xxiii.).

on this basis in a hard-and-fast way: nor must we lose sight of the complications introduced into his view of the world by his recognition of the special privileges and functions of the Jewish nation. The chance of confusion is less than it otherwise might be, owing to the fact that the laws on both sides of the dividing line are developed from the same basal principles. A fairly safe method will be to classify and study the ethical teaching of Jesus relating to the behaviour of men to one another, excluding only those sayings, the application of which is expressly limited to the relations between fellow-Christians.

The General Principles of the Ethics of Jesus.—If we eliminate all *special* teaching—that, viz., which deals with the disciple's attitude to certain specified types and classes—we seem to be able to trace four general principles from which all the rest seem to be derived. Even these four are not all equally ultimate: the last three may well be regarded as corollaries of the first.

*The first principle is Love.*—To love one's neighbour as oneself constituted in Jesus' view a duty second only to that of loving God. The two together were the greatest commandments in the Law: on them hung the whole Law and the Prophets.[1] The words of this precept were taken from the Law, where they were originally intended to apply only to the relation between fellow-Israelites.[2] This limited interpretation was evidently maintained by the Jews of the time of Jesus, for the latter quotes it with the addition customarily attached to it: "Ye have heard that it was said, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy.'"[3] The question "Who is my neighbour?" asked by the lawyer to whom Jesus commended the duty of loving his neighbour,[4] possibly indicates that some qualms were felt about the narrow meaning usually given to the word 'neighbour.' Jesus, however, went out of his way on two occasions to repudiate this restriction and to give to the term the widest possible meaning. In the Sermon on the Mount he demands love for enemies:[5] in the parable spoken in reply to the lawyer's question, the 'neighbours' are a Jew and a Samaritan.[6] The universality of the principle—as well as something of its positive content—appears also in the words: "All things whatsoever ye wish that men should do to you, even so do ye also unto them: for this is the Law and the Prophets."[7] The negative counterpart of the principle is

[1] Mc xii. 28–34‖s.
[2] Lev xix. 18; Streane 109.
[3] Mt v. 43.
[4] Lc x. 29.
[5] Mt v. 43f‖.
[6] Lc x. 29–37.
[7] Mt vii. 12‖.

expressed in the instructions given to the apostles when they were about to go forth " as sheep into the midst of wolves " : " Become . . . harmless as the doves." [1]

*The second principle is Truthfulness.*—It lies behind Jesus' stern denunciation of all deceit, false-witness, hypocrisy, and pretence,[2] and likewise his prohibition of oaths : " Swear not at all . . . but let your word ' Yes ' mean ' Yes,' (and your) ' No ' (mean) ' No ' ; that which exceeds these springs from evil." [3]

*The third principle is Humble Service.*—Two duties are really included here, and, if our one object were a faultless classification, it might have been better to have described the third principle as humility simply, and to have put down service as the form of love that is relative to the *needs* of others. But the two duties are so closely linked that, for practical purposes, they may well be treated together. Jesus frequently enjoins humility : " Whoever exalts himself will be humbled, and whoever humbles himself will be exalted." [4] He condemns arrogance, especially as manifested by the scribes and Pharisees.[5] He describes himself as " lowly in heart," [6] and does so in connection with his offer to provide rest and refreshment for those who are burdened. He washes the disciples' feet, and bids them do the same for one another.[7] When they dispute about precedence among themselves, he says : " Whoever wishes to become great among you shall be your servant, and whoever wishes to be first among you shall be slave of all. For the

[1] Mt x. 16. On the duty of love as understood and taught by Jesus, see Seeley (xiiif) 160–192 ; Uhlhorn *Ch* 56–64 ; Tolstoy, *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, iv. (last few pp.) ; Wendt i. 325–351 ; Stevens 111ff ; Herrmann *SG* 195ff ; Strong 139–151 ; Troeltsch 37–43.

[2] Mc vii. 22 (δόλος), xii. 40‖ ; Mt xv. 19 (ψευδομαρτυρία), xxiii. 28 ; and various other denunciations of hypocrisy.

[3] Mt v. 33–37 ; cf. xxiii. 16–22 ; Sirach xxiii. 9–11. The disuse of oaths was a characteristic of the Essenes ; and Holtzmann (*Th.* i. 140, 142, 144, 168, 192) suggests that this passage in Mt may be due to Essene influence. Jesus did not understand his prohibition of swearing to involve a refusal to answer an ' adjuration ' put to him in a court of law ; see Mt xxvi. 63f and Streane 19 (note on Lev v. 1). But this fact does not, in my judgment, justify the view of Bigelmair, shared by many, that Jesus meant his prohibition of oaths simply as " ein Ideal, das freilich erst erreichbar werden wird, wenn auch die übrigen Ideale des in Aussicht stehenden Gottesreiches, namentlich jene Selbstlosigkeit, von welcher der Heiland im Anschluss an den Eid gesprochen, zur Durchführung gelangt sein werden " (Bigelmair 100). This reasoning, typical of much of the modern treatment of the ethics of Jesus, errs in ignoring the important distinction between what is possible and right for the individual Christian in all his relationships and what is possible for society at large in its unchristianized state.

[4] Mt xxiii. 12 (cf. xviii. 4) ; Lc xiv. 11, xviii. 14. For Jesus' teaching on humility, see Seeley (xv.) 199–201.

[5] Mc vii. 22 (ὑπερηφανία, one of οἱ διαλογισμοὶ οἱ κακοί), xii. 38f‖s ; Lc xviii. 11f.

[6] Mt xi. 29. [7] J xiii. 4–17.

Son of Man came not to be served, but to serve, and to give his life a ransom for many." [1] In several of his parables, he represents his disciples as slaves. It might be argued that some of the passages here referred to show the disciples as slaves of one another, and others depict them as slaves of God, but that nowhere are they called the slaves of their fellow-men in general. As against this it must be said that the service which Jesus represented himself as offering was to be offered to all mankind. Any who were burdened might come to him. His life was to be a ransom for many. It cannot be doubted that he ordained the same universality of service for those whom he called the salt of the earth and the light of the world.[2]

*The fourth principle is Prudence.*—When the Apostles were about to go forth as sheep among wolves, Jesus counselled them to be, not only innocent as doves, but prudent or shrewd like serpents.[3] He regretted that " the sons of this age are more prudent than the sons of light towards their own generation." [4] Among the evil things that come from the heart of man he reckoned folly.[5]

Application of these Principles to Relations with Outsiders and Sinners.—First of all we have to ask, *Who are the outsiders?* Whatever may have been the precise meaning which Jesus attached at various stages in his ministry to the term 'brother,' there can be no doubt that he recognized the need of distinguishing in some way between those who did, and those who did not, share spiritual fellowship and moral convictions with his disciples. Whoever the members of the Kingdom may be, they are divided by a vital difference from those who remain outside. The distinction comes out plainly when Jesus tells his disciples that if an offending fellow-disciple resists honest and repeated efforts to bring him to penitence and reconciliation, they are to regard him as they regard the gentile and the tax-gatherer,[6] that is to say, as one outside the pale of the Christian community. Ideally, all concerned ought to know without difficulty who are brethren and who are outsiders; and the regulations of Jesus presuppose at least a working knowledge of the facts. At the same time, the deep difference between the two classes cannot be exactly

[1] Mc x. 43–45‖s. Luke (xxii. 26f) locates this saying—as the Fourth Gospel (J xiii. 1–17) does the incident of the feet-washing—in the story of the Last Supper: his words ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν εἰμι ὡς ὁ διακονῶν look like a sort of Lucan parallel to the Johannine story.

[2] Strong 120–127. [3] Mt x. 16. [4] Lc xvi. 8.

[5] Mc vii. 22. For the shrewdness of Jesus himself, see Peabody (ii.) 35f: " His sanity of judgment is as extraordinary as his depth of sympathy," etc.

[6] Mt xviii. 15–17: but see above, p. 15.

and visibly realized under normal human conditions ;[1] and the need arises of having some sort of a test or standard of judgment by means of which the necessary distinction can be made in doubtful cases. Jesus speaks of distinguishing false prophets from true by the testimony of their lives, as one knows the quality of a tree by the fruit it produces :[2] but whether he had in mind the application of a similar test by one disciple to another, and if so, how he intended this method of distinction to be related to recognition or non-recognition by the community as a whole, it is impossible to say. While, therefore, questions of conduct often turn on the distinction between fellow-Christian and outsider, we are left with a certain vagueness as to the means of discriminating them in practice.

Assuming, however, that it is known roughly who are within and who are without the pale, how are the latter to be treated and regarded by the former ? What, in other words, is *the right treatment of sinners* ? What attitude and behaviour towards wrongdoers are dictated, in Jesus' view, by the fundamental and universal principle of love ? We have already touched on his deep concern and yearning compassion for sinning and suffering humanity.[3] This was the natural and immediate outcome of that love for others on which he laid such great stress : and inasmuch as it was the great commandment, not only for himself, but also for his disciples, it is safe to say that he regarded an eager concern for human welfare as one of the standing requirements of discipleship.[4] When we go further and try to discover what this meant in practice, we find that it embraces both positive and negative elements. Among the latter is the entire disuse of physical violence and corporal penalties. Jesus never attempts to constrain men to do good or desist from evil by the application of physical force or the infliction of physical injuries. He does not go beyond a very occasional use of his personal authority in order to put a stop to proceedings that appeared to him unseemly. Thus he dismissed the conventional mourners from the bedside of Jairus' daughter and the profane traders from the Temple-courts.[5] Neither does he

[1] So the parable of the Tares, Mt xiii. 28–30, 38.

[2] Mt vii. 15–20 : cf. Lc vi. 43f.

[3] See pp. 5f.

[4] Seeley (xvii.) 219 (" Henceforth it became the duty of every man gravely to consider the condition of the world around him "), (xxiv.) 354f.

[5] Mc v. 40, xi. 15ff||s : Seeley (xxi.) 309, 312 (" Christ so understood his own special mission as to refrain from all acts of hostility or severity towards human beings "). The expulsion of the traders from the Temple-courts, which is often regarded as the one significant exception to this general statement, proves on careful examination not to be so. The whip appears only in the Fourth Gospel ; and even there a natural exegesis represents it as used upon

approve of abusive language,[1] though on this point his attitude is not so clear; for, if we may trust our reports, he addressed some very violent and bitter denunciations to the Pharisees.[2] Whatever the explanation of his principles regarding the use of strong rebuke may have been, it seems clear that vehement denunciation was not his normal response to the sin of men. His customary treatment of the sinner was at once milder and more efficacious, and is more easy for us to reconcile with the most natural interpretation of his principle of love. His words against judging, in the Sermon on the Mount,[3] are meant as a prohibition, not of all formation of moral judgments upon others,[4] but of judgment in its less impartial sense of censorious condemnation and fault-finding.[5] The whole preaching mission of Jesus and his disciples—not to mention the example of their own lives—was a manifestation of their love for those to whom they addressed themselves:[6] and it was a manifestation both of a negative and of a positive kind. The preaching contained, on the one hand, warning, prohibition, and dissuasion, and on the other hand, counsel, precept, and encouragement to the good. But love required to be more patently and directly exhibited than was possible through the sole media of example and counsel. In order to give both these influences their due weight, Jesus had to become *the friend of sinners*.[7] Numerous allusions are made in the Gospels to his constant association with people of doubtful

the cattle and not upon the men. (Such is the unbiassed judgment of H. J. Holtzmann, *Johanneisches Evangelium* (*Hand-Commentar*) 76 (ad J ii 15): "dieses τά τε . . . καί verbietet πάντας etwa nach Anleitung der Synopse auf die Menschen zu deuten.") The treatment of the latter is described in all four Gospels by the word ἐκβάλλω, which need mean no more than an authoritative dismissal or despatch, as is clear from other uses made of it (cf. Mc i. 12, v. 40‖; Mt ix. 38‖, xii. 35, xiii. 52, and esp. vii. 4f‖; Lc x. 35; J x. 4: cf. M'Neile, *St. Matthew*, 126a, 147a). It is impossible in the nature of things for one man to drive out a crowd *by physical force* or even by the threat of it: what he can do is to overawe them by his presence and personality, and expel them by an authoritative command; and that apparently was what Jesus did. The idea that, with the help of his disciples, he overpowered the traders in a sort of pitched battle (O. Holtzmann, *Life of Jesus* [ET], 414) has no foundation whatever in the Gospel narratives.

[1] Mc vii. 22‖ (βλασφημία). Cf. Mt v. 22—though this passage concerns speech addressed to a 'brother.'

[2] Seeley (xxi.) has an interesting study of Jesus' indignant hostility to these religious leaders. Montefiore (*SG* ii. 500) charges Jesus with disobeying his own law in calling his opponents "vipers" and "children of Gehenna."

[3] Mt vii. 1f‖. The warning is immediately followed by the passage about the mote and the beam, which again is specially applied to treatment of a 'brother'; but it may probably be taken as having a general application.

[4] In this sense the passage would be self-contradictory; for the words ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίματι κρίνετε imply both a right and a wrong judgment. Further, other passages in the Sermon imply a means of distinguishing good men from bad (e.g. Mt v. 39, vii. 15–20).

[5] J viii. 11. [6] Mc vi. 34‖s. [7] Mt xi. 19‖.

or immoral character. They followed him and listened to him: he welcomed them and mingled with them freely, scandalizing the Jewish leaders by his carelessness of legal defilement. He reclined at table with them, and lodged in their houses.[1] Yet all this familiarity did not blunt his sense of the inadequacy of their moral standards and the sinfulness of their sin.[2] His own exalted standard of righteousness kept him proof against contamination: his deep and earnest love, on the contrary, was continually tending to change them into his own likeness. Hence the striking moral revolution he was able to effect in those stubborn cases, in the face of which society—with its methods of restraint and penalty—is usually helpless. No chains can bind the Gerasene madman; but on meeting Jesus he is speedily transformed into a sane and sober applicant for discipleship.[3] The cold shoulder of society makes no impression on the prostitute; but Jesus so awakes the better nature within her that she falls at his feet and bathes them with tears of penitence and gratitude and receives his assurance of Divine pardon.[4] Zacchæus was a grasping and oppressive tax-gatherer; but having entertained Jesus in his own house at the Teacher's own request, he found salvation, and immediately decided upon generous almsgiving and ample amends for all his ill-gotten gains.[5] The woman taken in adultery was not likely to be purified by the process of stoning; but we cannot doubt that Jesus' treatment of her led her to sincere repentance.[6] Crucifixion did not soften the crime-stained robber; but the near neighbourhood of Jesus so altered him that he was promised admission that very day to paradise.[7] So confident was Jesus of the moral possibilities of these apparently unpromising types of people, that he declared that the prostitutes and the tax-gatherers would go into the Kingdom of God before the chief priests and elders.[8]

*The treatment of personal enemies*[9] follows the same principles

[1] Mc ii. 15–17‖s; Lc xv. 1f, xix. 5–7.
[2] Mt v. 27f, 46f‖, vi. 7, 32‖; Lc vii. 47; J viii. 11; Mc x. 42–44‖s.
[3] Mc v. 2–5, 15, 18‖s. [4] Lc vii. 36–50.
[5] Lc xix. 1–10. "He regards his wealth as the product of theft" (Montefiore *SG* ii. 1027). "The εἴ τι for ὅ, τι a little softens the bitterness of the confession" (Farrar *L* 340).
[6] J vii. 53–viii. 11. For Jesus' eagerness to lead sinners to repentance, see Mc ii. 17 with Luke's interesting parallel (v. 32), and cf. Lc xv. 7, 10, xviii. 13f.
[7] Mc xv. 32‖; Lc xxiii. 39–43. For the man's past life, cf. the words of Lc xxiii. 41.
[8] Mt xxi. 31. On Jesus' treatment of the vicious, see Seeley, chs. xix., xx.
[9] Among the possible grounds of enmity towards the Christian disciple would be the natural opposition which originality and zeal always awake. Jesus was fully aware of the hostility his disciples were bound to incur by their adherence to him and his teaching. This was his meaning when he

as the treatment of wrong-doers in general. Methods of violence have as little place here as they had there. Not only does Jesus reiterate the Old Testament prohibition of murder,[1] but he forbids all forcible retaliation or resistance to ill-treatment, including the quest for redress in a court of law.[2] His own conduct on the last day of his life is the best comment on this teaching. He makes no attempt to escape, offers no resistance to the cruelties and indignities inflicted upon him, and forbids his followers to strike a blow on his behalf.[3] Besides discountenancing all violence in action, he forbids angry feelings and contemptuous words.[4] He pronounces a blessing on peacemakers as children of God and on the gentle as inheritors of the earth.[5] All injuries received are to be forgiven ; but forgiveness is of two kinds. When the offender is a real 'brother,' with whom sympathy and fellowship are normal, forgiveness means the restoration of intimacy, and must therefore be preceded by repentance and reconciliation, which in their turn may have to be led up to by rebuke.[6] The fact, however, that elsewhere universal forgiveness is demanded, apparently irrespective of reconciliation,[7] seems to show that if the offender is an outsider with whom intimacy is impossible, even then the offence may and must be in some sense forgiven. In his own case, Jesus addressed mild remonstrances to the traitor and to his captors,[8] and at the moment of crucifixion prayed God to pardon his enemies : " Father, forgive them ; for they know not what they do."[9] All

said he had come to bring, not peace, but a sword (Mt x. 34ff||). Both Mt x. 34 and its parallel use what looks like the infinitive of purpose ; but the encroachment of the consecutive upon the final sense of ἵνα clauses (the usages of which are virtually co-extensive with those of the infinitive) in N.T. Greek, together with the natural tendency of the Semitic mind to a deterministic identification of purpose with result, permit us to take the words as expressing the announcement of a result rather than the intention or wish of the speaker. It is surprising that the meaning of so simple a passage should ever have been missed. Yet how often has it been referred to as if it sanctioned the use of arms !

[1] Mc vii. 21||, x. 19||s ; Mt v. 21f. See below, p. 55 n 2.

[2] Mt v. 38–41 : cf. Lc vi. 29f. " Daher gibt es für die Gotteskinder kein Recht und keinen Zwang, keinen Krieg und Kampf, sondern nur eine restlose Liebe und eine Ueberwindung des Bösen mit Gutem, Forderungen, die die Bergpredigt an extremen Fällen verdeutlicht " (Troeltsch 40). On the meaning and application of this teaching, see below, pp. 45–47.

[3] Mt xxvi. 51f||s ; J xviii. 36.

[4] Mt v. 21f. The words speak of the ' brother,' but the context hardly allows us to give the word the meaning of fellow-disciple here : it has rather the wider meaning of fellow-countryman or neighbour.

[5] Mt v. 5, 9.

[6] Mt xviii. 15–17, 21–35 ; Lc xvii. 3f. On reconciliation with a ' brother,' cf. Mt v. 23f.

[7] Mc xi. 25 ; Mt vi. 12||, 14f.

[8] Mt xxvi. 50|| ; Mc xiv. 48f||s ; J xviii. 22f.

[9] Lc xxiii. 34.

this is in one form or another a deduction from the sublime command: "I say unto you, Love your enemies and pray for your persecutors, in order that ye may become sons of your Father in the heavens; for He lifts up His sun upon evil and good (alike), and rains upon just and unjust. For if ye love those that love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the tax-gatherers the same? And if ye greet your brethren only, what special thing are ye doing? Do not even the gentiles the same? Ye then shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect." [1]

## CHAPTER IV

## JESUS' ATTITUDE TO THE STATE [2]

PRELIMINARY QUESTIONS. — Christian scholarship has hitherto shown on the whole a *certain unwillingness to attempt a thorough investigation* of the problem of Jesus' attitude to the State. This unwillingness has doubtless been due in large measure to that wise caution which warns us of the danger of reading more into the mind we are seeking to interpret than was really there. It is wise to be cautious; but it may be doubted whether, on this topic, the possibilities open to a thorough study of the field have yet been adequately recognized. One cannot repress a certain feeling of disappointment at the extreme slightness with which the subject is treated in very many of the works that deal with the teaching of Jesus: [3] nor is it possible to rest satisfied with those facile and one-sided generalities with which interpreters of Jesus often imagine they can summarize his position. That Jesus "accepted the State" may be perfectly true in a certain sense; it may be true that he was no political agitator, that he obeyed government orders, that he commanded men to pay tribute to Cæsar—but these

[1] Mt v. 44–48: cf. Lc vi. 27f, 32–36.

[2] The ensuing interpretation of Jesus' attitude to the State is that suggested by the present writer in two articles in *The Interpreter*, Oct. 1916 ('Our Lord's Conception of the State'), and *The Expositor*, April 1917 ('The Attitude of Jesus to the Jewish Administration of Justice'), and in *ECAW* 26–29, 40–44 and *GJT* 147–174.

[3] J. Robertson, for instance, in his otherwise excellent little book, *Our Lord's Teaching* (*Guild Text-books*, London, 1899), does not, I think, so much as even mention the subject of the State. Stevens (117f) dismisses it in a single short paragraph: cf. the very brief summary in his *Teaching of Jesus* (New York, 1901), 124f; also O. Holtzmann, *Life of Jesus* (ET), 105f. Books that handle the subject more fully rarely attempt to do so in a complete or connected way. Mathews (115–131, 212–217) is an exception; but he tends somewhat to underrate the political significance of some of Jesus' sayings.

statements, so far from summing up his teaching, are but fragments of one part of it. We must then address ourselves to a patient and comprehensive study of the whole of the available data.

Two preliminary questions require to be dealt with before we proceed to construct results. The first concerns *the historical conditions of the time*, which, as we know, involved much that was special and peculiar. Jesus was brought into contact, not with one government, but with three, and those all markedly different from one another—the governments, namely, of Herodes Antipas, of the Roman Empire, and of the Jews themselves. The last of these, again, presented certain special features, being an administration at once ecclesiastical and civil, and wearing the dual aspect natural to a polity founded on the Mosaic Law.[1] Jesus himself was a Jew, a member of a race with powerful, if somewhat indefinite, national aspirations. How far did he share the political views of his fellow-countrymen, and how far were his political sentiments and utterances determined by the concrete situation of his own time ? There is little reason to suppose that he associated himself with the ordinary Messianic ambitions of the day : [2] nor does it seem that his attitude to any one of the three governments with which he was concerned was in essence different from his attitude to any other. His expressions naturally vary according as he has in mind one or other of them : we can detect, for instance, a special deference to the Jewish administration on the ground of its Mosaic origin, a special severity to Herodes on the ground of his personal character, and a special longing that his fellow-countrymen as a whole should, by patience and generosity and love, seek reconciliation with the Romans rather than provoke them to more grievous oppression by a patriotic and vengeful ill-will.[3] But, so far as we

[1] Montefiore *SG* i. lxx.

[2] See above, pp. 8f., and below, pp. 39, 43f. That Jesus rejected Jewish political independence as an immediate aim of his Messianism is clear from his command to give tribute to Cæsar (Mc xii. 17‖s).

[3] The Rev. S. Liberty has attempted a re-interpretation of the mission of Jesus as directed to healing the feud between Jew and Roman and so conserving the special contribution of each to humanity (*The Political Relations of Christ's Ministry*, Oxford, 1916). The problem of this conservation was, as Mr. Liberty says, the crisis of the time (i.). He interprets the three Temptations as symbolical experiences in which Jesus, as representative of Israel, successively rejects the three Jewish attitudes to Rome, the Sadducaic (material security), the Pharisaic (narrow Messianism), and the Herodian (unprincipled compromise) (ii.–iv.). Much of Mr. Liberty's exposition is true, valuable, and suggestive. Jesus' dread of the consequences of the national rejection of his policy of pacifism and goodwill in regard to Rome, can be clearly seen in Lc xii. 54–xiii. 9, xiii. 33–35‖, xix. 41–44, xxiii. 27–31. At the same time, one feels that the thesis of the book, true as it is, is a little

are able to gather, his attitude to all governments was, in its essential principles, the same.

The second preliminary question is this: how far do the allusions made by Jesus to kings and governments in his *parables and analogies* warrant any inference as to his approval of political institutions? We are not likely to be troubled by such a non-committal reference as that which he makes to the familiar fact that "Every kingdom divided against itself is made desolate, and no city or household divided against itself will stand,"[1] or by his illustrative picture of two kings at war with one another with unequal forces.[2] We are rather concerned with those somewhat frequent descriptions of kings and masters inflicting severe penalties on their offending subjects,[3] and Jesus' use of these descriptions as illustrating the punitive justice of God. Are we to infer from such parables that he approved of royalty as a human institution, and would have sanctioned the treatment described, had it been meted out by one human being to another? We might be in doubt as to the answer, were these parables all that remained to us of his teaching. In view, however, of his many other and clearer pronouncements on human duty, we can safely answer the question in the negative. Jesus does, indeed, hold up the Divine action as a model for our imitation;[4] he does, indeed, represent God as acting with severity towards sinners under certain conditions. Yet, in the matter of inflicting penalties, the differences between man and God are so great and so pertinent that we cannot regard a human act referred to by Jesus merely in order to illustrate Divine justice as being ipso facto approved of by him. At least, we cannot do so without corroborative evidence from the rest of his teaching; and this we have yet to investigate. In these parables Jesus is merely using a set of more or less familiar circumstances in royal or political life as an illustration of some moral or spiritual truth.[5] The illustrations themselves neither approve nor condemn the incidents or practices of which

overdone. Mr. Liberty is least successful in his interpretation of the death of Jesus (vi.). Later and very helpful studies of the same subject may be seen in J. R. Coates' *The Christ of Revolution* (London, 1920), 9ff, 52ff, 88ff; Miss Dougall's *Lord of Thought* (London, 1922), 120–122, 136–153, 177 (cf. her art. in *Hibbert Journal*, Oct. 1921, 113–123); A. T. Cadoux's *Essays in Christian Thinking* (London, 1922), 105–125, 138f; and V. G. Simkhovitch's *Toward the Understanding of Jesus* (New York, 1923). Cf. also C. J. Cadoux in *Expositor*, Mar. 1925, 187–192, and see below, p. 46.

[1] Mt xii. 25||s. [2] Lc xiv. 31f.

[3] Mt xviii. 34f, xxii. 7, 13; Lc xviii. 7f, xix. 12, 14, 27: cf. Mc xii. 9||s; Mt xxiv. 50f||, xxv. 30. [4] Mt v. 44, 45, 48; cf. vi. 14f, vii. 11.

[5] Mathews 121, 130: "Jesus . . . most naturally used the monarchical vocabulary of his people."

such use is made. We could not, for instance, infer from that powerful parable of the hard-worked slave, with its great lesson that the servant of God is never off duty, that Jesus saw nothing wrong in men owning slaves and overworking them.[1]

The Relative Approval accorded by Jesus to Government and Political Institutions.—There can be no doubt that Renan was wrong when he represented Jesus as regarding civil government as simply an abuse.[2] It is not even safe to infer[3] from the Temptation-story that he identified the Roman Empire objectively with the realm of Satan.[4] On the other hand, it must remain doubtful whether he ever committed himself to the later Pauline view of the imperial authorities as being appointed by God.[5] But in any case he recognizes in a great variety of ways the value of kings and governments. These expressions of recognition are naturally most frequent and explicit in connection with Hebrew and Jewish government, but they are not confined to it. Jesus speaks with respect, not only of King David, but of the Queen of Sheba.[6] He quotes the old Mosaic Law, "Let him who reviles his father or his mother suffer death," as having been said by God, or as the commandment or word of God,[7] and almost seems to blame the scribes and Pharisees for having set it on one side. Again, in that obscure passage in the Sermon on the Mount, concerning murder and anger, he mentions the fact that the murderer was "liable to the judgment" in a way that seems to imply that he was disposed to add to the stringency of the law rather than to abrogate it; and it has to be remembered that for the crime of

[1] Lc xvii. 7–10 (vide Moffatt's trans. and note). Apart from the impossibility of forcing a literal interpretation on every detail in the parables, we have to recognize that some of these harsh utterances (e.g. Mt xxii. 7: cf. Lc xiv. 21) almost certainly come from Jesus' reporters, not from himself, and also that some belief in the Divine severity was an integral part of that O.T. religion in which Jesus had been trained (cf. Cadoux *MC* 26 n 1).

[2] Renan *Vie de Jésus* (vii.) 131 (ed. 1884): "Jésus, à quelques égards, est un anarchiste, car il n'a aucune idée du gouvernement civil. Ce gouvernement lui semble purement et simplement un abus."

[3] As Weinel (*SUS* 9, 45, n 19) does.

[4] Mt iv. 8–10‖; Holtzm. *Th.* i. 274f: "er findet letzteres" (i.e. das Satansreich) "doch nirgendwo, wie Apk $13^2$, im röm. Imperium," etc. See below, pp. 43f, 167.

[5] The only passage in which this view is expressed is J xix. 11. It is difficult to feel sure that we have here ipsissima verba of Jesus: but even if we have, they do not necessarily carry us beyond the position described in the text: a Divine ordination is, after all, constituted by a man's sense of duty, even if the true content of that duty be imperfectly apprehended. Holtzmann (*Th.* i. 275) says that Jesus saw, in the Empire, simply "ein von Gott zugelassenes Vorkommnis der diesseitigen, allerdings nur provisorisch bestehenden Ordnung der Dinge" (cf. id. *RS* 13 and Mathews 119f).

[6] Mc ii. 25f, xii. 35–37‖s; Mt xii. 42‖.

[7] Exod xxi. 17; Mt xv. 4, 6; Mc vii. 9, 10, 13.

murder the Law prescribed the penalty of death.[1] He rebuked the scribes and Pharisees for neglecting the right administration of justice—a duty which he counted among the weightier matters of the Law.[2] He associates on friendly terms with members of the local Jewish councils and judgment-courts, of the Sanhedrin, and even of Herodes' court. He performs a cure for one of Herodes' courtiers,[3] and numbers the wife of Herodes' steward or minister among his own followers.[4] The centurion of Kapharnaum, when he wants Jesus to come and heal his slave, entrusts his request to an embassy of 'elders of the Jews,' evidently regarding them as people who stood high in the Teacher's esteem.[5] Later on we see Jesus entering the house of one of the 'rulers of the Jews' to eat bread.[6] Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea, two of his admirers and adherents, were members of the Sanhedrin.[7] He was scrupulously obedient to the laws of his own country—saying that he had come not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it,[8] sending the cured lepers to show themselves to the priests and offer the prescribed sacrifices,[9] and paying the Temple-tax, even though he thought it unfair.[10] When he uttered the words: "If any man compel thee to go one mile, go with him two," he used the technical term for State-conscription of forced labour; and the precept would hold good for any government, though probably the words refer actually to the practice of the Roman administration.[11]

[1] Mt v. 21f; Gen ix. 6; Exod xxi. 12; Levit xxiv. 17; Deut xix. 11–13: cf. Allen 47.

[2] Mt xxiii. 23 (cf. Lc xi. 42; J vii. 24). The exact meaning of the Aramaic word behind *τὴν κρίσιν* is not quite certain: most commentators take it as 'just conduct' in general; but it doubtless includes, if it is not quite coincident with, the administration of public justice. On the Jewish courts of justice and local self-government generally, see Schürer i. 466–473, 480–482, ii. 223–227, 236, 245–267, 501–512; Hatch *ECC* 56–59; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vi. 567f (art. 'Imprisonment'); *EB* 1913–1915, 2722, 4834–4837, 4841; *DB* iv. 642b; *DCG* ii. 691f: cf. Mt x. 17 etc.; Lc xiv. 1; J ix. 22 etc., xviii. 31; Ac ix. 1f, xxv. 10; Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* II. xiv. 1.

[3] J iv. 46ff. [4] Lc viii. 3. [5] Lc vii. 2–6.

[6] Lc xiv. 1. We omit mention of Jairus here, as he seems to have been an *ἀρχισυνάγωγος*, i.e. an officer with religious and liturgical, rather than judicial, functions—though the term *ἄρχων* is used of him (Mc v. 22ff‖s).

[7] J iii. 1, 10, vii. 50–52, xix. 38f; Mc xv. 43; Lc xxiii. 50f. Cf. also J xii. 42 (many of the rulers believe on him).

[8] Mt. v. 17–19 (the genuineness of 19 as a saying of Jesus is on internal grounds very dubious: it has no parallel in Lc); Lc xvi. 17: cf. Mt xxiii. 23 fin.

[9] Mc i. 44‖s; Lc xvii. 14: cf. Mt v. 24 fin.

[10] Mt xvii. 24–27; Mathews 118f. His injunction to the disciples to obey the instructions of the scribes and Pharisees who sat in Moses' seat is found only in 'Matthew' (xxiii. 2f) and is probably not genuine, for elsewhere Jesus calls them "blind guides." Other passages bearing on Jesus' reverence for the Mosaic Law are Mc vii. 6–13‖, x. 6–9‖, 18f‖s; Mt iv. 4, 7, 10‖, vii. 12, ix. 20‖, and xiv. 36‖ (cf. Numb xv. 37–41; Deut xxii. 12), xxii. 40‖; Lc xvi. 27–31.

[11] Mt v. 41 (xxvii. 32‖s). Cf. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 81f (E.T. 86f);

His refusal to be made a king by the Galilæans[1] marks a certain submissiveness even to Herodes. The most important, however, of his utterances in recognition of the rights of the State was that in which he described the imperial coins as "the things that belong to Cæsar," and bade the Jews pay them to Cæsar, and pay to God the things that were God's.[2] This saying and its context have always been recognized as of fundamental importance for Jesus' view of the State: it is the starting-point for all subsequent discussion of the subject: it has even been treated as if it constituted virtually the whole statement of his position.[3] It is therefore worth while considering rather carefully what it means. Apart from the implied rejection of the current Jewish longing for national independence,[4] the words of Jesus imply that the Roman Emperor was in some sense justly entitled to the taxes he demanded.[5] On the other hand, nothing is said, or perhaps even implied, as to the duty of obeying the Emperor's commands in matters not affecting taxation,[6] nor is there any hint of the Divine appointment of the Emperor. Jesus accorded, we may say, a certain justification to the financial measures of the imperial government, and would probably have accorded it to the Roman judicial system also (apart from its brutal punishments), as he had done to the Jewish judicial system: but that justification was—let it never be forgotten—relative only, relative

M'Neile, *St Matthew*, 70. Even Jesus' unresisting submission to the official measures that led to his own death indicate his unwillingness to undertake active opposition to the State: cf. Mathews 116; Bestmann i. 401.

[1] J vi. 15. [2] Mc xii. 17‖s.

[3] Bestmann i. 401: "Und damit hat er die beiden leitenden Grundsätze für alles christliche Verhalten zum Staat formuliert." Similarly Luthardt 94. Von Ranke declared the words to be "die wichtigste und folgenreichste unter allen Christusreden" (Holtzm. *RS* 12). Cf. Wendt i. 354–356; Bigelmair 76, 78; Martineau, *The Seat of Authority in Religion*, 632; W. S. Bruce, *Social Aspects of Christian Morality*, 180f, 211f; Liberty 96–101; Deissmann, *LVO* 214, 288 (regards the words as including a warning against the Kaiserkult).

[4] See above, pp. 8f, 35, and below, pp. 43f.

[5] The words of Weinel (*SUS* 9) "eine geringschätzige Handbewegung nach der Kaisermünze hin . . . Eine Anerkennung der satanischen Weltmacht sucht man diesem Wort vergeblich unterzuschieben," are inadequate. Mathews holds that the saying was non-committal on the question of the rightness of Cæsar's sovereignty (116–118). Even Holtzmann does not quite do justice to the words of Jesus: he says they express no sympathy with the Roman power, which is regarded simply as a temporary ordinance or institution like Nature and has accordingly to be put up with (*Th.* i. 275, *RS* 12f). Cf. O. Holtzmann, *Life of Jesus* (ET), 432f.

[6] Holtzm. *RS* 13: "Ist unter jener" (Kaiserpflicht) "gerade nur die eben in Rede stehende Einzelleistung gemeint oder gibt es eine ganze Kategorie von Pflichten, welche aus der Anerkennung des Unterthanenverhältnisses abzuleiten sind? In der Beantwortung dieser Frage schon laufen jene beiden Richtungen auseinander, welche zu Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts deutlich unterschieden werden können."

to the imperfect and unenlightened state of the agents concerned. The fact that they were not as yet ready to be his own followers was an essential condition of his approval of their public acts.[1]

Jesus' Severe Criticism of the Evils of Government.—In spite of all he said by way of approval, Jesus had much to say in disparagement of kings and governments. He had no reverence for the glitter of courts. Solomon's grandeur did not equal in his eyes the beauty of a simple wild flower.[2] He spoke with scant respect of the men clad in soft raiment who live luxuriously in kings' houses.[3] He bade his disciples beware of the leaven of Herodes, and spoke of that monarch as a she-fox.[4] He alludes to the inexorable severity of the judgment-courts. "Come speedily to an agreement with thine opponent . . . lest he hand thee over to the judge, and the judge to the gaoler, and thou be thrown into prison. Truly, I tell thee, thou wilt not come out thence, until thou payest the last farthing."[5] In one of the parables he takes as a typical case an unjust judge, who has no reverence for God or respect for man.[6] In the Sermon on the Mount, one of the examples he takes of the utter wrong a man may have to suffer is the unjust sentence of a court of law: "If any man would *go to law* with thee, and take away thy tunic, let him have thy cloak also."[7] He criticizes the Jewish leaders of his day for disloyalty to the Law,[8] for ostentatious pride and hypocrisy,[9] for oppression, maladministration, and injustice,[10] and for their harmful influence on others:[11] and he warns his disciples to let them alone, and to beware of following their example.[12]

Finally, all the governments known to Jesus stood condemned

[1] On Jesus' recognition of government and what it means, cf. M. Ilinsky's article 'A Free Church,' in *The Constructive Quarterly*, Sept. 1918, 499–502.

[2] Mt vi. 29||.

[3] Mt xi. 8||: cf. Allen's note (115): "The meaning is: 'You did not go all that way into the wilderness to see *a worldly sensualist*'" (italics mine).

[4] Mc viii. 15; Lc xiii. 32. Menzies (164b) interprets the leaven as "the principle of expediency that cares for no ideal" (cf. Cheyne in *EB* 2043). The facts about Antipas which Jesus must have known—e.g. his divorce of Aretas' daughter, his marriage with his brother's wife, his imprisonment and execution of John, his passion for building, and his luxurious court at the newly created capital Tiberias—were all calculated to give him an unfavourable view of the tetrarch's character.

[5] Mt v. 25f||.

[6] Lc xviii. 1–8.

[7] Mt v. 40. Cf. also the allusions to false witness, another of the legal abuses of the time, Mt xv. 19, xix. 18||s, xxvi. 59f||; Lc iii. 14, xix. 8. Whether the foregoing criticisms all have reference to *Jewish* courts or not is uncertain, and, for our present purpose, immaterial.

[8] Mc vii. 6–13||; Mt xxiii. 23, 28.

[9] Mc xii. 38–40||s; Mt vi. 2, 5, 16, xxiii. 5–7, 13, 15, 23, 28, etc.; Lc xiii. 14–17.

[10] Mc xii. 40||; Mt xxiii. 25–28||.

[11] Mt xxiii. 4||, 13||, 15f.

[12] Mc viii. 15||s; Mt vi. 1–18, xv. 14, xxiii. 3b.

for *the sin of persecuting God's messengers and servants.* The Jews had been repeatedly the slayers of the prophets";[1] and Jesus charged his contemporaries with being as guilty in this respect as their forefathers. He foretold that the judicial authorities of the nation would combine in compassing his own death.[2] He represented the synagogues—the centres of civil, as well as of ecclesiastical life—as destined to become the scenes of the persecution of his disciples.[3] Herodes had slain John the Baptist,[4] and was reported to be anxious to do the same to Jesus.[5] The Roman authorities were 'the gentiles,' the 'sinful men,' to whom Jesus knew he would fall a victim.[6] 'Kings and governors' figure in his teaching as a sort of ex-officio persecutors.[7]

The criticisms that we have thus far examined are levelled, not at anything inherent in the nature of government, but only at its more or less *accidental abuses.* Rulers and judges are not obliged by their office to be luxurious or unjust or to persecute. We have heard nothing as yet of a disapproval on principle of any essential function of government.[8] We have now, however, to study a number of passages in which such disapproval—qualified, indeed, but within its limits unmistakable—comes to light.

Jesus' Disapproval of Physical Violence and Penalties.—Several lines of evidence converge on the conclusion that Jesus disapproved of and rejected—both for himself and his followers—the use of physical violence and punishment, though he seems (as has been shown above) to have recognized that such methods are essential to all political governments in an imperfect world.

The first line of evidence starts from the familiar teaching of the Sermon on the Mount in regard to *non-resistance and submission to wrongs and love for enemies.*[9] The obvious difficulties in the way of obeying this teaching have led to more than one

[1] Mc xii. 2–5‖s; Mt v. 12‖, xxiii. 29–37‖; Lc xiii. 33f.

[2] Mc viii. 31, ix. 31, x. 33f, xii. 6–8‖s; Lc xiii. 33f. Cf. the Passion-stories, passim.

[3] Mc xiii. 9–12‖s; Mt xxiii. 34‖; J ix. 22, xii. 42, xvi. 2: cf. Lc vi. 22.

[4] Mc vi. 16–29‖s; Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. v. 2.

[5] Lc xiii. 31f: cf. also Mc vi. 14–16‖; Lc xxiii. 8. Jesus displays a certain apprehensiveness of the enmity of Herodes. Thus, after Herodes' curiosity was aroused, Jesus withdrew to a desert place in the territory of Philippus (Mc vi. 14ff, 30off: cf. Lc ix. 10). A withdrawal to the neighbourhood of Tyrus is mentioned in Mc vii. 24, and another to the territory of Philippus in viii. 27. In Mt xvii. 11f‖, Jesus speaks of the Baptist's death as a presage of his own.

[6] Mc x. 33f‖s; Lc xxiv. 7: cf. G ii. 15. [7] Mc xiii. 9‖s.

[8] Mathews 121. Jesus' view of the destruction of the Temple and the downfall of the Jewish State as a special judgment for Israel's sin (Mc xiii. 2, 14–19‖s; Lc xix. 41–44) does not commit him to any hostility towards government as such.

[9] Mt v. 38–48‖. The Lucan parallel (vi. 27–36) is very similar.

desperate exegetical attempt to escape from it. There is the familiar plea that Jesus meant his followers to adopt the spirit of his teaching, without being bound by the letter,[1] a plea which, as has been pointed out by no less an authority than Dr. Charles Gore, is generally equivalent in practice to totally ignoring the teaching in question, letter and spirit included.[2] Another hasty subterfuge is to say that these precepts are counsels of perfection valid only in a perfect society and not practicable under existing conditions. The utter impossibility of this explanation becomes obvious as soon as we recollect that in a perfect society there would be no wrongs to submit to and no enemies to love. A somewhat less shallow misinterpretation argues that Jesus meant this teaching to govern only the personal feelings of the disciple in his purely private capacity, and left untouched his duty—as a member of society and for the sake of social welfare—to participate in the authoritative and official restraint and punishment of wrong-doers. Whether or no this interpretation be sound ethical teaching for the present day, there can be no doubt that it does not represent the meaning of Jesus. For in this very passage, he exhibits society's authorized court of justice not as punishing the offender whom the disciple has charitably pardoned and then handed over to its jurisdiction, but as itself perpetrating the wrong that has to be borne.[3] And further, the Lex Talionis—that ancient Mosaic Law requiring, in a case of strife between two men resulting in injury to one of them, " life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe " [4]—was no mere authorization of private revenge, permitting within certain limits the indulgence of personal resentment, but a public measure designed in the interests of society as a restraint upon wrong-doing, and meant to be carried out by—or under the supervision of—the public officers of the community. Yet Jesus quotes the Lex Talionis for the sole purpose of forbidding his disciples to apply it.[5] It is further

[1] So, most recently, by Prof. P. Gardner in *The Legacy of Greece*, 395.

[2] See Dr. Gore's article on 'The Social Doctrine of the Sermon on the Mount' in *The Economic Review* for April 1892, 149: "The vast danger is that we should avail ourselves of a popular misinterpretation of St. Paul's language, and observe these precepts, as we say 'in the spirit,'—which is practically not at all in the actual details of life. . . . Therefore we must apply Christ's teaching in detail to the circumstances of our day."

[3] Mt v. 40. Similarly it is the *State* that imposes the vexatious forced labour (Mt v. 41).

[4] Exod xxi. 23–25. See Driver, *The Book of Exodus* (*Camb. Bible*, 1911), 219f.

[5] His treatment of the Lex Talionis is typical of that independence which

inaccurate to urge that Jesus was objecting simply to the vengeful spirit behind the old primitive law. For there is no reason to suppose that the average Jew prosecuted from motives less noble than those which are always supposed (in arguments on this point) to actuate the modern litigant, viz. a regard for the welfare of society. "The theory was that God rewarded every man according to his works. Hence not to punish an enemy was to pronounce a verdict in his favour, and against the man he had wronged. . . . The injured one might be good-natured enough not to wish any harm to the man who had treated him unjustly, but he could not afford to be put in the wrong before the face of the world, and before the bar of his own conscience. . . . This, not private, vengeful passion, was the secret of the vindictiveness of the Old Testament saint."[1] We are therefore driven to conclude that Jesus regarded the duty of neighbourly love as forbidding, not merely the indulgence of personal resentment, but also the infliction of judicial penalties.

A second line of evidence—equally cogent, though not perhaps so striking at first sight—starts from Jesus' *refusal to advance his ideals by political means.* He felt but coldly towards the fierce ambition of his fellow-countrymen for national independence and greatness, and he rejected the prevalent idea of the Messiah which was framed in conformity with these aspirations.[2] At the Temptation he refused to accept the kingdoms of the world, feeling that to do so would be equivalent to bowing the knee to Satan.[3] It is difficult to imagine any other ground for this feeling than the conviction that there was something immoral, something contrary to the Will of God, in the use of the only means by which world-rule could then be obtained, viz. compulsion and bloodshed. The idea that the evil to which he was tempted was pride or an eagerness for early success does not meet the case; for was it not his

—in strange combination with a religious deference—characterized his attitude to the Mosaic Law. Not only on the subject of retaliation, but on several other matters, he contrasted the Law with his own far stricter requirements (Mt v. 20–48 and—a special case—Mc x. 17–21||s). He took it upon himself to distinguish between the weightier and lighter matters of the Law (Mt xxiii. 23||) and to say which were the greatest commandments in it (Mc xii. 28ff||s).

[1] Bruce *A* 330.

[2] While submission to Roman rule (as a temporary but Divine arrangement) and abstention from all political agitation was often taught in the Rabbinic schools (Holtzm. *Th* i. 35), yet no one imagined that the Messiah himself could take up this position. "Der Messias des offiziellen rabbinischen Judentums ist und bleibt der zum Herrscher im Gottesreich bestimmte und für diese Würde durch übermenschliche Kraft ausgerüstete Mensch, der mächtige, weise, und gerechte König, welcher vermöge dieser seiner Eigenschaften für Israel eine Zeit vollkommenster Glückseligkeit herbeiführt" (*op. cit.* i. 108).

[3] Mt iv. 8–10||.

life's work to bring in the Kingdom as speedily as possible? Assuming that the use of armed force did not appear to him to be in itself illegitimate, why should he not have used it? Might not the enterprise have proved in his hands a complete success? Would he not have governed the Empire far more wisely and righteously than Tiberius? Why then should political ascendancy necessarily involve homage to Satan? But on the assumption that he regarded the use of violent methods as being not merely premature or unseasonable, as some would say—for if right in principle, why not as seasonable then as at any time?—but as being in itself contrary to the Will of God as he knew it, his attitude to the suggestion of world-empire becomes easily intelligible.[1] His refusal to be made a king by the Galilæans [2] doubtless rested upon the same ground.

We get a confirmation of this view in our third piece of evidence, which concerns his *disapproval of gentile 'authority,'* as expressed in the following words addressed to the Twelve: "Ye know that those who are reckoned to rule over the gentiles lord it over them, and their great men overbear them. But it is not so among you; but whoever wishes to become great among you shall be your servant, and whoever wishes to be first among you shall be slave of all. For the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give his life a ransom for many." [3] The pattern of the disciples' service was thus to be that rendered by their Master. That this service did not mean the abnegation of all authority as such is clear from the fact that Jesus himself claimed to be Teacher and Master of his disciples [4] and habitually gave them orders which he expected them to obey, and from the further fact that he conferred upon them the authority necessary for their own position as leaders.[5] What Jesus was forbidding in this passage must therefore have been, not the exercise of authority as such, but only the type of authority characteristic of gentile rule—an authority, that is, which is exercised over unwilling subjects and has accordingly to be supported by the sanction of physical force and physical penalties.

A fourth line of evidence is *Jesus' attitude to the function of*

[1] Cf. Seeley (ii.) 15–18; Headlam, *Life and Teaching of Jesus the Christ*, 293f; Cadoux *GJT* 149 n 2 and *MC* 77–80.

[2] J vi. 15.

[3] Mc x. 42–45||s. Lc mentions 'kings.' Cf. the detached way in which Jesus speaks of nation rising against nation and kingdom against kingdom (Mc xiii. 8||s).

[4] Mt xxiii. 10; J xiii. 13.

[5] Mt xvi. 19, xviii. 17f. See above, pp. 21f.

*judging*. He was once asked to put pressure upon a man who had deprived his brother of a proper share of their patrimony, with a view to making him act more justly; but he refused the task, saying: "Man, who made me a judge or divider over you?"[1] His statement that he had been sent to "proclaim release to captives . . . to set the oppressed at liberty" is just as patient of a literal, as it is of a spiritual, interpretation.[2] His precept "Judge not" probably refers to the personal habit of censoriousness; but the Lucan version of it has a markedly legal ring about it, and might quite conceivably bear reference to the doings of judge or plaintiff.[3] Perhaps the clearest piece of evidence under this heading is Jesus' treatment of the woman taken in adultery—an admittedly historical incident.[4] The Pharisees who brought her to him were quite right in saying that the Law of Moses required the infliction of the death-penalty for this offence.[5] Jesus himself had quoted the law sentencing the reviler of father or mother to death as the word or commandment of God, and exactly the same might have been said of the law pronouncing the death-penalty on the adulteress. But here Jesus sets aside the Divine ordinance, and remits all penalty: "Neither do I condemn thee; go, (and) henceforth sin no more."[6] His words reveal the real dualism of his attitude to public—particularly punitive—justice. He both approves of it, and disapproves of it. It remains to be seen whether any resolution of this dualism can be found.

Scope and Setting of this Non-Resistance Teaching.—In order that we may be able to appreciate and interpret aright the teaching of Jesus which we have just been examining, and to avoid some of that 'offence' with which it is so often received, we must take account of at least three accompanying conditions under which compliance with it is contemplated.

1. The ability to practise this teaching is strictly *relative to the status of discipleship*. It cannot legitimately be whittled down in the supposed interests of a spiritual—as distinct from a literal—interpretation: nor can the practice of it be postponed until the final perfection of society: nor can it be confined to the disciple's

[1] Lc xii. 13f. I do not argue that Jesus was here invited to expel the wrong-doer by force. But he was asked to lay down a quasi-legal injunction. The function suggested legal enforcement, if it did not actually involve it.

[2] Lc iv. 18. [3] Mt vii. 1ff; Lc vi. 37ff.

[4] J vii. 53–viii. 11; Moffatt *INT* 555f.

[5] Levit xx. 10; Deut xxii. 22–24.

[6] "It has been a wise measure to remove the crucifix from almost all the halls of justice among Christian nations, since this sign frequently discredits the work of the judges" (G. Rosadi, *The Trial of Jesus* [ET], 146).

personal, as distinct from his public, conduct. It was unquestionably meant to be taken as it stands. Nevertheless, it *is* subject to a certain limitation, in that the Teacher gives it forth for immediate acceptance, not by the whole of unredeemed humanity, but by that small, though growing, company of his own personal disciples. True it is that Jesus, clinging to the hope that the Jews as a whole might be able to rise to the level of children of the Kingdom, inculcated this ethic not only on his immediate followers, but upon the nation at large, as the one right and sane policy to pursue in its relations with the Roman power.[1] But before his ministry closed, it had become clear that this teaching was beyond the reach of the Jews as a whole. It was essentially a law for the Christian community, as distinct from the rest of the world: but it has to be borne in mind that that community is destined to grow until it embraces the whole human race.

2. This community grows by the adherence of one man after another, i.e. it *grows gradually*. Two gradual processes are thus set up and go on side by side, pari passu; firstly, a gradual diminution in the number of those who apply violent physical restraint, and secondly, a gradual diminution in the number of those whose wrong-doings are usually dealt with by those means. The concomitance of these processes obviously means no such sudden social or political upheaval as is often imagined, but a gradual and steady transition: and this remains true, even if we believe that Jesus consistently, though erroneously, looked forward to an impending cataclysm, whereby the Kingdom should be suddenly and finally set up through the intervention of God.

3. The negative attitude adopted and enjoined by Jesus towards the political method of maintaining righteousness, was more than compensated for by its *positive counterpart*. In abstaining from all use of injury, Jesus and his disciples did not reduce themselves to cyphers as practical powers for righteousness. They had their own method of rooting out evil, viz. love for the sinner.[2] As to its effectiveness, the cases we have already quoted[3] of the Gerasene madman, the prostitute, the adulteress, the extortionate tax-gatherer, and the brigand, prove what a far stronger reformer and guardian of morality Jesus was than the police and the courts

[1] See above, pp. 35f n 3.

[2] Cf. Fairbairn, *Studies in the Life of Christ*, 141: "In morals a good man is not simply a witness for virtue, but a means of repressing vice, of keeping alive in men a sense of duty, a consciousness of right, an ideal of the good and the true. 'Ye are the salt of the earth.'"

[3] See above, p. 32.

of justice: and he unquestionably expected his disciples to work on the same lines.[1]

Synthetic Summary of Jesus' Attitude to the State.—Jesus therefore acts towards the State—whether Jewish, or Herodian, or Imperial—not as if it were objectively either the perquisite of Satan or the sacrosanct and inviolable institution of God, but on the assumption that it is merely the organization through which some section of his fellow-men choose to express and enforce their collective will. The State is thus a special form of the general concept of 'neighbour'; and the practice of Jesus towards it and his precepts with regard to his followers' attitude to it are but special applications of his more general teaching in regard to behaviour towards men generally, whether good or bad.[2] Obedience to government-orders, the performance of forced labour, and the payment of taxes, even unfair ones,[3] are thus special applications of the more general precepts enjoining love and goodwill and generosity to all. The general principle that the disciple must not disobey or deny or be ashamed of his Master, implicitly authorizes, under certain conditions of State-persecution, direct disobedience to the orders of government.[4] Withdrawal, flight, or concealment

[1] It is surprising that this positive and practical contribution of the non-resisting Teacher and his disciples to the morality of society should have been almost entirely ignored by scholars and preachers in handling this side of Jesus' teaching. The remarks of Schell and Loisy, quoted by Holtzmann (*Th.* i. 229f) may be taken as typical examples of this remarkable oversight. Schell says: "Der selbstvergessene Altruismus, die ideale Humanität und Charitas würde bei wörtlicher Erfüllung einiger Vorschriften der Bergpredigt den bösen Neigungen willkommene Förderung bieten, ja sie würde durch ihre Nachgiebigkeit die Schlechten geradezu zum Schwelgen in zuchtlosem Uebermut reizen." Loisy says: "Un pays où tous les honnêtes gens se conformeraient à ces maximes, au lieu de ressembler au royaume des cieux, serait le paradis des voleurs et des scélérats." Loisy has forgotten what happened to the 'scélérats' and 'voleurs' whom Jesus dealt with. Cf. Holtzm. *Th.* i. 231f. Herrmann, whose contention that the eschatology of Jesus invalidates his ethics, has already been referred to (pp. 13f n 2), makes no allowance at all for any of the three considerations just adduced in the text: hence, his conclusion ("Thus Jesus brings us into conflict with social duties to which we all wish to cling," *SG* 162–164) rests upon several misapprehensions. Similarly, B.-Baker *ICW* 13: "if the right of using force to maintain order be denied, utter social disorganisation must result." Mathews' treatment of the non-resistance teaching (212–217) is much more satisfactory; though even he is not quite clear as to the purely relative nature of Jesus' approval of judicial penalties.

[2] Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 36 (i. 249) (quoted below, p. 367 n 2). [3] See above, p. 38.

[4] The words of Jesus about persecution represent the disciple as faced with the alternative of confessing or denying his Master (Mt x. 32ff||), of being ashamed or not being ashamed of him (Mc viii. 38||). They bid him not be afraid of those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul (Mt x. 28||: cf. Mc viii. 35||s). In view of these indications, it is only natural to imagine that a disciple's 'confession' might at times, perhaps as a rule, have to take the form of a deliberate refusal to obey a government-order. The apostolic dictum: "We must obey God rather than men" (Ac v. 29, cf. iv. 19f) thus goes back

in the face of danger is the right course to take, whether the persecution be a government-concern, or merely an outburst of popular disfavour.[1] Jesus puts his disciples on their guard against Herodes and the Jewish rulers [2] in the same way that he would caution them against any dangerous person, politician or otherwise. He denounces the Jewish rulers on the principle that an erring brother is to be rebuked.[3] He passes by without open or direct remonstrance the imprisonment and murder of John the Baptist by Herodes [4] and the slaughter of the Galilæans by Pilatus,[5] and he stands silent at his trial,[6] because it is futile to give that which is sacred to dogs and to cast pearls before swine.[7] He submits without resistance to the indignities inflicted on him by the various governing bodies into whose hands he fell, in obedience to his own maxim " not to resist him who is evil." He asks the Father to forgive them, in accordance with the command : " Pray for them that persecute you." [8]

But in its paternal and beneficent activities, the State would have found in Jesus a hearty ally.[9] Though the question does not, as a matter of fact, arise in the Gospels, there was nothing in his teaching which would have forbidden a disciple to co-operate with the government in those useful and benevolent functions that did not involve the office-bearer in any breach of the law of love. But there was yet another sense in which Jesus and his growing company of adherents could have justly claimed to be the allies and helpers of the governments under which they lived. One of the

in essence to Jesus. And it is a legitimate interpretation of ' confession ' to take it as covering adherence to some moral precept of Jesus, as well as a faithful avowal of discipleship in general, though it may be granted that we have no direct evidence that such cases of conflict were actually present to Jesus' mind.

[1] Lc iv. 28–30 ; Mc iii. 6f‖, vi. 14–16, 30–32‖ ; Mt x. 23 ; J vii. 1, x. 39, xi. 53f.

[2] Mc viii. 15, xii. 38–40 ; Mt xvi. 6, 11f, etc.

[3] Mt xxiii., etc., xviii. 15ff ; Lc xvii. 3.

[4] Mt iv. 12ff‖, xiv. 12f‖, xvii. 12f‖. His speaking of Herodes as " this shefox " (Lc xiii. 32) is no exception to this statement; for the phrase was not addressed or sent as a message to Herodes, but simply used of him by Jesus in conversation with the Pharisees.

[5] Lx xiii. 1–3.

[6] Mc xiv. 60f‖, xv. 4f‖ ; Lc xxiii. 9f; J xix. 9f. His silence, however, was not absolute ; he answered when the High Priest ' adjured ' him (see above, p. 28 n 3), and he seems to have replied courteously to the questions of Pilatus (Mc xv. 2‖s).

[7] Mt vii. 6.

[8] See the Passion-stories, passim, esp. Lc xxiii. 34. Seeley's limitation ((xxi.) 310f) of the reference of this prayer to the Roman soldiers is open to grave question. Is the elect's cry for vengeance (Lc xviii. 7) really a suggestion of Jesus himself ? Montefiore (*SG* ii. 1020) rightly doubts it.

[9] According to Bestmann (i. 401), Jesus, in enjoining obedience to the State, demanded " die Förderung der mit dem staatlichen Leben gesetzten Zwecke. Denn in dem Gehorsam liegt die Anerkennung der staatlichen Zwecke als meiner eigenen.".

prime ends of those—as of all—governments was the suppression of crime and the maintenance and advancement of morality. This was not only a justifiable, but even a sacred, aim: and Jesus not only approved of it, but co-operated strenuously in achieving it, using even more efficient means than the best that were available for the State's use. To the State's means of coercion and penalty—in so far as they were honestly applied—Jesus accorded a certain relative approval—relative, that is, to the immaturity of those who had not learnt the meaning and the potency of loving one's neighbour as oneself. But he himself put this duty of love at the top of his scale of ethical values, and interpreted it as implying abstention from violent restraint and from the infliction of physical penalties.[1] So clear was his conviction on this point that to establish his sway by political means was equivalent in his eyes to an act of homage paid to Satan. But further, he demonstrated that, without the use of such means, he was able to work more effectively for the cause of righteousness than the State itself with all its restrictive and punitive apparatus. And it is worth remarking that any attempt to combine the use of violent physical restraint and penalty with his own peculiar reformative policy would have rendered the latter inoperative: Jesus could not have touched the adulteress's heart as he did, had he been ready to stone her; nor could he have moved the robber to penitence, had he been one of those who fastened him to the cross. It is impossible to think that he would have approved of any of the disciples participating, in his civil capacity, in scourging or stoning or crucifying one guilty of an offence against the public welfare.

It would follow logically from the adoption of his policy, taken in conjunction with the constant numerical increase in the membership of the Kingdom, that ultimately governments, in so far as they involve the infliction of penalties by man on man, should come to an end.[2] The eschatological problem forbids us here to speak with confidence of the way in which Jesus actually expected this change to be brought about: but once again, even granting the eschatologist's position, the policy and the forecast which we have sketched are logically implicit in his utterances, and therefore stand

[1] A very similar case of relative approval combined with personal dissent is seen in Jesus' treatment of the Mosaic law of divorce. He appears to have justified Moses for demanding *as a legislator* something less than the full Divine requirements on account of the hardness of men's hearts: but he did not conceal his own knowledge of a higher and stricter standard, to which he would doubtless have required his disciples to adhere (Mc x. 2–12‖).

[2] Cf. Orchard, *The Necessity of Christ*, 119: "The State as an enforced organisation must itself pass away. . . . The State must disappear within the Church."

as legitimate inferences from his teaching, even when the eschatological dream has been discarded. The basis on which we have tried to found our view of his attitude to the State is too broad to leave our results in dependence on the solution of the eschatological problem. Our conclusions have been drawn from his fundamental ethical principles, as well as his application of them to the conditions of his own time. In any case, Jesus did look forward to the abolition of government by violence, however uncertain we may be of his views as to ways and means. "Happy are the gentle," he says, "for they will inherit the earth."[1] It is only in such a sense that Jesus can be said to have 'rejected' the State. He does not seem to have identified the Empire objectively with the realm of Satan. He had no share in the Jewish bitterness against it. While fearlessly criticizing and condemning abuses, he does not censure government as such. His own Church, on the contrary, resembled secular government in so far as it was an organization of superiors and subordinates framed for the purpose of checking and abolishing evil.[2] But in founding that Church, he was setting on foot a movement so framed, that, granting the continuance of its growth, it would eventually make all governments—in the sense of institutions employing violence—needless and wrong.[3]

[1] Mt v. 5. The dethronement of princes was a standing element in current Messianic thought: cf. Lc i. 52. "Allerdings wird mit der Umwandelung der Erde zu einem Himmelreich wie vieles andere, z. B. der jerusalemische Tempel, so auch die römische Zwangsherrschaft verschwinden und statt ihrer vielmehr die Sanftmütigen das Erdreich besitzen" (Holtzm. *Th.* i. 274). Cf. Montefiore *SG* i. 54f.

[2] Fremantle 113 ("Further we may say that our Lord's words constitute a political revelation. Government is essentially a moral and spiritual process, it is only secondarily one of compulsion: and it is directed ultimately not to material but to spiritual ends"). Cf. Mathews 123–128; Rosadi, *Trial of Jesus* (ET), 56–64.

[3] According to Weinel, Jesus viewed the Empire as Satanic: apart from this point, his position is largely, if not wholly, that suggested in these pages; thus he says: "So hat Jesus überall ganz bewusst seine Stellung *über dem alten Ideal des staatlichen Daseins der Völker mit seinem Zwang und Vergeltungsrecht, mit seinem Egoismus und Blutvergiessen* genommen. Es war nicht Kindlichkeit und sentimentale Schwärmerei, die nicht begriffen hätte, was hier für die Völker und den Einzelnen auf dem Spiele stand. . . . Es war bei Jesus auch nicht asketische Flucht aus der Welt. Er ist nicht als Einsiedler in die Wüste gegangen, *er hat die Forderung des Verzichtes nur für den Fall des Konfliktes gelehrt und nur da seine Mitarbeit verweigert, wo sein Gewissen in Frage kam.* . . . Und endlich war es auch bei ihm *nicht, wie viele glauben, ein Jenseitsfanatismus*, der über lauter phantastischen Hoffnungen die Forderung des Tages nicht sieht. . . . Ihm stand es mit ungeheurer Gewissheit fest, dass Gott die Erde nicht weiter sich überlassen werde, dass er die Menschen dem Satan und den Dämonen, den Kaisern und Priestern und allen blinden Blindenführern entreissen müsse. *Die Ablehnung des Staates ist bei ihm die Folge seines neuen positiven Ideals von Menschentum und Menschengemeinschaft gewesen*" (Weinel *SUS* 9f, italics mine: cf. id. *Th.* 116).

# CHAPTER V

## JESUS AND WAR[1]

RANGE OF JESUS' TEACHING ABOUT WAR.—The application of Jesus' ethical principles to the concrete affairs of life was bound to raise a number of complicated and difficult problems; and in the nature of the case it was not possible for Jesus to pronounce decisions on all of these. Upon large tracts of human conduct, he rarely or never had occasion to enter; and hence practically no specific teaching of his is recorded concerning them. One such tract was the institution of slavery.[2] Was war another? The traditional answer is that it was. We have been reminded that the Gospels contain no explicit pronouncement made by Jesus on the question whether or no his disciples might bear arms. And there is a certain amount of evidence in the conditions of the time that might be appealed to as explaining his silence and justifying a negative inference from it. The proportion of soldiers to the civilian population of Palestine must have been infinitesimal. In Judæa, apart from a small body of Temple police, the only soldiers would be gentiles in the Roman army. In Galilee, Peræa, Batanæa, etc., were to be found the small armies maintained by the Herodian princes. Jews were legally exempted from service in the Roman army; and there would seem to be no likelihood that any disciple or adherent of Jesus would be impressed against his will into the forces of Antipas or Philippus.[3] But we must remember that teaching may be fairly clear and certain even when it is not in the strict sense explicit: and in any summary of the conditions of the time we must include the burning enmity of the Jews towards Rome, as testified by the existence of the Zealots and by the events, especially, of A.D. 66–70. Such a situation might have precipitated a national struggle with Rome at any moment; and it is inconceivable that one believing himself to be the national Messiah, and hoping at least at first for a national adherence to himself, should have had nothing to say in regard to this international crisis. We have

[1] Cf. Cadoux *ECAW* 19–47; also Moffatt, art. 'War' in *DAC* ii. 647–649.

[2] I have not thought it worth while to enter on a discussion of the problem of slavery in the light of Jesus' teaching. While on the one hand it is true that the abolition of slavery is the logical outcome of the working of his spirit in the hearts of men, it is on the other hand clear that Jesus himself never handled the question at all as a matter affecting the conduct of his disciples.

[3] See below, p. 116f.

noticed already[1] what policy Jesus advocated for his fellow-countrymen; and it remains for us to see whether a fair exegesis of his teaching—both direct and indirect—on the subject of war substantiates the views we have already been led to take.

Jesus' Illustrative Allusions to War.—In order somewhat to clear the ground, we may begin by adverting to the two or three references made to war by Jesus for the purpose of illustrating some point in his teaching. The first of these has already been referred to: "Think not that I came to bring peace to the earth: I came not to bring peace, but a sword." Jesus is here simply saying that, as a result of his coming, fierce antipathies will arise against his adherents on the part of their fellow-men.[2] The second is the passage in which Jesus speaks of violent men snatching the Kingdom of Heaven, or of people forcing their way into it. Here again the allusion is purely metaphorical, the point being that eagerness and enterprise are needful in order to secure entrance into the Kingdom.[3] The third case is Jesus' parabolic description of the king with ten thousand men taking counsel whether he can engage in war with another king who is coming against him with twenty thousand, and, if he cannot, sending to ask for terms of peace. The parable is meant to teach the duty of counting in advance the cost of that renunciation which is involved in being Jesus' disciple.[4] Another parabolic reference to war occurs in the parable of the king's marriage-feast, where he sends his armies to kill those who murdered his messengers and to burn their city: but this is almost certainly a gloss of the evangelist's, meant to illustrate God's punishment of the wicked.[5] Lastly, if we are justified in including it under this heading, there is the extremely obscure and difficult passage, in which, at the Last Supper, Jesus says to the disciples: "Let him who has no sword, sell his cloak and buy one." When the disciples point out that they have two swords, Jesus terminates the conversation abruptly with the words: "It is enough." The obvious fact that two swords were *not* enough to defend twelve men is sufficient of itself to rule

[1] See above, pp. 35f, 46.

[2] Mt x. 34; Lc xii. 51. See above, p. 32f n 9. "Gemeint ist die Entzweiung in den Familien, welche die Folge der Verkündigung des Evangeliums sein wird, und der Friede ist hier der häusliche Friede" (Harnack *MC* 4).

[3] Mt xi. 12; Lc xvi. 16. "Der Sinn ist also: Weil das Himmelreich jetzt mit Gewalt d. h. stürmisch eindringt, so muss man gewaltsam zugreifen, um es nicht vorübergehen zu lassen, sondern um es für sich zu gewinnen. Etwas Kriegerisches liegt nur im Bilde, nicht in der Sache" (Harnack *MC* 4).

[4] Lc xiv. 31–33.

[5] Mt xxii. 6f: contrast Lc xiv. 21 and see above, p. 37 n 1, and below, pp. 54f.

out a literal interpretation ; but to get a satisfactory sense on any other lines is almost equally difficult. The interpretation adopted by Harnack, viz. that the sword was meant metaphorically to represent the steadfast defence of the Gospel under the persecution which was about to befall the disciples, is possibly the best within our reach at present.[1]

It is hardly necessary to repeat what has already been said in another connection in regard to such illustrative and parabolic allusions. We can no more infer from them that Jesus would have approved of his disciples bearing arms than we can infer from parables mentioning the scourging and execution of offenders that he would have approved of his disciples participating in these practices.[2] The utmost we can say is that, at the moment of making these comparisons, the mind of Jesus may not have been concerned with the subject of war as an ethical question for members of the Kingdom, and his words have accordingly no significance in connection with that question.[3]

Jesus and the Centurion.—In the little intercourse that Jesus had with soldiers, we find no hint that he uttered any disapproval of the military calling as such. His record in this respect is somewhat similar to that of John the Baptist.[4] When he was asked by a gentile centurion, in the service of Herodes at Kapharnaum, to cure his paralytic servant, he not only granted his request, without (so far as we know) uttering any sort of disapproval of the man's profession, but even expressed a warm appreciation

[1] Lc xxii. 35–38. Harnack says (*MC* 4f) : "Die wahrscheinlichste Deutung bleibt die, nach der Jesus seinen Jüngern gesagt hat, ihre Lage werde sich nun gänzlich ändern ; so lange sie bei ihm waren, habe er sie vor Mangel geschützt ; nun aber werde nicht nur Mangel eintreten, sondern die bitterste Verfolgung über sie kommen ; gegen sie müssten sie alles aufbieten, und das Schwert werde in Zukunft ihr nötigstes Werkzeug sein. Er meinte die kriegerische Bereitschaft, das Evangelium mit allen Mitteln zu verteidigen ; sie aber verstanden ihn sinnlich und wiesen auf die zwei Schwerter hin, die im Gemache waren. Ironisch bricht er das Gespräch ab mit den Worten : Es ist genug. Ganz befriedigend ist freilich auch diese Erklärung nicht ; denn man ist am Anfang nicht darauf gefasst, dass das Schwert bildlich zu verstehen ist." Cf. Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 649. S. Hobhouse, in *The Expository Times* for March, 1919 (vol. xxx. 278–280), plausibly argues that Jesus' words were an ironical suggestion that he and his followers should equip themselves like robbers, since their enemies, in fulfilment of prophecy (Isa liii. 12), insisted on regarding them as such (Lc xxii. 37, 52‖s). Moffatt (*l.c.*) and Montefiore (*SG* ii. 1061–1065) give interesting collections of different interpretations.

[2] See above, p. 36f.

[3] Lc xxii. 35–38 "cannot be set up against the other pacific sayings which are so characteristic of the teaching of Jesus" (Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 649b).

[4] Lc iii. 14.

of his faith in believing, on the analogy of his own military authority, that Jesus could cure the illness at a distance by a simple word of command.[1] But apart from the brevity of the narrative, the fact that Jesus was addressing, not an applicant for discipleship, but a gentile stranger who was asking a favour, forbids us to draw, either from his speech or from his silence, any direct inferences on the question we are investigating.

The Wars of the Future.—In his prophecies of the Last Things, Jesus foretold that nation would rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom, that wars and rumours of wars would be heard of, and that, as a result of the national rejection of Jesus' own policy of goodwill, endurance, and reconciliation, Judæa would be devastated, Jerusalem besieged and taken by the gentiles, and the Temple defiled and destroyed.[2] It is difficult to separate these more detailed announcements from those other general prophecies, in which calamity is foretold as the approaching judgment of God upon the sins of the nation.[3] The connection between the two is suggested by the parabolic gloss, already quoted, about the king who, angered at the murder of his slaves, sent his armies and destroyed the murderers and burnt their city.[4] The thought of God punishing the Jews as a nation by means of the terrors of war, and that through the instrumentality of the Roman armies, raises a number of acute theological problems. How, for instance, is this teaching to be related to that picture of the Divine perfection, in which God is portrayed as showering the blessings of Nature upon good and evil alike? Upon this theological question it is not possible here to enter. It is sufficient for the moment to remark that, whatever may be the prima facie grounds for regarding as permissible all human action that is an imitation of Divine action, Jesus does as a matter of fact limit his counsels of imitation to the gentler side of Divine action, and never,

[1] Mt viii. 5–13||. Seeley sees in the words of Jesus an indication that the analogy of his Church to an army was present to his mind (Pref. to 5th edn., xvi.). The centurion, indeed, suggested the analogy between Jesus' power over disease and his own power over his soldiers; but what Jesus approved was not, as Seeley suggests, the officer's humility or his strong sense of "filling a place in a graduated scale," but the unquestioning faith in Jesus' power which his bold analogy revealed. Cf. Cadoux *GJT* 100 n 1.

[2] Mc xiii. 2, 7f, 14–20||s; Mt xxiv. 28; Lc xvii. 22–37, xix. 41–44, xxiii. 28–31. The Lucan passages contain more concrete detail than the other two, and accordingly have been dated after 70 A.D. as a vaticinium post eventum (though Harnack in *DA* 118–124 argues strongly against this view).

[3] Mt xi. 21–24, xiii. 37–43, 49f (cf. xxiv. 3), xxiii. 33–36; Lc xii. 54–xiii. 9, xix. 44b, xxi. 22, etc.

[4] Mt xxii. 7; cf. xxi. 41||s. See above, pp. 37 n 1, 52.

even remotely, contemplates a disciple of his own acting as the instrument of God's punitive justice. Once again, therefore, we are left without any materials for forming a judgment on the particular question before us.[1]

The Pertinent Ethical Principles of Jesus.—We get at last to closer grips with our subject when we come to that ethical teaching of Jesus, which according to any natural and straightforward exegesis is obviously and flagrantly incompatible with intentional and organized bloodshed, and therefore with war. The repeated prohibition of homicide[2] (reinforced by the prohibition of anger in thought and word[3]), the prohibition of resistance to and retaliation upon a wrong-doer, and the command to the disciples to love their enemies, cannot without a lot of unnatural straining and forcing be harmonized with the work of a soldier. Having already discussed this teaching at some length,[4] it is unnecessary to repeat the reasons why it cannot be dismissed either as a counsel of perfection practicable only in a perfect state of society, nor as a mere external 'letter of the law' to be disregarded in the interests of the spirit,[5] nor yet as a law applying only to private conduct or inner feelings and having no bearing on the disciple's duty as a citizen. The attempt to get rid of the difficulty by these means involves serious misinterpretation of the evidence before us. It is much better to admit frankly the impossibility of harmonizing the words and meaning of Jesus with the practice of

[1] See above, pp. 36f.

[2] Mt v. 21f, xv. 19||, xix. 18||s. No doubt the sixth commandment in the Decalogue (Exod. xx. 13) was meant to apply to private murder, not to the taking of life in battle: and the ethical distinction between the two acts is not to be ignored. But while there is an ethical distinction, there is also an ethical similarity, as the usage of the same Greek word for the two indicates: φονεύω and φόνος are used in classical Greek and in the LXX of slaughter in war (e.g. Herodotus i. 211; Æschylus *Theb.* 341; Exod xvii. 13; Levit xxvi. 7; Numb xxi. 24; Deut xiii. 15, xx. 13; Josh x. 28, 30, 32, 35; Isa xxi. 15), as well as of murder proper.

[3] Mt v. 21f.

[4] See above, pp. 41–43.

[5] B.-Baker *ICW* 11–13: "Thus it is that Christ never seems to wish so much to assert a new truth, or a new law, as to impress upon His hearers the spiritual significance of some old truth or law; to raise them altogether out of the sphere of petty detail into the life of all-embracing principles. . . . It is essential to our understanding of Christ's meaning to observe that He designs to give a spiritual turn, if we may say so, to the old specific law. . . . So we cannot regard the extension which the law 'Thou shalt not kill' received from Jesus as a comprehensive denial of the right of man ever to deprive a fellow-creature—in the beautiful language of the sermon on the mount, a brother—of his earthly life . . ." Later on (15): "What we have already considered of His words and actions, and we shall notice more to the same effect, shows that He countenanced and sanctioned war, at all events in the existing circumstances and conditions of mankind." And again (18): "We have seen

war, and to seek, if need be, some other solution of the difficulty.[1] Many, ignoring the real limitations and conditions under which compliance with this teaching has to be contemplated, treat it as obvious that literal obedience to it would result in disastrous social disorganization and a riotous increase in crime; and they find a way of escape in the argument that Jesus' belief in the impending break-up of the world-order not only explains his indifference to the stability of society, but invalidates his teaching for those who do not share his historical perspective. When, however, due attention is paid to these limitations and conditions,[2] the groundlessness of this assumption of a sudden relaxation of all restraint on crime becomes clearly visible, and the pragmatic motive of the appeal to the interim-ethic theory simply disappears. Be that as it may, seeing that we are here concerned to discover the meaning of the historical Jesus, and not to argue as to its modern practicability, the interim-ethic theory is of interest as virtually conceding that the teaching of Jesus himself cannot be harmonized with the practice of war.

The Pertinent Specific Instructions of Jesus.—While no occasion is recorded as having presented itself to Jesus for any considered pronouncement on the general question of how his teachings applied to service in the armies of the then existing states, yet two utterances of his are preserved bearing on the disciples' duty in particular cases: and both of them—so far as they go—confirm the conclusion to which we are led on other grounds.

The first occurs in the apocalyptic discourse and bids the disciples, at the time of the devastation of Judæa and the defilement of the

then so far that war is sanctioned . . . by the teaching and practice of Christ." In these passages the vital distinction between the standard applicable to a heathen society and that applicable to enlightened disciples is ignored; and this oversight, taken in conjunction with the forced interpretation of Jesus' words, vitiates the argument and invalidates the conclusion, so far as it is meant to refer to the conduct of Christians. The reader may judge for himself how far astray this author's interpretation of the teaching of Jesus leads him, from the following statement, taken from the same context (12): "The theory upon which the Inquisition acted, that physical sufferings are of no moment in comparison with the supreme importance of the spiritual welfare, is quite consonant with the tone of Christ's commands and teaching."

[1] So Herrmann *SG* 217f: "As a result of that frame of mind whereby we are united with Him, we desire the existence of a national State, with a character and with duties with which Jesus was not yet acquainted; we will not let ourselves be led astray, even if in this form of human nature various features are *as sharply opposed to the mode of life and standpoint of Jesus as is the dauntless use of arms*" (italics mine). Similarly, K. Lake, *The Stewardship of Faith*, 30–36, 71, *Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity*, 33–35, and in *The Hibbert Journal*, Oct. 1924, 18.

[2] See above, pp. 45–47.

Temple, flee to the mountains.[1] It is true that not much can be built on this saying ; for it occurs in a highly problematical context, one which many scholars refuse to regard as recording the actual utterances of Jesus at all, and which even if authentic is not easily explained. Still, if it be a fact that Jesus anticipated a gentile attack on Judæa and Jerusalem, and bade his followers flee instead of resisting it, that fact is not without significance for the question before us.

The second is the saying addressed to Peter in the garden of Gethsemane, when, in defence of his Master, he drew his sword and attacked the High Priest's servant. Jesus said to him : " Put back thy sword into its place : for all who take the sword shall perish by the sword." [2] Here the circumstances and the prohibition —like all incidents in actual life—are special : but, inasmuch as the grim truth on which the prohibition is founded is perfectly general, one might argue that the prohibition itself also is more than an order meant to meet a particular case, but has in it something of the universality of a general principle of conduct.[3]

Finally, the most natural interpretation, it is submitted, of the temptation of Jesus to do homage to Satan in order to obtain the kingdoms of the world as his own, strongly confirms the results at which we have arrived on independent lines. Without repeating here the arguments that have been adduced above,[4] we may say that no other assumption so clearly explains both the temptation and the way it was met, than the assumption that Jesus felt that the one practical means of winning the lordship of the world speedily and completely, that is to say, the use of arms, was forbidden to him by that moral code which he called the Will of God, and which contained the laws of love and gentleness and the Golden Rule among its prime enactments. To have taken arms, therefore, would have been to him disobedience to God, and thus an act of homage to Satan. Hence his decision. All that we have seen of the teaching he gave to his disciples is in harmony with that decision.

[1] Mt xxiv. 15–22‖s : cf. Lc xvii. 31–37‖.

[2] Mt xxvi. 51f.

[3] The question has been asked, how Peter came to be carrying a sword at all if his Master discountenanced the use of weapons (J. M. Lloyd Thomas, *The Immorality of Non-resistance*, ix; Prof. Sonnenschein, in *The Hibbert Journal*, July 1915, 865f). The answer is that Peter may very well have failed to understand his Master's real meaning (particularly perhaps the 'two swords' saying), and, apprehending danger, may have put on a sword without Jesus noticing it.

[4] See above, pp. 43f.

# CHAPTER VI

## JESUS AND THE FAMILY [1]

JESUS HONOURS THE FAMILY.—Jesus displayed the greatest reverence for the institution and laws of family-life. The command to honour father and mother had, he said, been given by God Himself, and carried with it the obligation of supporting them in their old age.[2] He appealed to the parental instinct as a sure and certain indication of God's attitude to His children.[3] He acted with gracious and tender sympathy towards the concern of Jairus and his wife for their little daughter.[4] He treated it as obvious that concord and unity are essential to the very existence of a household.[5] He sanctioned and adopted as his own the Jewish usage of the word 'brother' to indicate the close and holy tie of a common religious faith.[6] In his parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, even the former, amid the torments of Hades, has still sufficient family sentiment to be anxious about the salvation of his five brothers.[7]

Equally sacred in Jesus' eyes is the relation between man and woman as husband and wife: God in the beginning had made them male and female; they had become one flesh; and what God had joined together, man must not separate. The obligations imposed by the marriage-tie must not therefore be annulled by divorce [8] or violated by illicit intercourse, in the form either of

[1] Wendt i. 351–354; Mathews 79–106; Peabody (iii.) 49–65; Holtzm. *Th.* i. 239f; Troeltsch 48.

[2] Mt xv. 4–6||, xix. 19||s: cf. Lc ii. 51 (Jesus subject to his parents as a boy).

[3] Mt vii. 9–11||; Lc xiv. 5. "God is a Father, man is his child; . . . the uninterrupted and watching care of the parent is the fairest earthly type of the unfailing forgiveness of God. The family is, to the mind of Jesus, the nearest of human analogies to that Divine order which it was his mission to reveal" (Peabody (iii.) 54f: cf. Holtzm. *Th.* i. 162). It had been anticipated as part of the task of John, that he would "turn the hearts of fathers to children," Lc i. 17.

[4] Mc v. 23f, 36, 40–43||s.

[5] Mc iii. 25||s.

[6] See above, pp. 7 n 3, 26 n 1, 29.

[7] Lc xvi. 27–31.

[8] Mc x. 2–12||; Mt v. 31f; Lc xvi. 18; 1 C vi. 16, vii. 10f; Peabody (iii.) 56f. Allen (*DCG* i. 484f) rightly argues that Jesus absolutely prohibited divorce to his followers, and that the modifications of this teaching in Mt permitting divorce (and presumably re-marriage) in case of unfaithfulness are due to the compiler of the Gospel and not to Jesus. On the Mosaic permission of divorce, see above, p. 49 n 1.

prostitution[1] or adultery[2] or by any lascivious deed or purpose.[3]

Family Obligations Subordinate to those of the Kingdom. —Subject to the proviso that the prohibition of sexual vice is absolute, Jesus pronounced all the obligations of family life to be less important and binding than the duties owed to himself and to the Kingdom of God. As a boy of twelve, he had acted independently of his parents, and remained behind in Jerusalem, "in his Father's house," while they had started on their way home to Galilee.[4] Two of his first disciples had, at his bidding, left their father in his fishing-boat with the hired servants, and followed him.[5] Early in his ministry, his mother and brothers, hearing of his doings, came to the conclusion that he was out of his mind, and tried to get him under their control. When Jesus, amid a crowd of listeners, was told that his relatives had come and wanted to speak to him, he declared that his only real relatives were the disciples around him who were doing God's Will.[6] To the would-be disciple, who asked to be allowed to bury his father before following Jesus, he replied: "Follow me, and let the dead bury their own dead."[7] To another who wanted to bid farewell to his household, the word was: "No one who puts his hand to the plough and looks back is fitted for the Kingdom of God."[8] He once urged his host, whenever he gave a dinner or a supper, not to invite his own brothers and relatives who would be able to ask him back, but rather the poor and disabled who could not return the favour, adding that he would be rewarded at the resurrection of the just.[9]

The demands of the Kingdom of God might involve for some a life of *celibacy*. "There are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven. Let him who is able to receive (it), receive (it)."[10] Among those in the parable who decline the invitation to the Messianic Feast, is the man who has married a wife and therefore cannot come.[11] The pre-occupations of married life had helped to render people insensible of

[1] Mc vii. 21‖; Lc vii. 47.
[2] Mc vii. 22‖, (viii. 38), x. 19‖s; Mt v. 27f (xii. 39, xvi. 4).
[3] Mc iv. 19, vii. 22 (ἀσέλγεια); Mt v. 27f, xxiii. 25 (ἀκρασία). As J. A. Hadfield (*Psychology and Morals*, 133 n) rightly points out, Mt v. 28 does not refer to the ordinary sex-feelings of men towards women, but to the *intention* to indulge a passion for a *married* woman.
[4] Lc ii. 41–51.
[5] Mc i. 20‖.
[6] Mc iii. 21, 31–35. We are not told whether Jesus granted his relatives an interview on this occasion. Certainly he did not suffer them to lead him homeward.
[7] Mt viii. 21f‖.
[8] Lc ix. 61f.
[9] Lc xiv. 12–14.
[10] Mt xix. 12.
[11] Lc xiv. 20.

approaching judgment in the days of Noah and Lot, and would do so again in the days of the Son of Man.[1] In the life of the righteous after death—a life so often joined in thought with the life of the Kingdom of God on earth—people neither marry nor are given in marriage.[2] Jesus does not, however, exalt celibacy as an ideal state for men generally or even for his own disciples. To do so would have been to contradict his own words as to the Divine origin and sanction of marriage. But he does realize that, under the conditions then existing, not only the marriage-tie, but any family bond, might quite easily become a hindrance to loyal discipleship and zealous service of the Kingdom; and he insists with great emphasis on the relative subordination of such domestic claims. "Call no man your father on earth: for one is your Father—the heavenly."[3] "Truly, I tell you, there is no one who has left house or brothers or sisters or mother or father or children or lands for my sake and the Gospel's, but shall receive a hundredfold now in this present season, houses and brothers and sisters and mothers and children and lands, with persecutions, and in the age that is coming eternal life."[4] "If any one comes to me and hates not his father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, yes, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple."[5] He does not contradict what he has said elsewhere concerning the duties owed to parents, brothers and sisters, children and wife. He simply puts these duties resolutely on a lower level than those concerned with the spreading of the Kingdom of God and obeying its laws. Such teaching, taken in conjunction with the striking originality of Jesus' message and the well-known slowness of relatives to enter into one another's religious enthusiasms,[6] was bound to produce the strongest antipathies within family circles. Hence the close connection in his teaching between persecution and the hindrance of domestic ties, and the need of his challenging summons to those who would be his disciples to choose between loyalty to their kinsfolk and loyalty to himself.[7]

[1] Lc xvii. 26–30. [2] Mc xii. 25‖s. [3] Mt xxiii. 9.

[4] Mc x. 29f‖s. Lc inserts 'or wife': so also do ℵ C and versions in Mt (om. B D).

[5] Lc xiv. 26. It is perhaps worth pointing out that the passive participle of שָׂנֵא, the Hebrew equivalent of μισέω, is, in the O.T., "almost a technical term for the *less favoured* of two wives" (Skinner's note on Gen xxix. 31 in *Intern. Crit. Comm.* 385 (italics mine): cf. Deut xxi. 15–17).

[6] Mc vi. 4‖s. [7] Mt x. 34–37; Lc xii. 51–53; Mc xiii. 12f‖s.

# CHAPTER VII

## JESUS AND PROPERTY[1]

THE ACQUIREMENT AND POSSESSION OF PROPERTY.—Jesus recognized in a certain sense the need, utility, and *rightfulness of personal property*. He said, in regard to food and clothing, that "your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things," and promised his followers that, if they sought first the Kingdom and righteousness of God, "all these things" would be added unto them.[2] Simon seems to have retained his house and belongings after he had been called to follow Jesus.[3] The apostolic company kept a small store of money for the supply of necessaries.[4] Joseph of Arimathæa was a disciple, and at the same time a rich man.[5] One of the women who followed Jesus and contributed to his support was the wife of Herodes' steward or minister, and no doubt a person of considerable wealth.[6] Jesus himself, up to the age of thirty, had worked for his livelihood as a builder, and his parables seem to show that he took a keen interest both in building and in agriculture.[7]

At the same time, Jesus deprecates the pursuit and possession of wealth as dangerous and harmful, and that on several grounds. Firstly, on account of the *precarious tenure* on which all material property is held. "Do not store up for yourselves treasures on earth, where moth and vermin destroy, and where thieves break in and steal."[8] The parable of the Rich Fool points the same moral: the man thought he was secure, because he had plenty of things stored up; but death robbed him of the use of them. "The things thou hast got together, whose shall they be? So fares the man who stores up for himself, and is not rich in (the things of) God."[9]

Secondly, wealth is dangerous, because *it tends to divert men from the interests of the Kingdom*. Those who were absorbed in the pursuit or attached to the possession of it, had little affection left

[1] Cf. Mathews 132–157; Rogge 18–68; Peabody (iv.–vi.) 66–110; Holtzm. *Th.* i. 234–240; Troeltsch 46–48.
[2] Mt vi. 32f.
[3] Mc i. 16–18, 29, ii. 1 (with Swete *M* 32); Lc v. 1–11; J xxi. 3.
[4] Mc vi. 37‖s; J iv. 8, xii. 6, xiii. 29.
[5] Mt xxvii. 57‖s. [6] Lc viii. 3.
[7] Mc vi. 3‖; O. Holtzmann, *Life of Jesus* (ET), 100–103.
[8] Mt vi. 19. [9] Lc xii. 13–21.

for the things of God, and were thus rendered practically incapable of entering the Kingdom. "How difficult (it) will (be for) those that have possessions (to) enter into the Kingdom of God! . . . It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God."[1] In the parable of the Sower, "the pleasure of riches" appears among other worldly interests that "enter in and stifle the Word," so that the hearer becomes unfruitful.[2] So sharply did Jesus feel the divergence between the pursuit of wealth and the service of God that he represented them as mutually exclusive interests. "No one can be a slave to two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and Mamon."[3] But apart from the downright love of money, even the anxious quest of the means of livelihood impaired that attitude of quiet faith in God and strenuous devotion to His cause which is expected of the disciple of Jesus. The ordinary operations of buying and selling are associated in the mind of Jesus with a certain tendency to carelessness in higher things.[4] While not dissuading his disciples from the use of money or discountenancing useful toil and industry for the sake of their living, Jesus forbade them to worry about the provision for bodily needs. They were to trust God to bless their toil and provide their sustenance.[5] Jesus found the poor (i.e. not

[1] Mc x. 23, 25‖s. Mt and Lc have no parallel to Mc x. 24, where ACD and most versions insert τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐπὶ χρήμασιν after ἐστιν: but this looks like an attempt to soften the severity of vv. 23, 25.

[2] Mc iv. 19‖s. [3] Mt vi. 24‖.

[4] Lc xiv. 18f, xvii. 28–30. It seems to have been trade as such, as well as dishonest trade, that he regarded as a desecration of the Temple-courts, unless the words "cave of robbers" are to be pressed (Mc xi. 17‖s).

[5] Mt vi. 11, 25–34‖. The Authorized Version translated μὴ μεριμνᾶτε by 'take no thought'—a phrase which in Elizabethan and Jacobean English (vide Murray's *Dictionary*, sub voc. 'Thought') naturally meant 'do not get anxious' (two examples, from 1608 and 1613, speak of people dying 'for (or of) thought'). By saying that the birds and the lilies were supplied though they did not toil and store, Jesus did not imply that men need not toil and store. He is using an argument a fortiori: if even these creatures, who work not, are provided for, how much more will God provide for you, who, it is implied, are able and accustomed to work. The elementary notions of political economy prevalent in Jesus' day, coupled with the comparative simplicity of economic relationships and the special conditions of work for the Kingdom at that time, helped to determine the language of Jesus in regard to property, and have thus contributed largely to the difficulty of applying his teaching rightly to modern conditions. But Herrmann (*SG* 156–162) makes those difficulties greater than they need be by ignoring the distinction between anxiety and forethought, and the further distinction between the average disciple's unworrying labour and that renunciation of property required of the preaching apostle only. Cf. Bartlet *P* 111f; Troeltsch 46f ("Das wirtschaftliche Leben wird mit einfachster Kindlichkeit als eine Angelegenheit des Tages betrachtet, wo man Gott für den kommenden Tag sorgen lassen soll. Im übrigen ist die opfernde und mitteilende Liebe, bei

the destitute, but the people of humble station and narrow means) morally and spiritually fitter than the rich for the reception of his message. Hence "the poor have the good news proclaimed to them."[1] "Happy are ye poor; for yours is the Kingdom of God."[2] For the special purpose of the Palestinian mission, a special renunciation of the ties and encumbrances of property was required by Jesus. He and his personal companions, the men on whom fell the task of proclaiming the Kingdom, gave up their occupations, and seem to have subsisted mainly on the charitable gifts of sympathizers.[3]

Thirdly, wealth is dangerous, because attachment to it tends to make men *selfish and heartless towards the needy*. The tendency to cling to one's own possessions instead of generously parting with them to help others in their need—a tendency described in Jewish phraseology as "an evil eye"—was reckoned by Jesus among the "evil thoughts" that issue from the heart of man.[4] He accused the scribes and Pharisees of being rapacious [5] and of devouring widows' houses: [6] when they sneered at him for speaking of the impossibility of serving both God and Mamon, he told them that God knew their hearts and that what was lofty in human eyes was an abomination in the eyes of God,[7] and proceeded to recount the story of the rich man who was clad in purple and fine linen and fared sumptuously every day, careless of the needs of the diseased pauper who lay at his door.[8] The very possession of wealth, in

der übrigens eben deshalb Arbeit und Erwerb vorausgesetzt ist, die höchste Probe wahrer Frömmigkeit, und ist der Verzicht auf alle Güter die Bedingung des engeren Anschlusses an die eigentliche missionierende Jüngerschaft. Dass Gott durch Arbeit jeden seinen Unterhalt finden lasse und dass im Falle der Not überall die Liebe helfen könne, das ist zusammen mit der Scheu vor dem seelengefährlichen Reichtum die einzige ökonomische Lehre des Evangeliums, die ebendeshalb mit jeder realistischen Einsicht in die Spannung zwischen Bevölkerung und Möglichkeit der Bedarfsdeckung so schwer zusammenstösst").

[1] Mt xi. 5‖; Lc iv. 18.

[2] Lc vi. 20. Mingled with this acknowledgement of the comparative spiritual readiness of the poor was a sympathy with them on account of the social injustice of which they were victims. The coming of the Kingdom would bring redress for the wrongs and misfortunes they suffered: see Lc i. 53, vi. 21, xiv. 16–24, xvi. 19–25; Mt xxii. 1–10. On Jesus' view of the poor, cf. Holtzm. *Th.* i. 163f; Troeltsch 47f.

[3] Mc i. 16–20‖s, ii. 14‖s. It was no doubt with an eye to the needs of the mission, as well as to the personal weakness of the man himself, that the rich ruler was bidden sell his property and distribute the proceeds in alms (Mc x. 21‖s: note the concluding words δεῦρο ἀκολούθει μοι; there must have been many disciples to whom this command would not have been addressed). Cf. Lc viii. 3, xii. 33, xiv. 33; Mc x. 28‖s: also Bartlet *P* 112.

[4] Mc vii. 22: cf. Mt vi. 22f‖, xx. 15; Deut xv. 9, xxviii. 54–57; Prov xxii. 9, xxiii. 6, xxviii. 22; Tobit iv. 7; Sirach xiv. 10.

[5] Mt xxiii. 25‖. [6] Mc xii. 40. [7] Lc xvi. 14f. [8] Lc xvi. 19ff.

the presence of the unsatisfied needs of others (and the poor are always with us [1]) seems to have constituted in Jesus' view a certain offence against the law of love.[2]

*The penalty* of those who fall a prey to the dangers inherent in wealth is, briefly, exclusion from the Kingdom and forfeiture of the happiness promised to those who enter it.[3]

THE DISBURSEMENT OF PROPERTY.[4]—Jesus seems to recognize the following as services on which property may legitimately be expended :

1. *The bodily needs* of oneself and of one's dependents.[5]

2. *The payment of taxes* demanded by the government.[6]

3. *Almsgiving to the poor.* This is a particular form of mercy ; and the duty of mercy is essentially the duty of love as applied to the case of a suffering or needy neighbour. Benevolence to the poor and unfortunate was a duty well recognized already both by pagans and Jews. We get some indication of the importance which Jesus placed on merciful conduct and charity in the more restricted sense, in the curious pictorial description of the Last Judgment preserved in Matthew, where it appears as the one thing that qualifies for entrance into the Kingdom.[7] If we may trust a notice in the

[1] Mc xiv. 7‖s.

[2] See the version of Jesus' talk with the rich man in *GH* 11 (6). Peabody discusses " the teaching of Jesus concerning the rich " very ably in iv. (66–79). The grounds, however, on which he concludes that " there is a place in the kingdom for the rich " (76b) appear to be unsound ; for the parables of the Talents and the Pounds and the words on the watchfulness and faithfulness of servants are not legitimate sources for the teaching of Jesus on material wealth. Thus Peabody says : " He discerns . . . the inevitably cumulative results of the wise use of possessions, and announces a law of distribution, which is not only fundamentally opposed to the programme of the modern revolutionist, but is also far more in accord with the method of nature. ' For unto every one that hath shall be given, . . . but from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away ' " (74a). Surely there is here some confusion between the parabolic and the literal, and also between the question of fact and the question of right. As Peabody himself says later ((vi.)99), à propos of " this principle of cumulative returns and cumulative losses," " Jesus . . . is not thinking of economic profits or losses, but of the education of human souls for the kingdom of God." But if so, why take his words as a pronouncement on the subject of earthly wealth ? Jesus never says that this law is a just one for the distribution of earthly wealth ; and, that being so, the complete opposition between Jesus and the socialists, which Peabody understands this passage to indicate, simply disappears.

[3] Mc x. 23–27‖ ; Mt xxv. 41–46 ; Lc i. 53, vi. 24f, xvi. 22–25 (but how much of this is due to Luke's so-called Ebionism ?).

[4] Peabody (iv.) 76b–78 ; Bartlet *P* 94–96, 111f. The words of Lc xvi. 10–12 perhaps refer generally to the dutiful use of money as something entrusted to men by God, though their exact meaning is very difficult to fix.

[5] Mt vi. 32f, vii. 9–11‖ ; Mc v. 43, vi. 37‖s ; J iv. 8, xiii. 29.

[6] See above, pp. 38f.

[7] Mt xxv. 35–46. There are several reasons for believing that the description cannot have come in its present form from the lips of Jesus ; but among the original features which it almost certainly contains, the prominent place

Fourth Gospel, Jesus himself and his apostles were accustomed to give alms to the poor.[1] He taught that almsgiving was to be done without ostentation, but with liberality.[2] It was a privilege rather than a burden,[3] and would earn a great reward.[4]

4. *The formation of friendships.*—There is a little overlapping between this duty and that of almsgiving. The disciples are to spend their material possessions on the same cause as that to which they devote their spiritual ministrations, viz. the cause of spiritual fellowship and brotherhood. The generosity which they would thus awaken in others would provide them with ample supplies in case of need, and ample compensation for any loss of property they incurred for the sake of the Kingdom, whether as a result of almsgiving or persecution. Such seems to be the point of the remarkable parable of the Dishonest Steward, which concludes: "The sons of this age are more prudent than the sons of light in (dealing with) their generation. And I say to you, make friends for yourselves with the Mamon of unrighteousness, in order that, when it fails, they may receive you into the eternal abodes." [5]

5. *The expression of personal homage and the conduct of religious worship.*—This appears in Jesus' payment of the Temple-tax,[6] his evident approval of the voluntary contribution of money to the Temple-services,[7] and his warm commendation of the woman who, in unconscious anticipation of his burial, anointed his head with costly perfume.[8]

given to charity as a qualification for entering into eternal life has doubtless to be reckoned. Peabody does not seem to me to make out his case for declaring that "almsgiving, though assumed by Jesus to be a habit of his followers, does not receive from him a high place among Christian virtues" ((iv.) 76b), and for speaking of "his relatively low estimate of almsgiving as a virtue" ((v.) 83b). Cf. Uhlhorn *Ch.* 59–72; Troeltsch 47f.

[1] J xiii. 29 (cf. xii. 5||s). The disciples would surely never have framed the guess they did, unless Jesus occasionally directed alms to be given out of the common fund. Peabody's conclusion, therefore, that "Jesus himself, so far as the record shows, gave no alms" ((iv.) 76b; similarly (v.) 84a) is unwarranted.

[2] Mt v. 42||, vi. 2–4, 22f|| (see above, p. 63); Mc x. 21||s, xiv. 7||s; Lc xi. 41, xii. 33, xiv. 12–14.

[3] Ac xx. 35.

[4] Mt v. 7, vi. 2–4, xxv. 34, 46; Mc x. 21||s; Lc xii. 33f||, xiv. 12–14.

[5] Lc xvi. 8f. If this was Jesus' meaning, the passage may be compared with Mc x. 28–30||s, where he says that those who have given up house and home for the gospel, will receive a hundredfold "now in this season." Cf. Mathews 144f.

[6] Mt xvii. 24–27. [7] Mc xii. 41–44||.

[8] Mc xiv. 3–9||s, xv. 46||s, xvi. 1||s; J xix. 39ff. Peabody ((iv.) 76f) classes the spikenard-incident with the allusions to Jesus' enjoyment of hospitality as expressing what he calls the "æsthetic use" of money—"its ministry to happiness and to beauty." This classification is surely somewhat faulty. Alms-

Attitude to the Property of Others.—The property of others is to be respected. Jesus forbids theft and fraud,[1] covetousness and rapacity.[2] The tribute that Cæsar demands belongs to him, as his image and inscription on the coins testify, and must not therefore be withheld.[3] As we have seen, Jesus seems to sanction the custom of buying and selling; and, though he gives practically no definite teaching on the subject, he clearly took the ordinary canons of commercial honesty for granted.

While enjoining this respect for others' property, Jesus felt no compunction in making a free use of it—with their consent, if something was wanted for his or his apostles' personal use, but even without their consent, if it should happen that the interests of the Kingdom of God were in peril. Thus he partakes freely of the gifts and hospitality of others, sometimes even asking for them.[4] He ordained that those who proclaimed the gospel should live by the gospel.[5] But where the interests of the Kingdom seemed imperatively to require it, Jesus seems to have displayed a complete disregard for the rights of private property. When nothing would restore the Gerasene maniac to sanity, but the conviction that his 'legion' had transferred themselves elsewhere, Jesus was believed by some to have sanctioned the destruction of a herd of swine in order to produce the required impression.[6] On another occasion we see him engaged in a more or less violent removal of the traders' property from the Temple-courts.[7] But such cases were evidently extremely rare, and nowhere do we find Jesus inculcating such principles of conduct upon his disciples.

giving also ministers to happiness; and there was nothing specially æsthetic about the meals that Jesus took part in. The woman's act was primarily one of religious homage rather than artistic appreciation.

[1] Mc vii. 21||, x. 19||s; Lc xvi. 10–12. The last passage is perhaps intended as a sort of corrective supplement to the preceding parable, and may conceivably refer to being entrusted with others' property. See Montefiore *SG* ii. 996f.

[2] Mc vii. 22, xii. 40||; Mt xxiii. 25||; Lc xii. 15, xiv. 12, xvi. 14f.

[3] Mc xii. 16f||s.

[4] Lc vii. 36, viii. 1–3, xiv. 1, xix. 5; Mc ii. 15||s, xi. 1–6||s, xiv. 12–16||s. Jesus and his disciples were not ascetics, Mt ix. 14f||s, xi. 19||.

[5] Mc vi. 10||s, ix. 41; Lc x. 5–8||; 1 C ix. 14. See also above, p. 65, section 4. In comparing this teaching and behaviour of Jesus with the more restrained customs of our own day, we have of course to remember that in the East the strict rights of property are somewhat relaxed by the custom of free and generous hospitality. Thus, when the disciples plucked the ears of corn (Mc ii. 23||s), they were—barring the question of the Sabbath—exercising a perfectly legal privilege (Deut xxiii. 25; cf. xxiv. 19–22, Levit xix. 9f, xxiii. 22).

[6] Mc v. 11–14||s. I quote this incident with great diffidence in view of its historical and other difficulties. Cf. Menzies 123f.

[7] Mc xi. 15–17||s.

# PART II.—THE EARLIER APOSTOLIC AGE, 30–70 A.D.

## LITERARY INTRODUCTION

When we pass beyond the teaching of Jesus and enter upon that of the early Church, we are no longer worried by problems of eschatology and ipsissima verba, but we find ourselves beset by other difficulties no less formidable, those, viz., which arise from the almost endless diversity of scholarly opinion as to the date and origin of the books of the New Testament. The difficulties are, for our present purpose, less acute than they would otherwise be, by reason of the broad chronological divisions in which the subject is here treated. This arrangement relieves us of the necessity of arriving at a decision on a large number of the literary problems referred to. It will suffice to enumerate briefly the documents of our period, and to add a word or two on their most striking characteristics.

It might seem at first sight that the Jewish Christianity of Palestine was of sufficient distinctness and importance to deserve to be treated altogether separately from that of the mixed Jewish and gentile churches in other Mediterranean lands. But, in view of the state of our sources, it seems undoubtedly better to treat the Christianity of the age, broadly speaking, as a unity. It is not possible to make a clear division of the documents into Jewish-Palestinian and Catholic. Our authorities for the former virtually reduce themselves to the few early chapters of Acts. While a large body of critical opinion assigns the 'Epistle of Jacob' to the bishop of Jerusalem of that name, the brother of Jesus, thus making it an authority for Judaistic Christianity in Palestine before 70 A.D., we are also told on good authority that the author was "trained in Hellenistic Judaism," that "there is no reference in the Epistle which necessarily involves the Jewish Christian character of the readers," and that its probable date is early in the second century.[1] I have preferred to adopt the later date; and have not felt able to regard the Epistle as an exclusively Jewish-

[1] Moffatt *INT* 463, 465, 470f.

Christian document.[1] In the case of 'Hebrews,' even though we may feel sure that it was sent to Jewish, and not gentile, Christians,[2] yet the authorship, place of writing, destination, and date remain uncertain. At all events there is nothing to connect the Epistle with Palestine: it seems to me most likely that it was written by Barnabas from Rome to Alexandria.[3] In regard to date, I see no reason for putting it later than 70 A.D.[4] It will be seen from this brief survey that the really reliable authorities for early Jewish Christianity in Palestine are extremely scanty,[5] and that it is virtually impossible to mark them off sharply from those that tell us of the wider Christianity among the Jews of the Diaspora and the gentiles. By keeping an eye on the footnotes, the reader will be able to judge for himself how far the results built up in the text are composed of materials drawn from more or less definitely Jewish-Christian sources.

Another group of writings that might have been thought to claim separate treatment consists of the narratives and correspondence of Paul. He is, undoubtedly, in a real sense one by himself. As the apostle of the gentiles par excellence, he was the first to face in a big way the new problems to which the extension of Christianity throughout the Empire was giving rise; and the answers he gave to them are of the very highest significance. But even in his case, the advantages to be gained by merging his contribution in the general picture of the Christianity of his time seem to outweigh those that would be gained by treating him separately. His own striking characteristics are not likely to be lost sight of, when we consider what much larger materials we have for reconstructing his teaching than we have for that of all his Christian contemporaries put together. And his writings—while they bear many marks of his originality—yet reflect also in very large measure

[1] See below, p. 140.

[2] Peake 12–16; per contra, Moffatt *INT* 432, 443–451.

[3] The points are discussed in Peake 22–38; Moffatt *INT* 435–448. Cf. *Expository Times*, Sept. 1922, 536–539. I cannot at all understand the tendency of several recent critics, who date the Epistle some years after 64 A.D., to agree on *Rome* as the place to which it was sent: I should have thought H xii. 4 was quite decisive against such a conclusion.

[4] Cf. Peake 40; Moffatt *INT* 451ff.

[5] I have not made any use in this section of the hypothetical document known as *The Two Ways* and supposed to be embedded in the *Didache* and the Epistle of Barnabas (Harnack *C* i. 436f; Krüger 66f). Apart from the doubts as to its existence—Funk (*PA* ix.–xi.) and Bardenhewer (20) deny it, and other scholars posit an oral catechism instead of a written document—it is at most a Jewish work, which was adopted and adapted for Christian purposes at an altogether unknown date. It cannot, therefore, be appealed to with confidence as a source for Jewish Christian teaching prior to 70 A.D. In its Christian dress, it will come up for examination in the ensuing period. See below, p. 139.

the normal Christian sentiments of the time. It is a great advantage, in other respects, to be able to dispense with a subdivision of our period on local, sectional, and personal grounds.

The usual crop of literary difficulties faces us when we undertake a complete study of Paul from any point of view. Fortunately, much of the material is by general consent quite reliable. The personal friendship and association between Paul and Luke may be held to guarantee, in the main, the latter's reports in regard to the words, as well as the deeds, of his master. Of the Epistles, only Ephesians and the Pastorals are open to serious suspicion. There is not much difficulty over the former; for its teaching is strikingly similar to that of Colossians, and, inasmuch as the terminus a quo for its date is the date of Colossians,[1] it may be included in our present period without serious risk of dislocating our evidence. The case of the Pastorals is less simple: for while on the one hand they are admitted to contain genuine Pauline matter, on the other hand a very strong case can be made out for denying that the apostle was the author of them in their present form. The point is of importance, as they contain a little material bearing very directly on our subject.[2] Here again, by taking advantage of the fact that, even on the non-Pauline theory, the terminus a quo for the composition of the Pastorals is the death of Paul,[3] which happened at least six and probably nine years before 70 A.D., we may evade the responsibility of making a final choice as to the authorship and exact date, and still take the Pastorals in this period. By noticing their evidence on the more central topics when dealing with the next period, the danger of a serious anachronism may be averted.

The other Christian sources for the present period are the (so-called first) Epistle of Peter and the Gospel of Mark. In regard to the former of these, the traditional view of the date—between 64 and 70 A.D. (preferably 65 A.D.)—still seems to pass muster,[4] while the objections to regarding Peter as the author can be fairly met by assigning to the apostle's amanuensis Silvanus a certain share in the task of literary composition.[5] The Gospel of Mark is by no means immune from the usual swarm of critical theories as to sources and recensions; yet the authorities are in large

[1] Moffatt *INT* 395. [2] See below, pp. 110f, 177f n 11, 180.
[3] Moffatt *INT* 416.
[4] Moffatt *INT* 323, 325. For another view, see Ramsay *CRE* 279–288, 319 n.
[5] 1 P v. 12: Moffatt *INT* 331–335.

measure agreed that its date is not later than 70 A.D.[1] Its place of composition,[2] like that of Peter's letter,[3] was probably Rome. Little apology need be made for using in this period a Gospel already so largely drawn upon as a source of information for the life and teaching of Jesus. The Gospels were written with an eye to the needs and interests of the author's contemporaries,[4] as well as to the facts to be recorded, and shed therefore often as much, sometimes more, light on the period of their own composition than on that which they profess to describe. At the same time, the striking objectivity of Mark's narrative, his well-testified dependence on Peter,[5] the theological—rather than ethical—character of his own special contribution to his story,[6] and lastly the fact that his material, having already been analysed in detail for the teaching of Jesus, can be to a large extent taken as presupposed in our study of the following period, as present to the mind and so not needing repetition—all these considerations combine to render his work much less pertinent and direct as a source for the period now before us than are the other documents we have mentioned.

Our list of authorities closes with two or three incidental allusions to the Christians of this period in the Roman historians Tacitus and Suetonius, and in a few Christian authors quoted by Eusebius.

## CHAPTER I

### THE WORLD AND THE CHURCH

THE EVIL STATE OF THE WORLD.—The normal Christian view of the human race outside the bounds of the Christian brotherhood—apart from certain Pauline qualifications—was that it was *totally bad*. Peter speaks of "this crooked generation,"[7] Paul of "the present evil age."[8] Noah condemning the world appears as a type of faith.[9] A whole host of damning epithets is applied to the pre-

[1] Moffatt *INT* 212f; Swete *M* xl.; Harnack *DA* 133.
[2] Moffatt *INT* 236f; Swete *M* xxxix.; Harnack *l.c.*
[3] 1 P v. 13: Moffatt *INT* 327f.
[4] *πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας*, as Papias (? on the authority of John the Elder) says of the discourses of Peter, which Mark used as his source (Eus. *HE* III. xxxix. 15). Cf. Menzies 4–19.
[5] Swete *M* xxiii–xxvi.
[6] E.g. his Paulinism—such as it is, Moffatt *INT* 233–236; Menzies 38f: cf. Swete *M* xc.–xcv.
[7] Ac ii. 40. [8] G i. 4; cf. E v. 16. Cf. Weinel *Th.* 474, 476f.
[9] H xi. 7.

Christian or unchristian state of man.[1] While the sense of the suffering of mankind was not altogether lost,[2] it was very largely overlaid by the recognition of the more fundamental fact of sin, to which mankind as a whole was regarded as subject.[3]

*Paul's treatment of the subject* of human sin is characterized by the distinction he draws between Jews and gentiles, and by his recognition of a certain enlightenment granted in different ways to both.

He speaks of gentiles as ipso facto sinners,[4] and describes their pre-Christian or unchristian state as sinful ;[5] they had not pursued righteousness,[6] but had been slaves of sin,[7] dead in trespasses and sins,[8] disobedient to God,[9] estranged and hostile to Him in evil works.[10] Their very children were unpurified.[11] Their unrighteousness displayed itself in the lustfulness of their lives.[12] Their position is characterized as one of hopelessness,[13] futility,[14] blindness,[15] darkness,[16] folly,[17] and ignorance,[18] particularly in regard to the character of God and the true method of worshipping Him.[19] Hence arose not only that moral blindness which betrayed them into degrading sensuality,[20] but also their foolish polytheism and idolatry.[21]

As for the Jews, the fact that they were the recipients of a Divinely-given Law introduces certain modifications into their

[1] 1 P i. 14, 18, ii. 10, 25 (cf. Mc vi. 34), iii. 18, iv. 3 (*ἀρκετὸς γὰρ ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος τὸ βούλημα τῶν ἐθνῶν κατειργάσθαι, πεπορευμένους ἐν ἀσελγείαις, ἐπιθυμίαις, οἰνοφλυγίαις, κώμοις, ποτοις, καὶ ἀθεμίτοις εἰδωλολατρίαις*). Ramsay (*CRE* 288) quotes 1 P v. 8 as " a step towards the strongly developed idea of the world " found in the Johannine writings : cf. Dobschütz 178f. For the views of Paul on the sinfulness of men generally, see 2 Th ii. 10, 1 C i. 20, ii. 6–8, iii. 18f, vi. 9–11, 2 C iv. 3f (*τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις . . . , ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐτύφλωσεν τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων, κτλ.*), R xii. 2, E ii. 1f (*καὶ ὑμᾶς ὄντας νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν, ἐν αἷς ποτὲ περιεπατήσατε κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, κτλ.*), T ii. 12. Cf. also H vi. 1, ix. 14 (though Peake (141f) says these phrases refer to the vain external works of legalism, not to sins).

[2] Ac iii. 20 : and cf. the place given to works of healing and to the duties of mercy and almsgiving.

[3] So several of the passages quoted in the last two notes : cf. also Heges. ap. Eus. *HE* II. xxiii. 6 (Jacob's habit of praying in the Temple for the forgiveness of the people) ; R v. 12, 18f, xi. 32.

[4] G ii. 15.

[5] 1 C xv. 17 ; cf. 2 C vi. 14.

[6] R ix. 30.

[7] R vi. 17f.

[8] C ii. 13, E ii. 1, 5.

[9] R xi. 30, (C iii. 6), E ii. 2, v. 6.

[10] C i. 21.

[11] 1 C vii. 14.

[12] 1 Th iv. 5, 1 C vi. 9–11 (cf. 1), R i. 26–32, vi. 19, 21, C iii. 5–7, 9 (cf. 1 C v. 1–8), E ii. 3, iv. 19, 22.

[13] 1 Th iv. 13, E ii. 12.

[14] Ac xiv. 15 ; 1 C iii. 20, xv. 17, R i. 21, E iv. 17.

[15] 2 C iv. 4 ; cf. R ii. 19.

[16] 1 Th v. 4f, R i. 21 (cf. ii. 19), C i. 13, E iv. 18, v. 8, 11.

[17] 1 C iii. 19, R i. 22.

[18] E iv. 18.

[19] 1 Th iv. 5 (*τὰ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ εἰδότα τὸν Θεόν*) ; Ac xvii. 23 (*ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ*) ; 1 C ii. 8, R i. 18–23, E ii. 12 (*ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ*).

[20] R i. 18–32.

[21] Ac xiv. 15ff, xvii. 16, 24f, 29f ; G iv. 8, 1 Th i. 9, 1 C xii. 2.

position, and calls for certain corresponding theories;[1] but on examination they too prove to be sinners, and their condition is described in similar terms to those used of the gentiles.[2]

Thus all, both Jews and gentiles alike, had sinned and come short of the glory of God: there was none righteous, no, not one.[3] This condition of affairs had, according to Paul, held sway from a remote period: but the sins of former generations seemed to him to stand on a different footing from those of his own contemporaries. In bygone generations God had allowed all the nations to go their own ways;[4] He had overlooked the times of their ignorance;[5] He had forbearingly passed over the sins done aforetime.[6] But for the existing generation, the appearance and work of Christ had introduced a set of new conditions.

While Paul thus, as he said, "charged all, Jews as well as Hellenes, with being under sin,"[7] yet his indictment has to be read in the light of his overt recognition of *certain qualifying facts* in the case of both classes. The Jews, as the Chosen People, had been endowed with certain moral and spiritual privileges; and the great characters of the Old Testament at least seem to stand out in his mind as exceptions to the verdict of universal corruption.[8] But in the case of the gentiles too, there are certain mitigating features. While they do not enjoy the advantages and promises given to Israel,[9] they are yet the creation and offspring of God and the objects of His care. He had made from one stock all the nations of men to dwell over the whole face of the earth, and had fixed their allotted periods and the limits of their abodes.[10] In the wonders and bounty of Nature He had granted them a certain knowledge of Himself,[11] purposing that they should feel after Him and find Him.[12] His demands had met with a certain response: Paul had found the Athenians "very religious," engaged in the genuine, if ignorant, worship of the unknown God.[13] Immoral though the conduct of the gentiles often was, there were forms of self-indulgence of which even they were not guilty.[14] Their government acted as a Divinely ordained restraint upon crime.[15] Guided by the light of Nature,

[1] E.g. R v. 13f.
[2] G ii. 15–17, R ii. 24, vii. 5, 9, 14–25, ix. 30f, xi. 30–32, E ii. 3; ?T iii. 3.
[3] R iii. 9–23. [4] Ac xiv. 16. [5] Ac xvii. 30.
[6] R iii. 25. [7] R iii. 10.
[8] E.g. R iv., ix. 5, x. 5, 19f, xi. 28; Ac xiii. 22, 34–36, etc.
[9] C ii. 13, E ii. 12.
[10] Ac xvii. 25–28. It is difficult to be certain as to exactly what view of the dignity of human nature is implied by the quotation of Ps viii. 4–6 in H ii. 6–8.
[11] Ac xiv. 17; R i. 19f. [12] Ac xvii. 27. [13] Ac xvii. 22f.
[14] 1 C v. 1; cf. 1 T v. 8 for the normal goodness of pagans to their parents.
[15] R xiii. 1–7. See below, pp. 111–113.

by the Law written on their hearts, they performed some at least of the duties enjoined by the Mosaic Law, as their consciences testified.[1] It is not easy to reconcile these broad humanistic sentiments with those doctrines of the universal depravity of man and the universal need of Christ, alongside of which they are found.[2] The apostle himself does not reconcile them; but in allowing his prepossessions as a Christian theologian to be checked in this way by a frank and truthful recognition of the facts as he saw them, he bequeathed to posterity not only an unsolved problem but an incentive to fruitful speculation. It is further along this same line of thought that we come upon the great phrase of Tertullianus: anima naturaliter christiana.[3]

The Early Apostolic View of the Kingdom of God.—In studying the doctrine of the Kingdom of God, whether in the Gospels or in other early Christian literature, we are all the time involved in the difficulty of relating and harmonizing the two views of the Kingdom as present and the Kingdom as future, what we may call (for lack of better terms) the spiritual and the eschatological views of the Kingdom. We have already seen reason to believe that the former of these two views was not only existent, but even prominent, in the teaching of Jesus himself. The recollection and record of his words ensured the survival of the idea for a time in the minds of his early followers; but, broadly speaking, the development of Christian thought is marked by a constant tendency to relegate it to the background, and a constant movement towards an identification of the Kingdom of God or of Heaven either with the condition of things after the Parousia of Jesus, or—in the manner of the simple-minded Christian of to-day—with the life beyond the grave.[4]

In the earlier Apostolic age, the Kingdom was naturally a subject of central importance. It had held the chief place in the Lord's teaching during his earthly life.[5] It was the theme of his conversation with the disciples after his resurrection. It was the burden of the Christian evangelist's message.[6] According to both

[1] R ii. 14f, 26f; Holtzm. *Th.* ii. 26–28; Deissmann *LVO* 241f, 263f.

[2] Cf. C. W. Emmet's essay on 'The Psychology of Grace' in *The Spirit* (essays edited by B. H. Streeter, London, 1919), 176.

[3] Tert. *Apol.* 17 (i. 184): O testimonium animae naturaliter christianae!

[4] The characteristic theology of the Fourth Gospel is in some ways an exception to this general statement.

[5] Mc i. 15, iv. 11, 26, 30, ix. 1, 47, x. 14f, 23–25, xii. 34, xiv. 25; cf. xv. 43. Peter, curiously enough, does not mention the Kingdom, though he calls the Christian community a *βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα* (1 P ii. 9).

[6] Ac i. 3, 6, viii. 12. For the early apostolic view of the Kingdom, see Robertson *RD* 46–49.

Paul himself and his biographer, it was the main subject of that apostle's preaching and discussions.[1] The earliest disciples could not readily divest themselves of the current Jewish idea, according to which the Kingdom would be a political restoration of the Jewish People:[2] and since the greatest uncertainty prevailed as to how this hope was to be fulfilled, the idea of the Kingdom tended to retreat behind the more important topic of the Lord's return. Paul seems to have been entirely free from these semi-political expectations:[3] but his view of the Kingdom embraces both the divergent conceptions of which mention has just been made. The Kingdom is present: for God "has transferred us into" it out of the power of darkness,[4] or, as another phrase has it, He "calls us into" it;[5] it is a thing of real power;[6] it means, "not food and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in Holy Spirit," all of which were characteristics of the Christian life on earth;[7] Paul and his friends work and suffer for it;[8] an offender against the great moral laws *has* no inheritance in it.[9] Yet it is also future: the moral offender *will not* inherit it;[10] it is connected with the coming appearance of Christ and the final judgment;[11] it is the future reward that lies on the farther side of death.[12]

Characteristics of the Christian Gospel.—The work of Christ—whatever terms might best express its significance—was *a new event* in human history. God had sent forth His Son in the fulness of time.[13] Previous to that He had through long ages kept His gracious purposes a secret; but now in Christ He had revealed them, and it was the apostle's task to make them known among the gentiles.[14] The new message imposed a new duty on those who heard it.[15] The changed life, which acceptance of the Gospel involved, is constantly described by Paul as something new.[16]

[1] Ac xix. 8, xx. 25, xxviii. 23, 31; C iv. 11.
[2] Lc xxiv. 21; Ac i. 6, ii. 30f.
[3] Robertson *RD* 59: "All thought of a visible Hebraic kingdom or of Jerusalem as its centre, every shred of nationalism, has disappeared." For Paul's teaching about the Kingdom, cf. *op. cit.* 49–61.
[4] C i. 13. [5] 1 Th ii. 12.
[6] 1 C iv. 20; cf. the context. [7] R xiv. 17.
[8] 2 Th i. 5, C iv. 11. It must be admitted that these passages, like Ac xiv. 22, are also consistent with the view of the Kingdom as future.
[9] E v. 5. [10] G v. 21, 1 C vi. 9f.
[11] In 1 C xv. 23–28, a distinction seems to be drawn between the Kingdom of Christ and that of God. Cf. 1 C vi. 2f, xv. 50ff, R v. 17; 2 T ii. 12, iv. 1. This idea of Christians reigning and judging is the Pauline counterpart of the beatitude which said that the gentle should inherit the earth.
[12] 2 T iv. 18. [13] G iv. 4, E i. 10: cf. 1 T ii. 6, T i. 3.
[14] 1 C ii. 7–10, R xvi. 25f, C i. 26f, iv. 3, E iii. 5, 9; 2 T i. 9f, T i. 2f.
[15] Ac xvii. 30.
[16] G vi. 15; 1 C v. 7, 2 C v. 17, R vi. 4, vii. 6, xii. 2, C iii. 9f, E iv. 23f.

Peter speaks of believers as new-born babies, re-begotten from incorruptible seed through the Word of God.[1]

We have already seen that the idea of *the inclusion of all mankind* in the Divine purposes and blessings expressed through Jesus was inherent in the Christian message from the beginning. As the lapse of time and the development of events made this idea more and more explicit, the problem arose of how it was to be reconciled with that other idea, natural to every Jew, that Israel was the special—in some senses the sole—recipient of the Divine favours. While on the one hand the early Palestinian disciple continued to regard non-Christian Jews as 'brethren,'[2] i.e. as co-religionists, on the other hand a powerful religious convention, which forbade the Jew to associate or eat with gentiles, placed in the way of admitting gentiles to Christian fellowship an obstacle, which it was by no means easy to remove. The result was that the Christian message was at first characterized by a certain one-sidedness in the interests of Judaism.[3] But its latent universalism soon made itself felt. The apostles knew that Jesus was "Lord of all (men),"[4] and that they were to be his witnesses as far as the ends of the earth.[5] When God made with Abraham the covenant of which the Jews were heirs, He had said to him: "In thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed."[6] Incidents kept cropping up in the early Church which brought the cosmopolitan conception of the faith into clearer and clearer prominence. The trouble over Stephen,[7] the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch by Philip,[8] the intimation to Ananias of Damascus of the forthcoming mission of Paul to the gentiles,[9] the visit of Peter to the gentile soldier Cornelius and the latter's baptism,[10] the challenge raised over this incident by certain Jewish Christians, Peter's spirited defence of his conduct, the general conclusion of his accusers that "to the gentiles also God has granted repentance unto life,"[11] the commencement of the regular policy of preaching to gentiles at Antiochia,[12] and the first missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas[13]—all these events

[1] 1 P i. 23, ii. 2. [2] Ac ii. 29, iii. 17, vii. 2: cf. R ix. 2f; Ac xxii. 1.
[3] Lc xxiv. 21; Ac i. 6, ii. 29f, vi. 7, vii. 8, 53, x. 36, xv. 5, xxi. 20f, xxii. 12. The author of H (e.g. ii. 16) seems to write as if the gentile world did not exist: cf. Farrar *EDC* 183, 189f.
[4] Ac x. 36. [5] Ac i. 8. [6] Ac iii. 25f. [7] Ac vi. 11, 13f.
[8] Ac viii. 26ff. The man was apparently a proselyte; but, as a eunuch (Deut xxiii. 1), he would stand only on the outer fringe of the Jewish communion.
[9] Ac ix. 15, xxii. 12, 15. [10] Ac x. [11] Ac xi. 1–18; cf. xv. 7–9.
[12] Ac xi. 20 (if the usually accepted reading Ἕλληνας be right). On the transition from the Jewish to the gentile mission, see Harnack *ME* i. 45–54.
[13] See esp. Ac xiii. 12, 46–49, xiv. 1, 27.

tended to make the problem of reconciling the discordant elements in an ambiguous situation more and more acute. Into the details of the conferences held at Jerusalem in 47 and 49 A.D. on the question whether or no gentile converts to Christianity should be circumcised and subjected to the Mosaic Law, and into the events which preceded and followed them—we need not enter here.[1] The ultimate upshot of the struggle was that the Church as a whole virtually adopted the Pauline position that circumcision and observance of the Law were not to be imposed on gentiles at conversion: but there remained, among the Jewish Christians, a strong body of recalcitrants who, in varying degrees of severity, endeavoured to maintain the full rights of the Mosaic dispensation as an integral part of the Christian religion.[2]

The broadminded decision of the Church at large was due in no small measure to the firmness, originality, courage, and intellectual acumen of Paul. It was mainly around him and the work he had undertaken that the conflict raged. His name became anathema to the extreme Judaistic Christians. We are still able to trace the chief considerations in the case, as they appeared to his own mind. He was ready, nay, eager, to recognize the special religious privileges granted to his fellow-countrymen. Theirs were the Scriptures, the adoption, the glory, the covenants, the Law, the promises, the patriarchs, and—according to his natural descent—the Christ:[3] Christianity had begun amongst them:[4] for them Peter and others had been entrusted with a special apostleship.[5] Paul himself, though in a special sense the apostle of the gentiles, yet included the Jews in his parish.[6] Whenever he began work in a new place, he always addressed himself first to the Jews, as having the prior claim on his attention.[7] He often spoke of his own Jewish descent and education,[8] and dropped into the Jewish style of speech.[9] On the subject of circumcision, he was prepared to make almost any concession that did not imply the necessity of it as a condition of salvation.[10] Yet in spite of all his efforts to be conciliatory, not only were his Jewish-Christian brethren suspicious of him,[11] but the non-Christian Jews, with good reason,

[1] G ii. 1–10; Ac xv. 1–33: I agree with those critics who hold that these passages refer to two distinct occasions.
[2] Ac xxi. 20f.
[3] R iii. 1f, ix. 4f, xv. 8.
[4] R xv. 27, E i. 12.
[5] G ii. 7f.
[6] Ac ix. 15, xix. 8–10, xxvi. 20.
[7] Ac xiii. 14, 26, 38, 46, xiv. 1, xvii. 1ff, 10, xviii. 5, xix. 8; R i. 16.
[8] 2 C xi. 22, R xi. 1, P iii. 5.
[9] Ac xxviii. 20; G ii. 15, C ii. 13; cf. 1 C ix. 20 ("to the Jews I became as a Jew," etc.).
[10] Ac xvi. 3, xxi. 21; G ii. 3(?), v. 11, 1 C vii. 18.
[11] Ac xxi. 21.

still felt that there was a real and vital issue at stake between themselves and him. They constantly pursued him with the most unremitting hostility,[1] and drove him to turn from them to the gentiles.[2] And to them he turned with a will: he was never weary of declaring that they were destined and entitled to be recipients of the Messianic blessings,[3] and he gloried in the thought that he himself had been Divinely chosen to bring the knowledge of these blessings to them.[4] He met the Jews on their own ground, and, granting that circumcision might avail if one kept the whole Law perfectly, argued that inasmuch as the Jews clearly failed to do this, circumcision was in itself of no real value to them.[5] But sharp as was the conflict between himself and the Jews, he could not reconcile himself to regarding his fellow-countrymen's rejection of Christ as final. From the depths of his heart he still yearned for their salvation;[6] and he cast about him for some theory that would explain their strange bigotry, and at the same time justify the hope of their ultimate inclusion in Christendom. His conclusion was that God had not really repudiated His people,[7] but had caused a spirit of torpor, a partial insensibility, to befall them.[8] Thus they still had a zeal for God, but it was a zeal without knowledge.[9] Their rejection of Christ, however, furnished the occasion for the evangelization and salvation of the gentiles,[10] and would last only until the full number of the gentiles was brought in.[11] The salvation of the gentiles would make the Jews jealous, and awaken in them too a willingness and a desire for the same salvation.[12] Finally, all Israel would be saved, to the happiness of mankind in general.[13] As to the title of mankind as such, irrespective of all national distinctions, to participate in the Divine blessings bestowed through Christ, the attitude of Paul was constant and unmistakable. His

[1] Ac xiii. 45, xiv. 19, etc. Cf. 1 Th ii. 14–16, 2 C xi. 24–26, R x. 21, xv. 31, E ii. 11. On the idea that the Neronian persecution was instigated by Jewish hatred for Christians, see Moffatt *INT* 324.

[2] Ac xiii. 46, xviii. 6f, xxviii. 25–28.

[3] Ac xxviii. 28; G iii. 14, R ix. 30, C i. 27; 1 T iii. 16. There was ample warrant in Scripture for this belief, Ac xiii. 47; G iii. 8f, R ix. 24–26, x. 13–20, xv. 9–12, 21, xvi. 25f.

[4] Ac xiv. 27, xv. 3, xxii. 21, xxvi. 17f; G i. 16, ii. 2, 7–9, R i. 5, 13, xv. 16, 18, E iii. 1, 8; 1 T ii. 7, 2 T iv. 17. On Paul's mission to the gentiles, see Harnack *ME* i. 54–65, 73–78.

[5] G v. 2, 3, 6, vi. 13, 15, 1 C vii. 19, R ii. 21–25, iii. 9, ix. 31f.

[6] R ix. 1–5, x. 1. Cf. the prayers of Jacob, Jesus' brother, for the forgiveness of his people (see above, p. 71, n 3); Weinel *SUS* 10f.

[7] R xi. 1f. [8] R xi. 7–10, 25. [9] R x. 2f.

[10] R xi. 11f, 15, 28. [11] R xi. 25. [12] R x. 19, xi. 11, 14.

[13] R xi. 12, 15, 26f, 29–32: in 17–24 the theory is elucidated with a parable from olive-culture. On R ix.–xi., cf. Sanday and Headlam 341–347.

universalism—the ground and basis of his mission to the gentiles —appears in all that he says, does, or writes.[1] He seems at times almost to anticipate a universal acceptance of the Christian message and the ultimate salvation of all.[2]

Pending the realization of this ideal, the Christian leaders claimed for their own community the titles, dignities, and privileges of the Chosen People. The Christians are the true Israel, the heirs of God's promises, the genuine descendants of Abraham, marked off from the rest of the world—Jewish and gentile alike—by the circumcision not made with hands. As such they appear in the writings, not only of Paul,[3] but of Peter as well,[4] who—by the time that he wrote his epistle—had apparently long abandoned those Judaistic scruples that once so vexed his brother-apostle.[5]

The Christian Gospel was not only universalistic, it was also *thoroughly ethical.* It called, first and foremost, for repentance, a distinctly moral act, involving not merely the remission of past sins, but a new life devoted to the service of God.[6] The Son of God loved righteousness and hated lawlessness; the sceptre of his Kingdom was a sceptre of equity.[7] Christians are bidden to incite one another to love and good deeds.[8] It does not suffice to be a hearer of the Law; one must be a doer also.[9] The Christian life is essentially a life of obedience,[10] holiness,[11] and righteousness:[12] its norm is the Will of God.[13]

[1] Ac xvii. 17, 24–28, xxii. 15, xxvi. 29, xxviii. 30; G iii. 28, v. 6, vi. 15, 1 C vii. 19, xii. 13, 2 C x. 15f, R ii. 6–13, iii. 29f, ix. 24, x. 12, xv. 19, 24, 28, C i. 6, 23, iii. 9–11, E ii. 14–22, iii. 5f; 1 T ii. 4, 6, T ii. 11: cf. Mc xiii. 10, xiv. 9. Holtzmann (*Th.* i. 112f) regards the universalism of the Pastorals as an echo of Stoicism. Cf. Carlyle 84f: "The doctrine of St Paul with regard to the common relation of all mankind to God is the same as that of the later philosophers. . . . The Christian Church then set out on its history with a conception of human nature which had outgrown the sense of national limitations, a conception which coincided very closely with the conception of the contemporary philosophy."

[2] 1 C xv. 24–28, R xi. 32, (xiv. 11?), P ii. 10f; 1 T ii. 4, iv. 10, T ii. 11.

[3] G iii. 7, 29, iv. 24–28, vi. 16, R ii. 26–29, iv. 9–12, ix. 6–13, P iii. 3, C ii. 11.

[4] 1 P i. 1; cf. Bigg *PJ* 91, Moffatt *INT* 328.

[5] G ii. 11ff. It is difficult to make out from Mark's narrative exactly what his attitude was to Jewish pretensions. He had, of course, frequent occasion to advert to the hostility of the Jewish leaders to Jesus (e.g. vii. 3f, iii. 22ff, xii. 38–40, etc.). We do not know how far, if at all, he was personally responsible for that apparent perversion of history which he adopts, according to which the Lord's last supper with his disciples was a Passover-meal (Moffatt *INT* 544f). The idea seems to have been part of the whole policy of appropriating important features of Judaism for the Christian Church: Christians wanted to regard their Eucharist as the legitimate equivalent of the Jewish Passover.

[6] Ac ii. 38, iii. 19, 26, v. 31, x. 43, xi. 18; H vi. 1, ix. 14, xii. 1.

[7] H i. 8f. [8] H x. 24. [9] R ii. 13.

[10] 1 P i. 2, 14, 22. [11] 1 P i. 15f.

[12] 1 P ii. 24, iii. 11–14, 18–21, iv. 18f. [13] 1 P ii. 15, iii. 17, iv. 2, 19,

Owing to the marked originality of Paul as a speculative theological thinker, and in particular owing to a certain polemical over-emphasis laid by disputants of various schools upon one or two of his doctrinal positions, perhaps not always thoroughly understood, there has been a natural tendency to under-estimate the stress which the apostle laid on the ethical and practical side of Christian life. This renders it the more needful to observe how large a place the demand for righteous conduct fills in his system. God is righteous ;[1] His Kingdom is righteousness ;[2] and Christians have to walk worthily of Him who calls them into it.[3] Righteousness or goodness is thus an essential characteristic of the Christian life.[4] True, Paul speculates boldly on the source and nature of Christian righteousness, taking at times a forensic view of it, almost equating it with that forgiveness of sin and acquittal before God which is the outcome, not of any merit on man's part, but of his faith in God through Jesus Christ, and insisting that this faith is the one true spring of right action.[5] But however his theories on the subject are to be explained, there can be no question as to the intensely practical nature of the righteousness he had in mind. Though he lays great stress on the part played by Divine grace in the production of human goodness [6] and the inability of man to attain to righteousness by his own unaided strength,[7] yet he feels none the less the need of inculcating righteous conduct by frequent and direct exhortations, as well as by the denunciation of evil.[8] His doctrine of justification by faith did not prevent him from believing and declaring that judgment will be passed on men by God according to the merit or demerit of their actions.[9]

THE CHURCH.[10]—While a certain sense of their corporate unity no doubt characterized the thoughts of Christian disciples from the first, yet the appeal of the Gospel and the convert's response

[1] 2 C ix. 9, R i. 17. [2] R xiv. 17. [3] 1 Th ii. 12.

[4] G v. 22, 2 C vi. 14f, xi. 15, R vi. 16, 20, viii. 10, xv. 14 ; 1 T i. 5, 2 T iii. 16. Paul on his own righteousness, 1 Th ii. 10, 2 C vi. 7, P iii. 6.

[5] 1 C i. 30, 2 C iii. 9, v. 21, R iv. 3–13, 22–25, v. 17–21, ix. 30–32, x. 5–10, P iii. 9 ; T ii. 14, iii. 5.

[6] G v. 4f, 2 Th i. 11, ii. 17, R xvi. 20, P i. 6, 11, E ii. 10.

[7] R iii. 10, vii. 5, 7–25 : yet see P iii. 6.

[8] G vi. 9f, 1 Th ii. 12, iv. 1, v. 22, 2 Th iii. 13, 1 C xv. 34, R vi. 12–14, xii. 9ff, xiii. 12–14, xvi. 19, P ii. 15, C i. 10, ii. 6f, E iv. 1ff, 22–32, v. 8–11, vi. 14ff ; 1 T i. 18f, ii. 10, vi. 11, 18, 2 T ii. 19, 21f, iii. 2–5, T i. 8, 16, ii. 12, iii. 1f.

[9] G vi. 7f, 2 C v. 10, R ii. 6–13, 16 (vide Moffatt's trans.) ; (2 T iv. 8). It is worth noting that, in Paul's regulations on sex-matters, we have the germ of the later two-fold theory of Christian morals, the optional perfect and the obligatory good-enough (1 C vii. 1f, 6, 9, 26, 28, 36–38—for the last passage, see below, p. 123 n 8). See below, p. 469 n 1.

[10] Cf. Headlam, *Doctrine of the Church*, 73–79.

to it were so largely a matter for the individual,[1] that the conception of a single and united company of believers sharply marked off from the rest of the world took a little time to come to its rights. The close sense of unity with the Jewish commonwealth which was felt by many of the Jewish Christians, and the temporary ambiguity of the status of gentile converts at a distance, must have co-operated in delaying the growth of the Church-feeling. The word 'Ekklesia' for the Christian community is almost non-existent in the sources for our period outside the writings and speeches of Paul.[2] That apostle frequently uses the word to denote a society of Christians gathered in a certain place, but he also gives it the wider meaning of the whole body of Christian people everywhere.[3] It was "the Church of God" which he himself had persecuted,[4] to which he warned the Corinthians to give no occasion of stumbling,[5] which he urged the elders of Ephesus to shepherd,[6] and by means of which God is glorified and His wisdom made known to the angelic powers.[7] Paul hypostatizes the Church into an ideal and almost personal entity. God had purchased it with His own blood:[8] Christ, its Saviour, loved it and had given himself up on its behalf.[9] He develops the remarkable conceptions of the Church as an organic unity, a body, the body of Christ,[10] the body of which he is the head,[11] the bride whom he loves, cherishes, purifies, and governs.[12] In the Pastoral Epistles the Church of God appears as the "pillar and bulwark of the truth."[13] Peter, rather strangely, does not use the word

[1] Hobhouse's words (25) about the priority of the Church to the individual are, I think, a little misleading as applied to this period. The conversions of the Ethiopian eunuch, Cornelius, and Paul, were primarily personal decisions affecting their relations with Christ. Membership in the Church was certainly involved, but, as relative to the conversion itself, it was secondary. Cf. Deissmann *LVO* 247.

[2] A reference to the Christian Church in H ii. 12, xii. 23 is perhaps not impossible. The word occurs in Stephen's speech (Ac vii. 38) of the Hebrew assembly in the desert. The other occurrences in Ac are due to the author, not to those of whom he writes. It does not occur at all in the Gospel of Mark or the Epistle of Peter. Speaking of the primitive Christians, Headlam (*Doctrine of the Church*, 50) says: "Whether they at once began to speak of themselves as the Church we cannot say."

[3] Cf. 1 C i. 2 ("Those who call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in every place").

[4] G i. 13, 1 C xv. 9; cf. P iii. 6.

[5] 1 C x. 32; vi. 4 is perhaps another case of the universalistic use of the word.

[6] Ac xx. 28. [7] E iii. 10, 21. [8] Ac xx. 28. [9] E v. 23, 25.

[10] 1 C xii. 12–30, (R xii. 4f), C i. 24, E v. 29f.

[11] C i. 18, (ii. 19), E i. 22f, (iv. 11–16), v. 23.

[12] E v. 22–32—a remarkable passage. On Paul's conception of the Church, see Hort *CE* 92–152; Holtzm. *Th.* ii. 191–195, 290–294: cf. Hobhouse 24–30, 355–357.

[13] 1 T iii. 15; in iii. 5, v. 16, it is a little doubtful whether the local or universal Church is referred to. Cf. Holtzm. *Th.* ii. 316.

"Church," but he shows himself alive to the unity of all believers: he calls them "the brotherhood,"[1] and says they are to be a spiritual house, a holy and royal priesthood, a chosen race, a holy nation, God's personal property.[2] The Christian community at Rome is mentioned by him as "she that has been chosen together with" his Christian readers in Asia.[3]

NATURE OF THE APOSTOLIC TASK.—The early Christian apostles and evangelists usually spoke of their peculiar function as that of "*bearing witness*" to certain truths about Jesus.[4] They also described it as speaking the Word of God,[5] and preaching the Gospel of Christ.[6] While many of them were uneducated men,[7] they yet taught,[8] and in doing so had recourse to the method of argument.[9]

Into the *subject-matter* of the apostolic message it is hardly part of our present task to enter. The gradual advance of Christological thought, the vital significance discovered in the leading facts of the life-story of Jesus, the lavish application of Old Testament prophecy to him and his work, the offer of salvation in his Name, the appeal for repentance, amendment of life, and acceptance of baptism, the endowment of the Holy Spirit—these are topics that lie beyond the limits of this inquiry: the treatment of them is the special province of the history of early Christian doctrine. But while we have no choice here but to pass them by, it is well to remind ourselves before we proceed what a large place they must have filled in every Christian's thought. A study of the Christian attitude to the non-Christian world hardly involves an examination of Christian doctrine as such; but what it has thus to omit as pre-supposed comprises much that is central and vital to the Christian position as a whole.

The *authority* wielded over Christian converts, first by the Twelve, then by other apostles and local Church-leaders as well, was a

[1] 1 P ii. 17; cf. v. 9.
[2] 1 P ii. 5, 9, iv. 17.
[3] 1 P v. 13: ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή. ℵ, Vulg., Pesh., Arm., etc., also read ἐκκλησία. Cf. Bigg *PJ* 197.
[4] Ac i. 8, 22, ii. 32, (40), iii. 15, iv. 20, (33), v. 32, x. 39, 41ff; also by Paul, both of himself and others, in Ac xiii. 31, xx. 24, xxii. 15, 18, 20, xxiii. 11, xxvi. 16, xxviii. 23; 1 C xv. 15.
[5] Ac iv. 29, (31), vi. 2, 4, (viii. 14, 25).
[6] Cf. Ac (v. 42, viii. 4, 35, 40), x. 42; G i. 7, ii. 2, 1 Th ii. 9, iii. 2, 2 Th i. 8, 1 C i. 23, ix. 12, 16, 27, xv. 11f, 2 C i. 19, ii. 12, ix. 13, x. 14, xi. 4, R x. 8, 14f, xv. 19, P i. 15, 27, C i. 23; 1 T iii. 16, 2 T iv. 2, etc.
[7] Ac iv. 13.
[8] Ac ii. 42, iv. 2, 18, v. 21, 25, 28, 42, xi. 26, xiii. 1, 12, xv. 35, xvii. 19, xviii. 11, etc. etc.; H v. 12, vi. 2.
[9] Ac vi. 9f, xviii. 28; the works of Paul abound in keen dialectic. Cf. Ac ix. 22, 29, xvii. 17, xxviii. 23–25.

natural and familiar feature of early Christian life. Without entering upon the vexed question of the constitution of the church at Jerusalem and elsewhere, we may notice how at the first the Twelve occupy a natural but apparently unofficial position of precedence and control—Peter usually taking the lead among them, how the first step towards a more elaborate organization is taken in the appointment of seven subordinate officials,[1] how later the apostles and elders of Jerusalem convey to the gentile converts of Syria and Cilicia in almost dictatorial terms their decision in regard to the Mosaic Law,[2] how Paul and Barnabas appointed elders in each church in Galatia,[3] how the former told the elders of Ephesus that the Holy Spirit had made them bishops in the flock, and that they were to shepherd the Church of God accordingly.[4] In the correspondence of the time, we come across several allusions to the Christian's duty of obeying and esteeming the local church-leaders.[5] Paul himself claimed and exercised a large measure of apostolic authority,[6] and the stormy controversies in which he was at times involved served to bring out more clearly his convictions as to his own rights in this respect.[7] The province of ecclesiastical authority and organization lay, of course, within the limits of the Church itself; but it had significance for the outside world in that it exhibited the preparation on Christian ground of an organization of the social life of man, which was bound sooner or later to enter into competition in various ways with the existing arrangements of society.[8]

We find no trace in the apostolic propaganda of that method of politic concealment which appears so remarkably in the teaching of Jesus.[9] *Publicity* is courted. The witnesses deliver their testimony with outspoken frankness.[10] The work of Paul in particular was essentially public work. Not only did he respond readily to requests for instruction,[11] but he boldly displayed himself as an

[1] Ac vi. 1–6.
[2] Ac xv. 23–29.
[3] Ac xiv. 23.
[4] Ac xx. 28: cf. 1 T iii. 5.
[5] 1 Th v. 12f, 1 C xvi. 15f; H xiii. 7, 17, 24; 1 T iii. 4f.
[6] Cf. the tone of 1 Th iv. 2, 11, 2 Th iii. 4, 6, 10, 12, 14, P 8, 21; 1 T iv. 11f, v. 7, T ii. 15.
[7] G i. 1, ii. 6–9, 2 C x.–xiii. (esp. x. 8, xi. 5, xii. 11).
[8] Troeltsch 69: "Indem die Gemeinden einen eigenen Kult- und Lebenskreis zu bilden anfangen, müssen sie auch äusserlich gegen Staat und Gesellschaft sich abgrenzen und müssen sie im eigenen Innern, soweit es in ihrer Macht steht, be isich selbst die sozialen Verhältnisse ordnen." Cf. Harnack *KS* 135.
[9] See above, pp. 17f.
[10] Ac ii. 29, iv. 13, 29, 31, xiv. 3, xix. 8, xxvi. 26, xxviii. 31; 1 Th ii. 2, 2 C iii. 12, P i. 20, E vi. 19f; 1 T iii. 13: cf. Ac xviii. 9–11; 2 C iv. 2.
[11] Ac xiii. 7ff, 15ff, xvi. 9ff.

apostle to the world's gaze ;[1] he publicly placarded Jesus Christ the Crucified before the Galatians' eyes ;[2] he felt sure, he said, that Agrippa could not be ignorant of the leading events of Christian history, for they had not been done in a corner.[3] One way in which the publicity of the Christian appeal expressed itself was the performance of *cures and other miraculous actions*, which in the apostolic age were not only deeds of mercy, but also signs and wonders, evoking fear, amazement, joy, and belief, and silencing adverse criticism.[4] Other ways, falling to be mentioned under this heading, besides the simple preaching of the Gospel, are the two proceedings known as '*speaking with tongues*' and '*prophesying*.' Pagans were allowed to attend at least some of the gatherings of Christians at Corinth. To see and hear all the believers 'speaking with tongues' at the same time was apt to make a heathen visitor pronounce the speakers insane ; and the glossolalia was thus regarded, on the basis of an utterance of Isaiah's, as a sign which condemned those to whom it was given. Prophesying, however, which was not meant to be used as a sign, in this sense, for unbelievers, often led them to acknowledge their sins, to realize God's presence in the Church, and to worship Him.[5] Lastly, the apostles looked to the winsomeness and favourable *influence of Christian conduct* as a means of propaganda and apologetic to be carefully guarded and zealously used. They availed themselves of the credit derived from a good reputation and the esteem produced by the bestowal of benefits. They themselves enjoyed popularity,[6] and were usually able to secure a ready hearing.[7] While they disclaimed credit for miracles done in their Master's Name,[8] eagerly refused Divine honours,[9] and clearly recognized that pleasing men was not to be made a primary object in life,[10] yet they were anxious to retain their good reputation with non-Christians generally.[11] Paul declared that he did try to please men, in order that he might be the better

[1] 1 C iv. 9, 2 C vi. 8f. [2] G iii. 1. [3] Ac xxvi. 26.

[4] Ac ii. 43, iii. 9–11, iv. 14, 16, v. (5, 11), 12, 15f, vi. 8, viii. 6–8, 13b, ix. 41f, xiii. 11f, xiv. 3, 8–18, xv. 12, xix. 11f, xxviii. 8–10 ; 1 C xii. 9, 28–30, 2 C xii. 12, R xv. 19 ; H ii. 4. Speaking of early Christianity, Lecky says (i. 374) : "Its miracles were accepted by both friend and foe as the ordinary accompaniments of religious teaching."

[5] 1 C xiv. 21–25. Ac ii. gives an independent and doubtless less reliable account of glossolalia. For the judicial sign, cf. Isa viii. 18, Mt xiii. 13ff, xvi. 4.

[6] Ac ii. 47, iv. 21, 33, v. 13, 26.

[7] Ac viii. 6, x. 33.

[8] Ac iii. 12. [9] Ac x. 25f, xiv. 11–18.

[10] G i. 10, 1 Th ii. 4, 6, C iii. 22, E vi. 6.

[11] Thus Peter eagerly rebuts the charge of intoxication (Ac ii. 14f : cf. 1 P ii. 12, iii. 16) and Paul that of madness (Ac xxvi. 25).

able to save them.[1] He was a great believer in the open exhibition of wise and good conduct in the presence of outsiders [2] as a means of averting reproach and discredit from oneself and one's faith.[3]

## CHAPTER II

### ESCHATOLOGY

Pertinence of the Subject.—While it is no part of our present task to examine or discuss the content of early Christian doctrine proper, yet it is impossible adequately to understand the Christian's attitude to the pagan world around them, without taking some account of their views as to the approaching fate of mankind. Eschatology, therefore, is in some measure an exception to the general statement that matters of doctrine pure and simple do not directly concern us in this study. Some attempt must be made to grasp the leading ideas of Christian people in regard to the future.

The Approaching End of the Age.—The early Christians entertained no hope that human society as a whole would be redeemed as a result of the indefinite continuation of the gradual growth of the Church. Their work and influence may have been admirably adapted, under the wise control of Providence, to the historical conditions in which posterity now sees them to have been actually placed: but the Christians themselves read those historical conditions very differently from what they actually turned out to be. They unanimously regarded the period of Jesus' earthly life as inaugurating a final, culminating, and comparatively short, epoch in human history.[4] They considered themselves as sojourners and exiles in the world,[5] not only because human life is proverbially transient,[6] but because in the very near future,[7] within the lifetime of that generation (though not before

[1] 1 C x. 33: cf. T ii. 9.

[2] Ac xxiv. 16, xxvii. 35; G vi. 10, 1 Th iv. 12, v. 15, 1 C x. 32, 2 C iii. 2, viii. 21, R xii. 17, P iv. 5, C iv. 5f, 1 T iv. 15; T ii. 7. Cf. Heges. ap. Eus. *HE* II. xxiii. 10 (Jacob's reputation with all the people for fearless justice).

[3] Ac xxiv. 16, xxv. 25, etc.; 2 C vi. 3f, 7f, R xiii. 3, xiv. 18, P iv. 8; 1 T iii. 7, vi. 1, T i. 6f, ii. 8. Cf. 1 P ii. 12, iii. 16.

[4] 1 C vii. 26, 29–32; 2 T iii. 1; 1 P i. 20, iv. 7; H ix. 26.

[5] 1 P i. 1, 17, ii. 11: cf. P iii. 20.

[6] 1 P i. 23–25.

[7] P iv. 5 (ὁ Κύριος ἐγγύς); H x. 25, 37.

the death of many then living),[1] at the appointed time,[2] Jesus, who since his resurrection had been out of sight in heaven,[3] would be sent again by God from heaven [4] with his holy ones.[5] That the coming of Jesus would be followed by a resurrection of the dead, a judgment of all, and the assignment of rewards and penalties according to every man's desert—these were beliefs which formed part of every Christian's picture of the future. Then alone would the full Messianic salvation [6]—attainable in part, but in part only, under existing conditions on earth [7]—be fully realized. Central as this thought was to the whole Christian outlook, and abundant as are the materials in our sources for reconstructing its details, these details lie for the most part beyond our immediate sphere. We must confine our further discussion of the matter to one or two points bearing more directly upon the Christian's attitude to the world around him.

General Effect of Eschatological Beliefs on the Christian Attitude to Earthly Life.—It was obviously impossible to anticipate the break-up of the existing order of things at any time within the next thirty years, without having one's whole attitude to the conditions of earthly life profoundly modified by the belief. The obvious effect of such a view was to foster a sentiment of ' otherworldliness,' in which all the usual tasks, enterprises, and interests of human life faded into comparative insignificance,[8] to be replaced by a wistful yearning after the future ideal state.[9] Fortunately the radical soundness of the Christian ethic rescued these early believers from the worst effects of so serious a miscalculation of the history of the immediate future ; and there can be no doubt that the belief itself also served a very useful purpose in supplying them with a temporary basis, suited

[1] Ac i. 11 ; 1 Th iv. 13–18, v. 4, 10, 1 C i. 7, P iii. 20 ; 1 T vi. 14.
[2] 1 T vi. 15 (*καιροῖς ἰδίοις*) ; 1 P i. 5, iv. 17, v. 6.
[3] Ac iii. 21 ; 1 P i. 8 : cf. Ac ii. 30f.
[4] Ac iii. 20 ; P iii. 20. The words used are *παρουσία* (1 Th ii. 19, iii. 13, iv. 15, v. 23, 2 Th ii. 1, 8, 1 C xv. 23), *ἐπιφάνεια* (1 T vi. 14, 2 T i. 10, iv. 1, 8, T ii. 13 : cf. Ac ii. 20, 2 Th ii. 8), *ἀποκάλυψις* (2 Th i. 7, 1 C i. 7 ; 1 P i. 7, 13, iv. 13), *φανερωθ-* (C iii. 4 ; 1 P v. 4).
[5] 1 Th iii. 13, 2 Th i. 7 ; Mc viii. 38f, xiii. 26f.
[6] 1 Th v. 8f, 1 C v. 5, R v. 9f, P iii. 20 ; T ii. 13 ; 1 P i. 5 ; H ix. 28 : cf. Ac iii. 21.
[7] H x. 34 (*γινώσκοντες ἔχειν ἑαυτοὺς κρείσσονα ὕπαρξιν καὶ μένουσαν*).
[8] The locus classicus for this frame of mind is 1 C vii. 29–32a : *Τοῦτο δέ φημι, ἀδελφοί, ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος ἐστίν· τὸ λοιπὸν ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες ὦσιν, καὶ οἱ κλαίοντες ὡς μὴ κλαίοντες, καὶ οἱ χαίροντες ὡς μὴ χαίροντες, καὶ οἱ ἀγοράζοντες ὡς μὴ κατέχοντες, καὶ οἱ χρώμενοι τὸν κόσμον ὡς μὴ καταχρώμενοι· παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. Θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀμερίμνους εἶναι.*
[9] P iii. 20 ; H xi. 10, 13–16, xii. 26–29, xiii. 14.

to their intellectual needs, for an unshakable confidence in the reality and importance of spiritual issues.[1] The Christian's normal attitude was thus one of patient and hopeful watching ;[2] they felt that the Day of the Lord might come upon them at any moment, like a thief in the night.[3] Their expectancy rose at times to an eager longing for the end ;[4] at times it gave place to a feverish assurance that the Day had actually come.[5] As year after year went by, and Christians grew old and felt themselves drawing near to death, and the Lord did not come, the apocalyptic eagerness and excitement would naturally tend to die down. We are able to trace between the earliest and latest Pauline Epistles a marked transition from clearness to indefiniteness on eschatological details. In his first letter to the Thessalonians, Paul takes for granted his own survival and apparently that of the majority of Christians until the Parousia, and further than that, explains the items in the apocalyptic programme in considerable detail. In his later letters he never attempts to furnish such full particulars. In writing to the Philippians, he still says : "The Lord is at hand" ; but he contemplates his own death as occurring before the Parousia, and speaks of departing to be with Christ.[6] But whether the details were faint or clear, whether the feeling of nearness was weak or strong, the certainty and, in a sense, the centrality of the great eschatological events remained. Whatever mistakes such beliefs may have given rise to, they served the valuable purpose of providing a convenient intellectual medium for that spiritual earnestness which is the basis of all true morality. The Day of the Lord was an occasion for which there must be, with God's help, the most strenuous and thorough ethical preparation.[7]

[1] An assessment of the permanent value of eschatology is made by C. H. Dodd in *The Interpreter* for Oct. 1923 (22ff) in an art. on 'The Eschatological Element in the N.T. and its permanent significance.'

[2] H x. 36ff, xii. 1ff ; Mc xiii. 23, 28–37.

[3] 1 Th v. 1–11.

[4] R viii. 18–25 ; 2 T iv. 8.

[5] 2 Th ii. 2. Apparently some of the Thessalonian Christians believed they had Paul's own authority for such a statement. The meaning probably is, as Frame (248) says : "The period indicated by ἡμέρα has dawned and the Lord is expected from heaven at any moment." These errorists are therefore of a different type from those censured in 2 T (ii. 17–19), who "say that the resurrection has already happened," and whose views thus seem to have approximated to the Johannine or modern type. To this latter class would belong also those Christians at Corinthus who said that there was no resurrection of the dead (1 C xv. 12).

[6] 1 Th iv. 13–18, 1 C xv. 51f, P i. 23, ii. 17, iv. 5. On this change in Paul's outlook, cf. Stevens 471f : "The natural inference to be drawn from the facts is that, as time went on, the parousia ceased to be central in Paul's thought," etc.

[7] 1 Th ii. 19, iii. 11–13, v. 23, 1 C i. 8, xv. 32, 2 C i. 14, P i. 6, 9f ; 1 T vi. 14, 2 T i. 12.

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL WARNING TO NON-CHRISTIANS.—The negative counterpart of the Christian conviction that salvation could be obtained only through belief in Christ [1] was the conviction that without such belief in Christ a man would inevitably incur the final penalty. We have not undertaken to examine here in detail the statements of our authorities as to what this final penalty would consist of. Broadly speaking, we may say that there are no grounds for attributing to the Christians of this age any belief in the endless torment of the damned in the future life. None of the terms in which the penalty is described involves this idea. It is usually spoken of as judgment (in the sense of condemnation), wrath, vengeance, destruction, death, or burning—terms implying a process of annihilation (probably accompanied by pain and anguish) and not a never-ending series of sufferings. But even so the prospect was sufficiently appalling to constitute a powerful deterrent for anyone who could be brought to believe in its reality. That the apostles and early Christian missionaries really believed that, in converting Jews and gentiles to the faith of Jesus, they were actually rescuing them from the dreadful doom of which we have been speaking, there can be no doubt.[2] Nor did they shrink from intimating more or less clearly to Jews and gentiles who listened to them that such would be their fate unless they accepted the Christian message.[3] And further than this, notwithstanding a few hopeful universalistic utterances apparently foreshadowing the ultimate salvation of all men,[4] the more usual view of Paul, at any rate, and (we may take it) of his Christian contemporaries, was that at the forthcoming judgment, at which the fate of all was to be decided, only a portion of the human race would be saved, the rest being condemned and destroyed.[5]

[1] Instances of non-Christians being told this—Ac iv. 12, xvi. 31.

[2] When, for instance, Paul told the Ephesian elders that he was pure from the blood of all men (Ac xx. 26), he meant that he had done what in him lay to convert all men to Christianity (cf. Ac xviii. 6). He told Agrippa that the object of his mission to the gentiles was " to open their eyes, to turn (them) from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God, that they might obtain remission of sins and a place among those who have been sanctified by faith in " Christ (Ac xxvi. 18). 1 C iii. 15 furnishes no modification of this severe view; for here Paul is speaking, not of the unconverted pagan, but of the inefficient Christian (see vv. 11f, 14).

[3] The expressions naturally vary a good deal in directness. To Jews :—Ac ii. 40, iii. 23, iv. 12, xiii. 40f, 46, xviii. 6; H ii. 3. To gentiles :—Ac x. 42, xvi. 31, xvii. 30f (*τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους τῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεριδὼν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ νῦν ἀπαγγέλλει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πάντας πανταχοῦ μετανοεῖν, καθότι ἔστησεν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ μέλλει κρίνειν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ*). Cf. Ac viii. 20–24, addressed to Simon of Samaria. On the doom of backsliding or apostate Christians, see H vi. 4–8, x. 26–31.

[4] See above, p. 78 n 2.

[5] 1 C xi. 32 (*ἵνα μὴ σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ κατακριθῶμεν*), R ix. 27–29; cf. 1 Th iv.

THE PAULINE DOCTRINE OF THE MAN OF LAWLESSNESS.—In the second letter of Paul to the Thessalonians there occurs an extraordinary prophecy,[1] which, while it does not actually mention the name 'Antichrist,' is yet the source of the important stream of Christian belief connected with the portentous figure usually so designated. The passage stands by itself: there is nothing else in the correspondence of Paul, nor yet in the Christian literature of the time, that is at all parallel to it, or sheds any clear light upon it. This alone renders it a difficult passage to explain; and there have been many divergent theories as to its exact meaning and the origin of the thoughts it contains. It seems to be compounded—in part at least—of elements derived from ancient Semitic mythology, Jewish apocalyptic literature, and contemporary history. The substance and purport are briefly as follows.

In order to soothe the excitement of those who, through a misconstruction of the apostle's words, believed that the Day of the Lord had already come,[2] Paul reminds the Thessalonian Christians of the teaching he had already given them, to the effect that the Day would not come until "the apostasy" (meaning possibly the revolt of the non-Christians as a whole against the authority of Christ [3]) had occurred, and the Man of Lawlessness had been revealed. The latter is described as "the son of perdition, who opposes and exalts himself against every one who is called God or an object of worship, so that he sits in the Temple of God, proclaiming himself to be God." His "parousia" is, through the working of Satan, accompanied by miraculous signs, lying wonders, and unrighteous deceit, calculated to mislead the perishing. He is already in existence, but is in concealment.[4] "The secret of Lawlessness" is already at work to bring about his appearance; but he cannot be revealed before his appointed time, because he is held in check by some power, and until that power is removed he cannot appear. Jesus at his Parousia will destroy him with the breath of his mouth.

Some of the elements in this extraordinary picture can be traced to their source. It may well be that there is an unconscious reminiscence of the old Babylonian saga of the Dragon's assault on the gods of heaven: [5] almost certainly the Jewish conception of Belial or Beliar (a Satanic embodiment of the Babylonian Dragon) has contributed some features to the figure: [6] Daniel's portrait of

13 (. . . ἵνα μὴ λυπῆσθε καθὼς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα), v. 6, and the allusions to οἱ ἀπολλύμενοι in 2 Th ii. 10–12, 2 C ii. 15, iv. 3.

[1] 2 Th ii. 1–12. [2] Frame 248. [3] Frame 250f.
[4] Frame 252. [5] James in *DB* iii. 228a; Frame 254, 256f.
[6] Charles *AI* lv.–lvii.; Frame 253f: cf. 2 C vi. 15.

Antiochus Epiphanes[1] was also evidently in the apostle's mind. The date of the letter rules out absolutely any use of the myth of Nero Redivivus:[2] but the comparatively recent attempt (40 A.D.) of the Emperor Gaius Caligula to get his statue set up in the Temple at Jerusalem,[3] and the protective friendliness which the Roman power was, at the very time of writing, showing to Paul himself,[4] are facts which undoubtedly played a part in shaping the apostle's views. The Man of Lawlessness, then, is not Satan, nor is he, apparently, as later Christian thought made him, a Jewish monarch; he is presumably to be a gentile ruler[5] armed with superhuman and Satanic powers, and presenting at all points a direct contrast to Christ.[6] But what is still more significant for our present purpose is Paul's conception of the checking agent or power, by which he almost certainly means the existing and stable Roman Empire.[7] As long as they saw that Empire standing firm, Christians must not imagine that the Day of the Lord had come.

[1] Dan xi. 31, 36f, xii. 11; Frame 255.

[2] Frame (20) dates it 50 A.D. In any case it was written during the reign of Claudius. For the Neronic myth, cf. Charles *AI* lvii.–lxi.

[3] Joseph. *Antiq.* XVIII. viii. It seems unnatural to imagine that Paul could have been thinking of any other Temple than that of Jerusalem, e.g. the heavenly Temple (so Frame 256f) or the Church.

[4] Ac xviii. 11–18.

[5] Neumann (*H* 5) thinks of him as "ein römischer Kaiser, der den Plan des Gaius wirklich ausführte"; but this does not fit in very well with the identification of the Empire with the Checker.

[6] σήμεια, παρουσία, and ἀποκάλυψις, appear on both sides. Note too the contrast between ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας and his followers οἱ ἀπολλύμενοι on the one hand, and the Christian conception of salvation on the other. Cf. also 2 C vi. 15 and Frame 252f.

[7] So Holtzm. *RS* 37–39, *Th.* ii. 213–215 (who, however, denies the Pauline authorship), Harnack *ME* i. 258, and most. Frame finds difficulty in this identification. Besides remarking that Caligula is not "conceived as sitting or attempting to sit in the sanctuary of God" (257), he observes that "the notion of Rome as a restrainer does not appear in Jewish apocalyptic literature," and further that, despite Paul's respect for the Empire, the suggested explanation compels him "to put the Roman emperor, if not also the empire, ἐκ μέσου, when once he, if not also it, has performed his service as restrainer" (260). The first point presents no real difficulty: Neumann's remarks seem perfectly just (*H* 5): "Wie setzt er sich aber in den Tempel Gottes, sich selbst als Gott ausstellend? Wenn er, wie Kaiser Gaius wollte, sein eigenes Bild zu göttlicher Verehrung im Tempel zu Jerusalem aufstellt." On the second point, there is no reason why a new conception should not have been introduced by Paul or his Christian contemporaries. On the third point, inasmuch as the Man of Lawlessness was to be destroyed at the parousia of Jesus, what objection could there be to speaking (of course with due caution) of the downfall of the Empire as the immediate preliminary of his appearance? On the whole subject of Antichrist, cf. W. Bousset in *ERE* i. 578–581.

Dr. Streeter has recently suggested (*The Four Gospels*, 493) that Paul derived the idea of the Man of Lawlessness from the 'Little Apocalypse,' which was later embedded in the Gospel of Mc (esp. xiii. 14), and which he (Paul) believed to have been uttered by Jesus.

# CHAPTER III

## ETHICAL PRINCIPLES AND THEIR GENERAL APPLICATION

The Principle of Love.—No one needs to be told that the duty of love bulks very largely indeed in the Christian ethics of this—as of every—period. A glance at any concordance will show us how much the early Christians had to say about it. A question, however, that is not so clearly or easily answered is this: Did they think of the duty of love as applying to their relations with outsiders as completely as it applied within the circle of the Christian brotherhood? There are, of course, abundant allusions to the love of Christians for one another: there are also many passages in which love is spoken of in purely general terms, such as permit, or even suggest, the thought of love towards non-Christians; but these are virtually confined to the writings of Paul and to the Pastoral Epistles.[1] There are only two or three passages which definitely mention the duty of loving non-Christians, and these again all come from Paul. Thus he writes to the Thessalonians: "May the Lord make you to increase and abound in love towards one another and towards all";[2] and in writing to the Romans, after enlarging on the obedience they owed to their pagan governors and bidding them pay to all men their respective dues—tribute, tax, respect, or honour, as the case might be—he goes on: "Owe no man anything, save to love one another," and points out how all the commandments are summed up in the single precept, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."[3] On the whole, we cannot resist the impression that "love for man . . . lost among the early Christians something of

[1] G v. 22, 1 Th i. 3, v. 8, 1 C xiii., xiv. 1, xvi. 14, etc.; 1 T i. 5, iv. 12, vi. 11, 2 T i. 7, ii. 22, etc.; Mc xii. 31f. H and 1 P mention only the love of Christians for one another.

[2] 1 Th iii. 12.

[3] R xiii. 8–10. The context justifies us in believing that the apostle here meant 'neighbour' to include 'non-Christian.' For similar reasons the "love unfeigned" spoken of in 2 C vi. 6 cannot be limited to the Christian circle. Cf. Uhlhorn *Ch.* 94: "Nay, even the heathen experienced this love. For if it was a rule to do good, especially to fellow-believers (Gal. vi. 10), this love was still large-hearted enough to prove itself to be love to all men, and to show to the heathen what a new spirit—a spirit unknown to the ancient world—here prevailed."

the meaning which it had to Jesus. The notable fact about it is the growing tendency to narrow the circle, so that Christian love becomes love for the brotherhood, that is, for one's fellow-disciples. It is true that love as a constant attitude of the heart is inculcated by many of the writers of the period, and that in some cases love for those without the church is explicitly referred to, but as a rule the emphasis is laid solely upon love for the brethren. Especially significant in this connection is the injunction of the First Epistle of Peter: 'Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the king.'"[1] In this epistle there is no trace of any anxiety or concern on behalf of non-Christians: the author, in fact, comes dangerously near asserting that God feels no mercy for them.[2] These traits become the more significant when we recall the charge of "hatred for the human race" which was levelled against the victims of the Neronian persecution.[3]

Other Ethical Principles.—When we come to study the other leading principles of Christian ethics, our experience is similar; that is to say, when we have set on one side that great mass of references to the operation of these principles within the Christian community, we have left a certain number of general precepts, which neither definitely call for, nor definitely exclude, an interpretation that applies them to outsiders, and a much smaller number of precepts, in which the application to outsiders is clear and explicit. Thus in regard to *truthfulness* and sincerity, besides general exhortations[4] and a condemnation of untruthfulness in pagans,[5] we get very little in regard to the practice of these virtues by Christians in their relations with pagans. Paul, in speaking of his life as a Christian missionary in all its varied aspects and vicissitudes, mentions sincere love and truthful speech as among its characteristics.[6] Later he describes his fellow-Christians at Rome preaching Christ (i.e. to pagans), some for ulterior ends, and some genuinely.[7]

[1] McGiffert 508; cf. 67 n 3. "Die Nächstenliebe wird zur Bruderliebe und zum Liebesprinzip überhaupt" (Troeltsch 59). Cf. Coleridge, *Aids to Reflection*, ed. 1877, 332f, 'Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion,' no. cxxiv, Comment § 6; Weinel *Th.* 631f.

[2] 1 P ii. 10.

[3] Tacitus, *Annales*, xv. 44: odio humani generis convicti sunt. Cf. Ramsay *CRE* 236f.

[4] 1 C xiii. 6, E iv. 15, v. 9; 1 P ii. 1 (cf. 22, iii. 10).

[5] R i. 29, 31, iii. 13; T i. 12.

[6] 2 C vi. 6–8.

[7] P i. 18. Under this heading come the honest disclaimers addressed by Peter to Cornelius (Ac x. 26) and by Paul and Barnabas to the Lycaonians (Ac xiv. 14f).

Again, in regard to *humility*, there is general commendation,[1] censure of its absence in non-Christians,[2] and a few allusions to it as something to be practised by Christians towards pagans. "Though I am free from all men," says Paul, "I made myself the slave of all, in order that I might gain as many as possible."[3] He speaks of the humiliating experiences through which he had to go.[4] In practical matters, when need arose, he knew how to make himself useful to his fellows, not only by sound advice,[5] but also by hard manual labour and the ministry of healing.[6] And in this commendation and practice of manual industry and his advice to those in a condition of slavery,[7] we may perhaps see the germ of the conception of daily work as being in essence the service of one's fellow-men. To the need for humility in apologetic discussions with pagans, we get a reference in the Epistle of Peter: "(Be) ready always to (give) an answer to every one who asks you for a reason concerning the hope (that is) in you, but with gentleness and respect."[8]

Lastly, in regard to *wisdom or prudence*, the fact that Christianity was thought of as itself the true wisdom, and that the difference between the Christian and non-Christian was, for Paul at any rate, very largely the difference between wisdom and folly, provided ample opportunity for enlarging on the general excellences of wisdom. Of wise Christian conduct towards unbelievers we have mention in the references made to the dialectical skill of Stephen and of Apollos,[9] and in the brief but pregnant dictum of the apostle: "Behave wisely towards outsiders, making the most of your opportunity."[10]

Cleavage between the Church and the World.[11]—There were two factors in the relations between Christians and non-Christians which, by mutually reacting in a vicious circle, tended to increase one another, and in combination rendered mutual esteem and respect and the maintenance of happy and harmonious intercourse extremely difficult.

[1] G vi. 3, 1 C xiii. 4, R xii. 3, 16, P ii. 6ff, C iii. 12, E iv. 2; 1 P iii. 8.
[2] R i. 30; 2 T iii. 2, 4. [3] 1 C ix. 19.
[4] 2 C vi. 4, 8. He warned the gentile Christians not to wax proud by contrasting themselves with the unconverted Jews (R xi. 20–25).
[5] Ac xxvii. 10, 21–26, 31–36. [6] Ac xxviii. 2–9.
[7] See below, pp. 128f, 134f. [8] 1 P iii. 15: cf. C iv. 6.
[9] Ac vi. 10, xviii. 24f, 28. Cf. Stephen's own allusion to the wisdom of Joseph before Pharaoh (Ac vii. 10; cf. 22).
[10] C iv. 5 (*ἐν σοφίᾳ περιπατεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω, τὸν καιρὸν ἐξαγοραζόμενοι*). The next verse shows that the apostle has apologetic discussion with heathens in mind.
[11] The early Christian attitude to pagan society is briefly sketched by Gayford in *DB* i. 430. Cf. Dobschütz 178–180; Bigelmair 79f; Troeltsch 94, 102f.

In the first place, *the Christians regarded the non-Christian world en masse as evil.* Abundant evidence on this point has already been adduced.[1] To Peter it was "this crooked generation," and to Paul "the present evil age"; the author of Hebrews, when he said that Noah in saving himself and his household condemned the world, was doubtless drawing a silent parallel between the patriarch and the Christian.[2] The natural result of such an attitude of disapprobation was not merely a desire to save men out of the world,[3] but an aversion from mixing and associating with it.[4] "Do not get unequally yoked with unbelievers," writes Paul, "for what have righteousness and lawlessness in common, or what fellowship has light with darkness? and what harmony has Christ with Beliar, or what business (μέρις) has a believer with an unbeliever? And what compact has the Temple of God with idols? for we are a Temple of the living God—as God has said: 'I will dwell and walk among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my people.' Wherefore 'come out from their midst, and be separated, saith the Lord, and touch not what is unclean; and I will receive you, and I will be a father to you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.' Having these promises then, beloved, let us purify ourselves from every defilement of flesh and spirit, completing our consecration by the fear of God."[5] "Make no mistake (about it): 'Bad company corrupts good morals.'"[6]

In the second place, *the pagans came more and more to dislike and despise the Christians.* As upholders of beliefs misunderstood and disapproved by their heathen companions, and as strenuous opponents of the whole heathen religious system, including the popular cult of the Emperor, the Christians laboured from the outset under a heavy handicap.[7] Nothing that the Christian did, short of apostasy, could save him from unpopularity. If he associated freely with non-Christians, his scrupulous morality would

[1] See above, pp. 70–73. [2] Ac ii. 40; G i. 4; H xi. 7.

[3] Ac ii. 40; G i. 4.

[4] Troeltsch 59: "Die Herzensreinheit wird zur Heiligung mit einem starken Gegensatz der durch die Taufe in Christus eingepflanzten Gläubigen gegen die Welt." Cf. also Troeltsch 69 (quoted above, p. 82 n 8.)

[5] 2 C vi. 14–vii. 1: probably written before 1 C (Moffatt *INT* 109, 125f).

[6] 1 C xv. 33.

[7] 1 P ii. 7f; Suetonius, *Nero*, 16 (Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis nouae ac maleficae); Tacitus, *Annales*, xv. 44 (exitiabilis superstitio rursum erumpebat, non modo per Iudaeam, originem eius mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque). The Roman historians write in the second century, but doubtless reflect the pagan sentiment of Nero's time.

evoke their astonishment and disgust:[1] if he withdrew to the seclusion of his own community, he was reproached for unsociable ill-will and suspected and accused of crimes too heinous to see the light of day.[2] It was impossible, in the face of such a dilemma, altogether to avoid occasions of offence. The best that could be done was to endeavour to disarm suspicion and overcome dislike by conciliatory and exemplary conduct.

Intercourse with the World.—While a good deal of secrecy and exclusiveness was necessary for the maintenance of Christian life and fellowship, it must have been obvious that to cut off association with pagans too absolutely, though it might avert a certain amount of annoyance, would have a damaging effect on the progress of the faith. Not only the Christian apostle, but the simple believer, had a mission and a responsibility to heathendom. It was his business to be a 'luminary' in the world.[3] Neither in theory, therefore, nor in practice, was the principle of separation carried to an extreme. Pagans were admitted to at least some of the Christian meetings for worship.[4] Christians accepted invitations to dine with their pagan friends; and Paul told them that under such circumstances they need not ask whether the food on the table had been offered to idols, but, unless they were actually told that it had been so, they might eat it without scruple.[5] He even modified his own instructions forbidding intercourse with loose-livers. "I wrote to you in my letter," he tells the Corinthians, "(to instruct you) not to associate with fornicators—(I did) not (mean) absolutely with (all) fornicators of this world or with the lustful and thievish or with idolaters, since in that case ye would need to go out of the world. But I now write to you that, if any so-called brother be a fornicator or a lustful person or an idolater or a reviler or a drunkard or a thief, ye should not associate with him, nor even eat with such a man."[6] He then disclaims the task

[1] 1 P iv. 3f.

[2] 1 P ii. 12, iii. 16; Tacitus *l.c.* (quos per flagitia inuisos uulgus Christianos appellabat . . . haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt): Lecky i. 413–421; Uhlhorn *C* 171–173; J. B. Mullinger, Art. 'Social Life' in *DCA* ii. 1910f; Purves 59f; Moffatt *INT* 323f.

[3] P ii. 15; cf. 1 C ix. 22. On the part played by ordinary men and women in the propaganda work of the early Church, cf. Harnack *ME* i. 366–368.

[4] 1 C xiv. 23f. "While it is clear that heathen were carefully excluded from the Christian mysteries, it is equally clear that from the earliest times they were admitted to that part of Christian worship which consisted mainly of instruction" (Cheetham, art. 'Heathen' in *DCA* i. 762a).

[5] 1 C x. 27f.

[6] 1 C v. 9–11. 2 C vi. 14–vii. 1, which is quoted on the previous page, is probably a part of the earlier letter referred to.

of judging outsiders, but insists that the offender should be expelled from the Church. Paul's teaching on the question comes to this: ordinary neighbourly association with pagans, even when they are immoral, is permissible: fellowship with an immoral person within the limits of the Christian Church is forbidden.[1]

Christian Conduct before Outsiders.—We have already touched [2] on the favourable influence of Christian character as one of the means to be used in commending the Gospel to others: we have now to study the principles of Christian conduct laid down with reference to intercourse in general with outsiders. In the first place, great stress is laid on the importance of earning and keeping a good reputation with non-Christians, by all legitimate means, in the main by avoiding those forms of wrong-doing censured alike by pagan and Christian sentiment. Paul urges the Thessalonians to work for their daily bread "in order that ye may walk becomingly in the eyes of outsiders." [3] "We aim at what is good, not only in the Lord's sight, but in the sight of men." [4] "The Kingdom of God . . . is righteousness and peace and joy in Holy Spirit: for he who serves Christ on these lines is well-pleasing to God and esteemed by men." [5] Peter urges upon his readers that the establishment of a good reputation is the best means of shaming slanderers into silence. "Keep your conduct among the heathen good, in order that, though they speak against you as evil-doers, they may see (some) of your good works and glorify God in the day of visitation." [6]

Christian Conduct towards Outsiders.—But the Christian has to consider not only his conduct before outsiders, but also his behaviour towards them. The general principles governing this latter was that he should do good to all men,[7] which was understood to involve, on its negative side, abstention from homicide, anger, vengeance, returning evil for evil, cursing, evil-speaking, jealousy, strife, and censorious judgment, and on its positive side, peace,

[1] Cf. R xvi. 17, E v. 6f; 2 T iii. 2–5 (where association with errorist teachers, probably antinomians among others, is forbidden).

[2] See above, pp. 83f. [3] 1 Th iv. 12.

[4] 2 C viii. 21; a similar phrase in R xii. 17. Cf. P iv. 8 (ὅσα εὔφημα . . . ταῦτα λογίζεσθε).

[5] R xiv. 17f; cf. xiii. 3 (τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποίει, καὶ ἔξεις ἔπαινον ἐξ αὐτῆς, i.e. from the government). Other passages are 2 C iii. 2, P iv. 5 (τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ὑμῶν γνωσθήτω πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις); 1 T iii. 7, T i. 6f (on the need of bishops and presbyters having good reputations).

[6] 1 P ii. 12; cf. 15 ("This is the will of God, that (by) doing good you should silence the ignorance of foolish men"), iii. 16; T ii. 7f.

[7] G vi. 10, 1 Th v. 15: cf. Ac xxiv. 16; 1 C x. 32f (ἀπρόσκοποι καὶ Ἰουδαίοις γίνεσθε καὶ Ἕλλησιν, . . . καθὼς κἀγὼ πάντα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκω, μὴ ζητῶν τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ σύμφορον ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἵνα σωθῶσιν), 2 C vi. 3; 1 P ii. 17 ("honour all men").

gentleness, long-suffering, meekness, forbearance, and submission to wrongs.[1] The following words of Paul are an excellent statement of the Christian attitude: "Repay to no one evil for evil. . . . If possible, be as far as you can at peace with all men. Do not avenge yourselves, beloved, but leave room for the wrath (of God), for it is written: 'Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.' But if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for (by) doing this, thou wilt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not conquered by evil, but conquer evil with (what is) good." [2] If anyone challenges or questions him on some point of his religious faith, the Christian must be ready to make a wise and courteous answer.[3]

THE ATTITUDE OF PAUL TO THOSE WHO OPPOSED HIS EVANGELISTIC WORK exhibits both the application and the modification of the principles just described. We note, in the first place, the apostle's consciousness of being in opposition to apparently insurmountable obstacles,[4] his dogged determination not to be deterred by them,[5] and his sense of being engaged in conflict with them.[6] When he had to face the bitter hostility of his own fellow-countrymen, he more than once broke out into sharp rebuke.[7] On one occasion, if the record is to be trusted, he sentenced an opponent to temporary blindness.[8] At times he suffered himself to utter to his Christian friends furious and even vindictive denunciations of Jewish and Judaizing opponents.[9] But normally he preferred to meet the opposition more in the spirit of the precepts we have just been reviewing: "When reviled, we bless; when persecuted, we endure (it); when defamed, we conciliate." [10]

[1] I have thought it best not to overload this footnote with references to all the passages in which these actions are spoken of in general terms without specific reference to outsiders. The following are a few of the more explicit passages: 1 Th v. 15, 1 C v. 12f (with this thought cf. 1 P iv. 5), 2 C vi. 6, P iv. 5 (see above, p. 95 n 5); H xii. 14; 1 P ii. 18–23, iii. 9, 17f; 2 T ii. 24–26 (*δοῦλον δὲ Κυρίου οὐ δεῖ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἤπιον εἶναι πρὸς πάντας, διδακτικόν, ἀνεξίκακον, ἐν πραΰτητι παιδεύοντα τοὺς ἀντιδιατιθεμένους, μή ποτε δώῃ αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς μετάνοιαν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας, κτλ.*), T iii. 2.

[2] R xii. 17–21.

[3] 1 P iii. 15; C iv. 5f, 2 C vi. 7 (*διὰ τῶν ὅπλων τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῶν δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν*, i.e. for attack and defence).

[4] 1 C xiii. 2.

[5] 1 C xvi. 8f.

[6] 1 C xv. 30–32, 2 C vi. 5.

[7] Ac xiii. 45f, (cf. 50f), xviii. 6f, xxviii. 25–28: cf. T i. 10–16.

[8] Ac xiii. 8–12.

[9] G v. 11f, 1 Th ii. 14–16, 2 Th i. 6–10.

[10] 1 C iv. 12f. For instances of Paul's attempt to conciliate the cold and hostile, see Ac xvii. 17–34, xix. 30f, xxi. 30–xxii. 30. For prayer for persecutors, see R xii. 14, and below, p. 109.

# CHAPTER IV

## ATTITUDE TO THE STATE[1]

STARTING-POINT AND TENDENCIES.—We may venture at the outset to lay it down as antecedently probable that whatever the early Christians believed on the subject of the State, they regarded as a legitimate interpretation or extension of their Master's own teaching. Now we have seen that Jesus' attitude to the State involved a certain dualism : he both approved of it, and disapproved of it. In both cases the judgment was both absolute and relative. Of the benevolent activities of the State, his approval would have been absolute. Of its crimes and abuses his disapproval was equally so. As to its attempt to restrain crime and foster morality by the use of physical coercion and penalties, his position embraced approval and disapproval, both being relative—the former, to the unenlightenment and spiritual immaturity of the governors in question—the latter, to the standpoint of himself and his followers. He regarded it as obedience to Satan to use violent methods himself, and he definitely forbade his followers to use them, either in a private or in a public capacity. As a means of checking wrongdoing, he substituted self-sacrificing love, and a willingness to risk temporary failure in the particular case for the sake of ultimate triumph. His expectation of this triumph involved therefore an expectation of the disappearance, sooner or later, of all governments founded on force.

We do not indeed find that the attitude of Jesus to the State was invariably or fully understood in this light by the early Christians ; but its essential dualism (based on subjective differences in the two classes of agents concerned) is reflected not only in the thought of the period we have now to study, but in that of the whole pre-Constantinian era. Christian thought and feeling towards the State always sways between the two extremes of absolute condemnation and rejection on the one hand, and hearty approval and even co-operation on the other. It will perhaps

[1] The main lines of Paul's attitude to the State, as set forth in the following pages, were suggested by me in an article on ' St Paul's Conception of the State,' in *The Expositor*, Aug. 1916, 135–147. Deissmann (*LVO* 288f) characterizes the political attitude of Paul and the early Church (and the humbler classes generally) as one of indifference.

conduce to clearness, if the somewhat copious and variegated materials before us are grouped together in due sequence as proximate stages between these two extremes.

Christian Antipathy to the State.—There are many indications that the hostile feelings of the early Church towards governments in general and the Roman Empire in particular went much deeper than a surface-view would lead us to imagine. While persecution served to emphasize this feeling, it did not create it. The causes of the antipathy lay deeper. Firstly, there was *the general prejudice against the State as simply non-Christian.* The great gulf fixed between Christian and heathen led the Christian to regard all that did not stand on his side of it as deeply imbued with evil. Even Paul, who is often regarded as a model of loyalty and even as an advocate of the Divine right of kings, took a very black view of the non-Christian world in general; and, however he may have qualified this view by the introduction of certain broader conceptions,[1] yet he did not always forget or ignore it, when he spoke or thought of the political institutions of heathendom. He referred to the heathen magistrates in general as "the unrighteous," not apparently because they were bad of their kind, but simply because they were pagan.[2] It is still less likely that many Christians, less sane and disciplined than he, would not want to carry such sentiments to their logical conclusion, and so, both in thought and action, adopt towards the State an attitude of settled antipathy.[3] Secondly, there was *the Jewish element* in the Church. We cannot doubt that the churches up and down the Mediterranean contained a considerable proportion of Jews, though what that proportion was we cannot exactly say; and it is highly improbable that Jewish converts would wash off in the waters of baptism every particle of that violent hatred of the Roman Empire which marked their race.[4] Thirdly, there was *the element of social and economic dis-*

[1] See above, pp. 71ff.

[2] 1 C vi. 1 (ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδίκων); cf. 6 (ἐπὶ ἀπίστων). There is no point in differentiating between the denotation of τῶν ἀδίκων in 1 and τοὺς ἐξουθενημένους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ in 4, on the ground that the former refers to the heathen world and the latter to the tribunals only (cf. Robertson and Plummer 114).

[3] Bigelmair 79f.

[4] It seems to be generally agreed that Paul's inculcation in R xiii. 1–7 of submission to the government and payment of taxes was directed, in part at least, against the hostility of Jewish Christians to the Empire, though Mangold's argument (226–238) that it applied exclusively to these no longer finds favour. Cf. Holtzm. *RS* 22f (the section R xiii. 1–7 has naturally been understood "im Hinblicke auf das hochgradig erregte und leicht Feuer fangende Element . . . welches das damalige, eben zum letzten Verzweiflungskampfe um die nationale Existenz sich rüstende, Judenthum darbietet. Auch in der römischen Gemeinde war das jüdische Element von zum Theil maassgebender

*content.* The Christian communities consisted for the most part of the poorer classes in the large towns [1]—people upon whom the imperial peace, supervening on an age of strife and turmoil, conferred little of that quiet prosperity which it brought to the upper ranks of society in general. Beneath the external appearance of general tranquillity and happiness, there was doubtless seething a good deal of discontent at the inequalities and injustices of the existing order of things in the State and in society.[2] Fourthly, there was *the tendency to misconstrue the new and valuable doctrine of the freedom of the Christian man* into a refusal to submit to the ordinary obligations of social life, "a complete disregard of the principle of that mutual subordination of desires and actions which alone makes social life possible." [3] Paul and Peter had frequently to warn their readers against such a tendency to abuse their Christian freedom.[4] The error they were deprecating would naturally involve a perverse attitude of insubordination towards the existing government.

From all these reasons, therefore, we may conclude that, quite apart from the spur given to Christian prejudice by persecution, there was undoubtedly a considerable element of *revolutionary radicalism* to be found within the Christian communities. Injunctions to obey the magistrates and pay the government-taxes are meaningless, unless there was a considerable number of Christians who were more or less strongly disinclined to do

Bedeutung"); Carlyle 91–93 ("The first explanation which offers itself is, that they" [i.e. Paul and Peter] "are anxious to counteract some Jewish antipathy to the Roman rule . . . the suggestion is a reasonable one, that we might interpret the passages . . . as being primarily intended to check any tendency on the part of the members of the Christian communities to adopt the national Jewish attitude towards the Roman Government. But we do not think that this explanation is really adequate," etc.). How readily the well-known Jewish antagonism to the Empire was charged upon Christians we can see from Ac xvi. 20f, xvii. 6–8, xxiv. 5, and from the accounts of the trial of Jesus (Mc xv. 2: cf. Lc xxiii. 2f; J xix. 12–16: Carlyle 92). Our belief that the charge was not always groundless is confirmed by the later evidence of the Apocalypse, "in der freilich viel jüdischer Nationalhass noch übernommen ist" (Weinel *SUS* 13).

[1] 1 C i. 26–29, vi. 9–11. See below, p. 129 n 4.

[2] We are indebted to Weinel (*SUS* 11–13) for bringing this fact into due prominence, though possibly he has slightly exaggerated its significance. In the Christian literature, he says, "spürt man noch deutlich den Druck und die Ausbeutung, die Hoffnungslosigkeit dieser Welt und allem staatlichen Dasein gegenüber." Cf. McGiffert 517.

[3] Carlyle 93–97 (he characterizes these "anarchical tendencies" as "an error which would have destroyed the unity of human life, and would have tended to put them" [the Christians] "into a ruinous opposition to the general principles of human progress"); cf. 157f.

[4] G v. 13, 1 Th iv. 11f, v. 14, 2 Th iii. 6–12, 1 C vi. 12, x. 23f; 1 P ii. 15f.

so.[1] Our impression that Christian hostility to the Empire went further, in the case of some believers, than the mere refusal of taxes and of honour or mere disobedience to government-orders, and almost amounted to positive revolt, is confirmed by the remarkable warning addressed by Peter to his readers: "Let none of you suffer as a murderer, or a thief, or an evil-doer, or as a revolutionary."[2] While it is true that this warning was addressed to Christians smarting under persecution, it does not follow that the conduct forbidden could occur only under those conditions, if at all: for it seems possible that, even before Nero's persecution had got under way, there were not wanting Christians at Rome who confessed to the charge of having set the City on fire.[3]

[1] Hase, *Kirchengeschichte* (ed. 1886), 43 ("Die Ermahnung zum Gehorsam gegen die thatsächliche Obrigkeit um des Gewissens willen war nicht überflüssig für das neue königliche Priesterthum, dem die lange Geduld und Arbeit der geschichtlichen Entwickelung fern lag"); Weinel *SUS* 14f ("Wir können einen revolutionären Radikalismus innerhalb der Christenheit nicht direkt belegen, sondern nur aus den Mahnungen und Verboten der vermittelnden und besonnenen Männer erschliessen, denen wir unsere neutestamentlichen Schriften und ihre Ueberlieferung verdanken. Aber der Schluss ist durchaus berechtigt. Denn einmal werden Verbote immer nur gegeben, wenn etwas zu verbieten ist"). The strong terms of Paul's defence of the State, Weinel goes on, "deutlich bezeugen, wie gross die Gefahr war."

[2] 1 P iv. 15: μὴ γάρ τις ὑμῶν πασχέτω ὡς φονεὺς ἢ κλέπτης ἢ κακοποιὸς ἢ ὡς ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος. The last word does not occur elsewhere, and its exact meaning is therefore uncertain. The translation 'meddler,' 'busybody,' seems too weak for the context. Ramsay (*CRE* 293 n; cf. 348 n) thinks "it refers to the charge of tampering with family relationships, causing disunion and discord, rousing discontent and disobedience among slaves, and so on." But these were things which no Christian on the look-out for converts could possibly avoid doing. The close proximity of strong terms like φονεύς and κλέπτης, and the analogy of ἀλλοτριοπραγεῖν (= nouas res moliri, Polyb. v. xli. 8), suggest the meaning of 'revolutionary.' See Bigg *PJ* 177–179; Moulton and Milligan, *Vocab. of Greek Test.*, s.v.; Moffatt *INT* 325f (but he adopts the rendering 'revolutionary' in his translation of the N.T.). K. Erbes (in *ZNTW* xix. [1919–20] 39–44; cf. xx. [1921] 249) argues that ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος means a bishop who misappropriated money entrusted to him for the care of the poor. Other suggestions are "one who meddles in things alien to his calling" (Abbott-Smith), "a pryer into other men's affairs, by means of soothsayers, astrologers, etc." (Souter), "a delator" (Moffatt *l.c.*; Jülicher, *Einleitung* [1894], 135—the latter, however, regards "den aufdringlichen Agitator" as a possible alternative).

[3] This statement depends on the sense to be given to a clause in Tacitus (*Annales*, xv. 44). The context runs: Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos et quaesitissimis poenis adfecit, quos per flagitia inuisos uulgus Christianos appellabat . . . Igitur primum correpti qui fatebantur, inde indicio eorum multitudo ingens haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis conuicti sunt. Does this mean "First of all those who confessed to being Christians were hurried to trial on the charge of arson," or "First of all some were seized, who confessed to having set the city on fire"? The question is handled by Ramsay *CRE* 238f; Hardy 65ff; Workman 53f; Moffatt *INT* 324 n 1; Weinel *SUS* 15. Of these only Ramsay and Hardy feel sure that the former interpretation is the right one, and Ramsay pronounces the latter

The State censured for Idolatry and Persecution.—Even those Christians who did not share the revolutionary sentiments manifested by some of their brethren, had to face the fact that the Roman government was avowedly polytheistic and idolatrous, and that it had hardly learned to distinguish Christianity from Judaism before it entered upon a regular policy of intolerance and persecution towards the new faith. This policy was inaugurated by the Emperor Nero's attack on the Christians shortly after the great fire at Rome in 64 A.D., that is to say, after most, probably all, of the extant Epistles of Paul were written ; but even in them we get indirect traces of the antagonism aroused by idolatry and persecution. No occasion arose in Paul's own experience for a direct attack on the imperial government—for it showed itself to him personally as a protector rather than an oppressor, and he revered it as the bulwark against the advent of the Man of Lawlessness.[1] It was rather upon his Jewish persecutors that the apostle poured out the vials of his wrath.[2] But no Christian could forget the circumstances of his Lord's death. While the main burden of responsibility for it rested on the Jews, the Romans too had taken their own part in it. Roman, as well as Jewish, officials were among "the rulers of this age" who had crucified the Lord of glory, showing that they had not known the wisdom of God, and who were in process of being disestablished.[3] Further, Paul

incredible. But his view compels him to insert as implicit the thought "The Christians were sought out" before 'Igitur primum,' to regard the 'confession' as made on arrest, not at trial, and to assume that the majority of Christians were not known as such to their neighbours! 'Confession' (profiteri or confiteri, not usually fateri) of course becomes later in Christian literature a technical term for admitting one's Christianity ; but even so, it is always the admission made on trial before a magistrate, and it would be surprising to find it used by Tacitus in this sense with no further explanation. Some evidence of course had to be obtained as to who were Christians ; but it was Nero who had to find it ; no one at this stage would bring it on his own initiative. There is therefore no need to suppose that the majority of Christians kept their religion a secret from their neighbours : and, while the point must still be regarded as in a measure doubtful, it seems more natural to construe 'fatebantur' with reference to the crime suggested by 'reos.' But even so this does not prove that Christians had actually fired Rome. Tacitus' report may be incorrect (so Weinel), or the evidence might have been false, either given by traitors or extorted under torture. But the possibility that it was the truthful avowal of enthusiasts remains open. See below, p. 172 n 11.

[1] 2 Th ii. 6f ; and see above, p. 89.

[2] 1 Th ii. 14–16 ; and see above, p. 96.

[3] 1 C ii. 6–8. I find it hard to believe that these ἄρχοντες are meant to be angelic powers (so, e.g., Weinel *SUS* 24f) : as Findlay very rightly says (*Expositor's Greek Test.*, note *ad loc.*), "These super-terrestrial potentates could not, without explanation, be charged with the crucifixion of Christ." Similarly Robertson and Plummer 39f. Cf. the reference in Ac iv. 25–28 to the

seems to have borrowed some of the features of the Man of Lawlessness from the character and actions of one of the Emperors—Gaius Caligula,[1] thus in a way compromising his view of the essential justice of the imperial rule. A tacit protest on the part of the Christians against the ascription of Divine honours to the Emperor appears in the adoption of several of the semi-technical terms of the Kaiserkult, such as 'our Lord,' 'Saviour,' 'Kingdom,' etc., as watchwords of their own faith.[2] When Mark embodied in his Gospel the prophecy of Jesus that his disciples would be arraigned before governors and kings for his sake,[3] new significance had recently been given to the words by the inauguration in 64 A.D. of the policy of persecution for the name of Christian as the standard and official treatment henceforth to be accorded by the imperial government to the new faith. Prior to this, the Christians had already incurred social unpopularity and suspicion: but when special attention had been directed to them by Nero's famous attempt (perhaps instigated and supported by Jews) to shift off his shoulders on to theirs the suspicion of having set Rome on fire, they came to be regarded officially as enemies of society, by reason of the unpatriotic views and secret crimes supposed to be bound up with the religion they professed. They thus became liable thenceforward, not only at Rome but throughout the provinces, to be proceeded against—as robbers and pirates were proceeded against—not under any law specially directed against them, but under the ordinary powers with which the magistrate was armed. While the police-regulations thus requiring their suppression would often be allowed to remain dormant, they might yet as a result of Nero's action be put into force against the Christians henceforward at any moment.[4]

combination of Herodes, Pilatus, and Israel, in compassing the Divinely ordained death of Jesus: similarly Ac ii. 23, iii. 13–15, xiii. 27–29; the Passion-story in Mark, and his account of the execution of the Baptist (vi. 14–29).

[1] 2 Th ii. 4; and see above, p. 89.

[2] Weinel *SUS* 18–23: "Durch ihre Schriften zieht sich ein stiller, aber sehr heftiger Kampf gegen den Kaiser hindurch. Man streitet gerade gegen die göttliche Würde des Herrschers in ihren Prädikaten und nimmt sie für den lebendigen Gott oder Jesus Christus in Anspruch," u.s.w. (18). Cf. id. *Th.* 548; Harnack *ME* i. 259 nn 2f, *KS* 146; Deissmann *LVO* 246f, 287–324 (esp. 290f and 312 n 4).

[3] Mc xiii. 9f.

[4] Tacitus, *Annales*, xv. 44; Suetonius, *Nero*, 16; Doulcet 10–13, 15–27; Ramsay *CRE* 226–251 (summary on 245); Hardy 58–84; McGiffert 628–630; Bury in Gibbon ii. 543–545; Bigelmair 28–38; Workman 51–66, 364–366; Harnack *KS* 136; Moffatt *INT* 323–327; C. H. Turner, *Studies in Early Church History*, 228. Ramsay's view (252ff) that Christians were not persecuted for the Name before the time of the Flavians has not been widely accepted. The settlement of the real nature of the Neronian persecution has altogether

Christian Resistance to Persecution.—We have no direct evidence that an effort was ever made on the part of the Christians of this period to withstand persecution by force.[1] The furthest they go in this direction is to lash their rulers with spirited censure [2] or to baffle them by flight.[3] The normal Christian response to persecution, however, did not go beyond a temperate but firm refusal to obey such orders of the government as were felt to conflict with obedience to Christ.[4] Thus Peter and John, when forbidden by the Sanhedrin to speak or teach any more in the name of Jesus, simply reply: "Whether it is right in the sight of God to hearken unto you rather than unto God, judge (for yourselves); for we cannot but speak (of) the things which we have seen and heard."[5] Later on, when reproached by the Sanhedrin with their disobedience, Peter answers in the name of the apostles: "One must obey God rather than men."[6] When Jacob was commanded by the Jewish authorities publicly to renounce Christ, he replied by making a public confession of him.[7] If, as is likely, sacrifice before the image of the Emperor or of some other god began to be demanded from Christians more or less frequently from 64 A.D. onwards, the Christian believer would grow familiar with the sacred duty of avowedly disobeying the State.

Christian Aversion from the Use of Compulsion and Penalty.—We have already seen [8] how thoroughly the early Christian leaders had imbibed the Master's teaching enjoining love for enemies and friendship with sinners, and forbidding not only homicide and hatred, but even retaliation and physical resistance to wrongs. So far as we can make out, this teaching was understood in its simple and literal sense without any elaborate theoretical modifications, and on the whole consistently adhered to in practice. While this meant that many wrongs had to be patiently endured,

altered the point of the old question as to whether the persecution was confined to Rome or extended to the provinces: cf. Orosius VII. vii. 10 (Christianos . . . per omnes prouincias pari persecutione excruciari imperauit); Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.*, II. xxix. 3; Lecky i. 429f n; Overbeck 97–99; Hardy 78; McGiffert 630; Ramsay *CRE* 245; Moffatt *INT* 326; Bigelmair 37f ("Der Sturm scheint sich nicht auf Rom beschränkt, sondern der Stimmung des Volkes entsprechend an verschiedenen Punkten des Reiches getobt zu haben").

[1] It is, however, worth noting in this connection that Stephen alludes with evident approval to Moses' act in killing the Egyptian who was ill-treating an Israelite (Ac vii. 24–29). Cf. Bigelmair 105: "Aber der Gedanke an eine Rebellion musste auch dann noch ausgeschlossen bleiben": he then quotes 1 P iv. 13f.

[2] So Stephen (Ac vii. 51–54) and Paul (Ac xxiii. 3).

[3] Ac viii. 1, xii. 11, 17–19, xvii. 8–10; 2 C xi. 32f = Ac ix. 23–25.

[4] Bigelmair 105. [5] Ac iv. 19f: cf. H xi. 23, 27. [6] Ac v. 29.

[7] Eus. *HE* II. xxiii. 2 and Heges. ap Eus. *l.c.* 10–14. [8] See above, pp. 95f.

it did not mean that Christian lives exercised no restraint on crime or vice. On the contrary, the Christian, by the influence of his life and spirit, did more for the maintenance of righteousness than the police-official. The multiplication of converts and their change on conversion from sinfulness to moral goodness and purity, themes so often adverted to in our sources,[1] were achieved through the agency of Christians without any application of physical violence. True, it was recognized that punishment and vengeance had a place in the Divine scheme of things; but that did not mean that they were lawful instruments for a Christian to use. Paul, for instance, says a good deal about 'the wrath of God'—the Divine reaction to sin that has not been repented of, in other words, to pagan sin[2]—and he even advances to the bold conception that, while the final cataclysm might be in a special sense the day of wrath,[3] yet even in this life God's wrath acts through the sword of the pagan magistrate.[4] We shall examine presently the theory of the State involved in this conception. What it concerns us here to note is that Paul limits his own theory very definitely. It is only the unconverted pagan magistrate, disqualified as he was by his heathen state for changing a sinner's heart by conversion, to whom the apostle assigns the function of inflicting the wrathful vengeance of God: in the very same context he distinctly forbids his Christian readers to attempt to exercise this function. "Repay to no one evil for evil. . . . Avenge not yourselves, beloved, but leave room for the wrath (of God); for it is written, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord.' But if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink. . . . Conquer evil with (what is) good."[5] In line with this teaching is Mark's record of the words of Jesus in which the disciples were forbidden to copy the forcible exercise of authority over others that characterized gentile rulers.[6]

Implications of this Christian Abstention from Violence. —It would follow naturally from the principle just alluded to that

[1] See the passages quoted above, pp. 71 n 1 and 78f. Interesting instances are those of Onesimus, the slave who had robbed his master and run away to Rome, where Paul met, befriended, and converted him, and made him εὔχρηστον (P 9–11), and of the man—probably a soldier—who arrested Jacob, the son of Zebedæus, at Herodes' command, brought him to judgment, was converted to Christianity by the apostle's confession, received his blessing, and was executed with him (Cl. *Hyp.* vii. ap. Eus. *HE* II. ix. 2f: the historicity of the story is uncertain, but it is not intrinsically improbable. Clemens said he had it ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ).

[2] R i. 18, ii. 5f, iii. 5f, C iii. 5–7, E ii. 1–3, v. 6.

[3] R ii. 5. [4] R xiii. 4f. [5] R xii. 17–21.

[6] Mc x. 42–45. See, for exegesis, above, p. 44.

*no Christian could consistently come before a heathen court as plaintiff* seeking redress of injuries. Paul speaks of the pagan magistrates as "those who in the Church are reckoned of no account."[1] While his use of this expression has doubtless been largely determined by the purpose of the moment, the thought is not really inconsistent with the apostle's recognition (to be studied later) of the relative right of the pagan magistrate in his own sphere. Within the Church, where, even if disputes or offences arose or wrongs were suffered at the hands of outsiders, the powers of patience and reconciliation or (if need were) the withdrawal of fellowship[2] lay ready at hand to deal with them, a magistrate, before whom the accused was obliged to appear on pain of compulsion and whose investigation and decision were conducted and effected by armed force often involving the infliction of torture and even death, had no standing-ground whatever: in the Church he would be reckoned of no account.[3]

The cases to which Paul actually had occasion to apply this prohibitive ruling were *disputes between Christians.* "Dares any one of you," he asks the Corinthians, "having a grievance against his neighbour, go to law before the unrighteous, and not before the saints? Or know ye not that the saints will judge the world? And if the world is (to be) judged by you, are ye incompetent to (settle) insignificant disputes? Do ye not know that we shall judge angels, not to mention earthly affairs? And yet, when ye have earthly affairs to settle, ye put on the bench those who are reckoned of no account in the Church! I speak it to your shame. Is there not among you then any wise man, who will be able to

[1] 1 C vi. 4. That this phrase refers to the pagan magistrates and not to any group of people within the Church, I have argued at length in *The Expositor*, Aug. 1916, 135–138.

[2] The Church certainly punished offenders in extreme cases with excommunication; and Paul at least regarded such a sentence as involving physical illness and pains and even bodily death inflicted by Satan, to whose realm the expelled member was ipso facto consigned. The sentence did not exclude the hope of final salvation, and (what is more important still for our purpose) it was not inflicted by Christian hands, or even, to judge from Paul's words, by human hands at all (the *legal* penalty for incest—the offence on which Paul pronounced sentence of excommunication—was relegatio or deportatio, not ὄλεθρος τῆς σαρκός, which was what the apostle expected would follow). See 1 C v. 1–7; Ac v. 1–11 (the case of Ananias and Sapphira), xiii. 11: Smith, *Dict. G. and R. Antiq.*, art. 'Incestum.' For the reference of physical illness and death to Satan, cf. 2 C xii. 7; H ii. 14; Lc xiii. 16; J viii. 44.

[3] There is thus no need to find in Paul's words "perhaps a slight confusion with regard to the nature of civil justice" (Carlyle 97). Weinel's comment is: "Auch von hier aus zeigt sich, dass seine Meinung von der göttlichen Würde des Staates nicht sehr hoch gewesen sein kann" (*SUS* 32).

decide between (a man and) his brother? But brother goes to law with brother, and that before unbelievers! The very fact that ye have law-suits with one another is itself a failure on your part. Why do ye not rather suffer wrong? Why do ye not rather let yourselves be defrauded? But ye yourselves inflict wrong and practice fraud, and that upon brothers!" [1]

But the position was equally clear *if a Christian suffered wrong at the hands of a pagan*, though in the nature of the case redress against such wrong was hardly to be hoped for from a pagan court, even if a Christian were willing to ask for it.[2] The evidence, therefore, upon this particular point and for this period, is mainly negative. Apart from general statements found in almost every Christian author to the effect that the Christian submitted on principle to injury and strove only for reconciliation, Athenagoras, Clemens of Alexandria, and Tertullianus all tell us in so many words that they considered it improper for Christians to go to law.[3] The first-named, moreover, implies that Christians did not do so. We have no reference to Christians on their own initiative seeking in pagan courts for redress against pagan wrong-doers until the latter half of the third century.[4] To argue, then, that Paul, because he does not explicitly forbid it, means tacitly to sanction such action, not only involves a strained interpretation of his own words,[5] but sets him at variance with the Christian theory and practice of the next two centuries.[6] No objection to this

[1] 1 C vi. 1–8: cf. Harnack *KS* 135. Bestmann (i. 403–405) attempts to square this teaching with modern ideas of what is practical and sensible, but emasculates it in the process: "der Apostel Paulus hält das Rechtsuchen überhaupt für ein dem Christen nicht wohl anständiges Tun, das Rechtsuchen der Christen bei einem heidnischen Richter nur für eine Steigerung jener ersten Inconvenienz," u.s.w. Bigelmair (92f) attributes the Christian unwillingness to use the heathen courts to "eine gewisse zarte Rücksichtnahme auf den christlichen Namen," as well as to the corruption and injustice to which the courts were liable. But neither of these reasons touches on what was apparently the central Christian objection, viz. aversion to violence and revenge; and the same may be said of Holtzmann's view (*RS* 18) that Paul's prohibition was due to the retention of his national outlook as a Jew, and of Dobschütz's argument (29f) that it was due to his fear of contamination by contact with heathenism (cf. 57), though the latter recognizes the deeper ethical reason.

[2] In case of persecution particularly, legal redress would be out of the question: cf. H x. 34.

[3] See below, pp. 256, 364–366.

[4] See below, pp. 552f.

[5] Particularly R xii. 17ff.

[6] Weinel *SUS* 27, 28, 33: "Und sich gar an den Staat und sein Recht wenden, um seine Ehre schützen zu lassen, das ist unerhört. . . . 'Lieber unrecht leiden als unrecht tun.' Und unrecht tun ist eben dies, dass man den anderen wieder kränkt oder durch den Staat kränken lässt, wenn er uns gekränkt hat. . . . An den Staat wendet man sich nicht. Wie die ersten Christen es gehalten haben, wenn einer von einem Nichtchristen beleidigt

view of early Christian principles can be founded on instances of Christians being ready to plead in pagan courts when their enemies took them there. The accused Christian naturally made out as good a case as he could in his own defence : and it was quite open to him to do this without pleading that his enemies or accusers should be punished.[1]

Another implication of the Christians' disapproval of violence would be *their abstention from* all forms of *government-service*, both military and civil, in which they would have to act as its agents in punitive or coercive measures. Such abstention was, indeed, logically involved in the principles they professed, and no doubt in the main faithfully observed ; though our evidence on this point is mainly that of silence, and we shall have to note presently a few cases in which for various reasons the logic of the matter was ignored in practice.

Obedience to the State.—The great Christian law of love for all obviously carried with it the duty of friendly compliance with others' wishes in things not definitely contrary to the Christian laws of life. In matters, therefore, where compliance with the State's orders did not involve unchristian conduct, most Christians were willing to comply, and even made it a matter of duty to do so, though such obedience was usually unaccompanied by any warm or enthusiastic loyalty.[2] Thus Aquila and Priscilla left Rome in compliance with Claudius' decree.[3] Paul more than once declared himself to be innocent of all crime, and his Roman

oder bestohlen wurde, wissen wir nicht. In unseren Quellen ist auf einen solchen Fall nirgends angespielt. Nach dem allgemeinen Grundsatz hat man das Unrecht einfach gelitten."

[1] Bigelmair falls into the fallacy here alluded to. He mentions several cases of Christians pleading, protesting, appealing, etc., to pagan magistrates, viz. Paul at Philippi (Ac xvi. 37) and at Jerusalem (Ac xxii. 25–29), his appeal to Cæsar (Ac xxv. 11), the woman referred to by Justinus (2 Ap ii.), and the Christians pleading before Alexander Severus against the popinarii (see below, p. 389). But in none of these cases did the Christians *initiate* the legal proceedings, and in none of them did they demand the punishment of their opponents. Bigelmair's failure to recognize these facts vitiates his general statements : " Bei Streitfragen zwischen Christen und Andersgläubigen musste der Rechtsschutz der heidnischen Gerichte angerufen werden, der den Christen nicht versagt wurde. . . . Das Aufsuchen heidnischer Gerichte ist auch nie beanstandet worden " (94f). The treatment of the matter by Bestmann (i. 403–405), who adds the case of Jesus protesting against being struck in court, and the summary statement of M'Neile (*St Matthew*, 69) are similarly unsatisfactory. See above, p. 106 n 1.

[2] Bigelmair 79 : " Der Staat auf Erden bestand zwar noch und verlangte Gehorsam, der ihm nicht versagt wurde, selbst in den Zeiten des schärfsten Kampfes nicht ; aber sich für ihn erwärmen und begeistern zu können, lag doch zu fern."

[3] Ac xviii. 2.

judges for the most part agreed with him.[1] In writing to the Christians at Rome, he insisted with great emphasis on the duty of obedience to the State: "Let every one be submissive to the superior authorities . . . he who resists the authority resists the ordinance of God: and they who resist shall receive judgment on themselves. . . . Wherefore one must be submissive, not only because of the wrath (of God), but also because of conscience. . . . Render to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute (is due), tax to whom tax, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour."[2] From the way in which Paul here leads up to *the duty of paying taxes*, it seems clear that he intended his words as an explication of that doubtless well-remembered saying of Jesus, which Mark shortly afterwards put on record: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's."[3] Similar instructions are given by the author of the Epistle to Titus: "Remind them to be submissive (and) obedient to rulers (and) authorities, (and) to be prepared for any good work,"[4] and by Peter: "Submit to every human institution for the Lord's sake, whether to the Emperor as supreme, or to governors as (men) sent by him. . . . Honour the Emperor."[5] It is certainly remarkable that Peter, writing as he was at a time when the State was engaged in persecuting the Christians, should voice these loyal sentiments, and that too in addressing the people of Asia, among whom the imperial cult was very popular. We can explain the anomaly only by supposing that the author and his circle, standing as they were at the beginning of a new period, had not yet grasped the full significance of the new imperial policy, and still hoped that, by demonstrating the moral and law-abiding innocence of the Christians, they might prevent the continuance of the persecution.[6]

The prevalence of persecution furnished the occasion for *some special forms of the political submissiveness of Christians.* When

[1] Ac xviii. 14ff, xix. 37, xxiii. 1, xxiv. 12f, xxv. 7–11, 18f, 25, xxvi. 30–32, xxviii. 18, 31 (ἀκωλύτως).

[2] R xiii. 1f, 5, 7. I omit for the moment the clauses giving Paul's theory of the State, which underlies these injunctions.

[3] Mc xii. 17. On the connection between R xiii. and the 'Cæsar-saying,' see Holtzm. *RS* 17. On the early Christian recognition of the duty of paying taxes, see Dobschütz 129–131.

[4] T iii. 1. [5] 1 P ii. 13f, 17.

[6] Ramsay *CRE* 281f, 288; Harnack *ME* i. 259 ("Nothing could be more loyal than this conception, and it is noticeable that the author was writing to" ('nach'—accidentally rendered 'in' in the ET) "Asia Minor, among the provinces where the imperial cultus flourished"); Dobschütz 182; Moffatt *INT* 323 ("Clem. Rom., like 1 Peter, would voice the more patriotic temper consonant with the Christianity of the capital"); Weinel *Th.* 638.

they were brought on trial, they usually pleaded their cause with courtesy and deference to their judges.[1] Stephen, though he concluded his defence in a tone of vituperation, at all events began it in a conciliatory strain.[2] Paul apologized when he was told that the Sanhedrist he had so justly rebuked was the High Priest: "I did not know, brethren," he said, "that it was the High Priest; for it is written, 'Thou shalt not speak evil of a ruler of thy people.'"[3] It was in the same strain that he had previously written: "Bless those who persecute (you); bless, and curse not."[4] Shortly after this trial, he seems to have expressed his regret for having embroiled the Sanhedrin on what was really a false issue.[5] Persecutors were to be blessed and prayed for,[6] and even, if possible, converted to the faith.[7] In any case, no resistance of a physical kind is ever offered to the cruel and violent treatment received at their hands.[8] The sufferings they inflict are endured with patience and cheerfulness.[9]

Relative Justification of the State.—But the Christian recognition of the State went further than this passive and amiable willingness to endure and obey. The State was given a certain relative validity of its own. The theory of the total depravity of the non-Christian world was not rigidly held to. So far as the Jews were concerned, whatever their sins had been, this theory had never been seriously applied to them. No Christian denied that they had received a very large measure of Divine guidance. Hence their political institutions were naturally regarded as legitimate. The judges and kings of Israel were Divinely appointed rulers; King David was a man after God's own heart;[10] Paul's apology to the Sanhedrin and the special honour he paid to the High Priest[11] involved an admission in some sense of the legitimacy of their office. But that there was some real good in the gentiles too—and therefore in their methods of government—was also

[1] Ac iv. 8–12, v. 29–32, (xvii. 19–33), xxiv. 10–21, xxv., xxvi.
[2] Ac vii. 2. [3] Ac xxiii. 1–5. [4] R xii. 14.
[5] Ac xxiii. 6–10, xxiv. 20f: Farrar *P* (xl.) 541–543.
[6] The examples are Stephen (Ac vii. 60) and Jacob (Heges. ap. Eus. *HE* II. xxiii. 16f: Παρακαλῶ, Κύριε Θεὲ Πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ οἴδασι τί ποιοῦσιν . . . εὔχεται ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ δίκαιος).
[7] Is this too bold an addition to make in view of passages like Ac xxvi. 29; P i. 12–18. E vi. 19f; 1 T vi. 13, 2 T iv. 17; 1 P ii. 12; and the story about Jacob, the son of Zebedæus, referred to above, on p. 104 n 1?
[8] Cf. Ac viii. 32f.
[9] Ac v. 41, xvi. 23–25, xx. 23f, xxi. 11–14; 1 P i. 6ff, ii. 20ff; H x. 32–39; and many other passages. On persecution regarded as a Divine chastisement, see H xii. 1–13: cf. 1 P i. 7, iii. 17, iv. 1, 19.
[10] Ac ii. 25–30, vii. 45–47, xiii. 20–22; Mc ii. 25f, xii. 35–37.
[11] See above on this page, n 3.

recognized. We have already seen what large deductions Paul himself made from his own theory of the corruption of heathendom.[1] If then it were granted that the gentiles had by the light of nature a sense of duty which told them something at least of the Will of God,[2] all that they did in conformity with this sense of duty would naturally command Christian respect, and might even be regarded as a Divine arrangement, however the fuller light of Christianity might tend to change its forms and methods. And among the nobler elements of the gentile mind were undoubtedly to be numbered that sense of responsibility for the peace and well-being of society, that love of law and order, and that appreciation of the elements of justice,[3] which—with whatever admixture of baser motives and whatever crudity of unloving restrictive method—formed the fundamental principles of the government of the Roman Empire. Nor could even Christians ignore the obvious and important fact that the Roman government did succeed in maintaining a certain measure of law and order, a certain degree of security for life and property, and a certain standard of morality. "The rulers," says Paul, "are not a terror to good work, but to evil." The magistrate "bears not the sword for nothing"; he "inflicts vengeance . . . upon him who does evil."[4] The Emperor's governors, says Peter, are men "sent by him for the punishment of evildoers and the praise of those who do good." The Emperor accordingly is to be honoured.[5] A special aspect of this function of the State as the restrainer of wickedness appears in the Pauline conception, already referred to, of the Empire as "the Check" or "the Checker" that was staving off the advent of the dreaded Man of Lawlessness.[6] Nor were Christians without a real appreciation of those blessings of peace which the government secured for them. It was in fact on this ground that they prayed for the Emperor. "I exhort then, first of all, that supplications, prayers, petitions, thanksgivings, be made for all men—for Emperors and all who are in authority,

[1] See above, pp. 72f. [2] R i. 19f, ii. 14f. [3] Ac xxv. 16.

[4] R xiii. 3f. Cf. Troeltsch 70 ("In der Tat hat die paulinische Weltkirche im Gegensatze zu revolutionären Folgerungen, wie sie die Apokalypse zeigt, den Staat nicht bloss als von Gott zugelassen anerkannt, sondern geradezu als eine wenigstens für Recht, Ordnung und äussere Sittlichkeit sorgende Anstalt geschätzt. Er greift hier bereits nach der stoischen Lehre vom angeborenen Sittengesetz und schreibt auch den Heiden eine Erkenntnis des Guten zu, die in ihrem Staat und ihrem Recht zum Ausdruck kommt"). Paul draws a good many of the terms he uses in his own discussions from the vocabulary of Roman and common law (Ball 1–37; Deissmann *LVO* 270–287).

[5] 1 P ii. 14, 17.

[6] See above, p. 89. Cf. Gayford in *DB* i. 430a: "So the Church looked to the Roman government as a protector rather than a persecutor (cf. 2 Th ii. 7)."

that we may lead a quiet and tranquil life in all piety and gravity. This is good and acceptable before God our Saviour." [1] While Christians abstained on principle from invoking the help of the State against those who wronged them, yet, when involved against their will by others in disputes which the State had to settle, they felt no compunction in demanding the acquittal and accepting the protection to which they were legally entitled. If the gentile's own sense of duty really involved the treatment of a Christian as innocent, the Christian could rightly call upon him to act up to it. Thus Paul had no hesitation in insisting on his rights as a Roman citizen,[2] in accepting the protection of the Roman soldiers,[3] in informing the Roman officer of the plot against his life,[4] and in appealing to the Emperor when he feared that he could not otherwise obtain the acquittal that was his due.[5]

Paul's Theory of the Divine Origin of Political Authority.—Peter was content to describe the imperial government, with its function of punishing wrong-doers and rewarding the good, as a human institution to be submitted to and honoured as a matter of self-defence against pagan slanders.[6] The phrase recorded by Mark, in which Jesus had described the imperial coins as "the things that belong to Cæsar," [7] does not go beyond this Petrine view of the State as a legitimate human arrangement.

Paul, however, with his more speculative mind, connects the punitive and restrictive functions of government with the Divine wrath against sin. The former was the instrument of the latter: the imperial magistrate, like the Assyrian of old, was to Paul the rod of God's anger. "There is no authority," he says, "except (that given) by God: and those (authorities) that exist have been constituted by

[1] 1 T ii. 1–3. Cf. Holtzm. *RS* 30 and Troeltsch 102f ("Die Welt ist nicht an sich böse, sondern . . . von Sünde ist sie allerdings überall durchdrungen . . . Göttlich ist in ihr nur der Geist der Ordnung und des Rechtes, der die pax terrena und damit die friedliche Arbeit der Christen sichert"). I have not been able to get access to Wm. Mangold's treatise, *De ecclesia primaeva pro Caesaribus ac magistratibus Romanis preces fundente* (Bonn, 1881). For *Jewish* prayers on behalf of the Roman government, see Abraham's *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels* (*First Series*), 64.

[2] Ac xvi. 35ff, xxi. 39, xxii. 23–29.

[3] Ac xxi. 31ff, xxiii. 10–35.

[4] Ac xxiii. 12–22.

[5] Ac xxv. 10–12, 21, 25, xxvi. 32, xxviii. 19. In the last passage, Paul makes it plain that, in appealing to the Emperor, he did not want to get any one else into trouble. Weinel (*SUS* 29) rightly contends that one cannot infer from Paul's appeal either patriotism or "Staatsgesinnung" on his part. He took the course most likely to ensure his life. Ramsay attributes to Paul the conception, of which clear traces appear in the next period, of Christianity as the religion primarily of the Roman Empire (*CRE* 70, 148).

[6] 1 P ii. 12–17. Cf. Holtzm. *RS* 29f; Weinel *Th.* 639 top.

[7] Mc xii. 17: τὰ Καίσαρος.

God: so that he who opposes the authority opposes the ordinance of God . . . for he," i.e. the magistrate, "is to thee the servant of God for good . . . if thou doest evil, be afraid; for he bears not the sword for nothing; for he is God's servant for the infliction of (God's) wrath as a punishment on him (ἔκδικος εἰς ὀργὴν τῷ) who does evil. Wherefore one must be submissive, not only because of the wrath, but also because of the conscience. And this is why ye pay tribute: for they are God's officers (λειτουργοὶ), bent upon this very thing" (presumably the punishment and restriction of wrong).[1]

These words of Paul, taken in conjunction with the 'Cæsar-saying' in the Gospels, form the basis of the whole body of traditional and conservative Christian thought as to the relations between Church and State, and are continually quoted by later writers when dealing with the question.[2] In order to understand their true meaning, it has to be remembered that their one-sided and emphatic form was largely due to the conditions under which they were written. Paul was writing during the 'quinquennium Neronis,' when peace and good government prevailed,[3] and before either the odious vices of Nero's personal character had become a public scandal or the policy of treating Christianity as a religio illicita had been begun. Hence the apostle felt no occasion to provide for cases of conflict between government-

[1] R xiii. 1f, 4–6.

[2] On the influence of Paul's words, see Holtzm. *RS* 16 (von Ranke regarded them as "das Wichtigste von Allem, was Paulus geschrieben hat"); Troeltsch 69 (the "Rechtlinien" pointed out by Paul, which "durch die Kanonisierung der Paulusbriefe auch für spätere Zeit eine vielfache dogmatische Wirkung haben"); Bigelmair 104f ("Paulus hat die Stellung zur Obrigkeit im Römerbrief für alle Zeiten festgelegt," etc.). On the conservatism of Paul's doctrine, see McGiffert 517; Troeltsch 65 (the tendency to see in the great differentiations of political and social life "göttliche Ordnungen und Setzungen . . . , die ohne Frage nach ihren Gründen hinzunehmen sind"), 66, 72ff. On the doctrine in general, see Bestmann i. 406f; *Lux Mundi*, 325f; Holtzm. *RS* 17–21, 40 (he brings out the distinction between the Christian and the human spheres of duty, but he does not make the relation between the two very clear), *Th.* ii. 173–178 (a masterly delineation of Paul's doctrine, followed by a study of its points of contact with Stoicism), 252; Beyschlag ii. 226–229; Sanday and Headlam 365–372; Stevens 452; Carlyle 89ff; Meyer 12. Weinel (*SUS* 24) attempts to harmonize it with the view of the Empire as Satanic, on the ground that God was thought of as having created Satan and his angels, and as having entrusted the government of the world to them ("Allein man darf nie vergessen, dass man einen Zwischengedanken ausliess, wenn man sagte, dass die Obrigkeit von Gott eingesetzt sei," u.s.w.); cf. also id. *Th.* 386f. For the doctrine as held at various periods in the Church of England, cf. the *Report of the Archbishops' Committee on Church and State* (1917), 15, 18, 33, 36, 209, 245f.

[3] Harnack *ME* i. 259 n 1—a point Holtzmann seems to have missed: he observes that Paul's demand was made "angesichts des Neronischen Imperiums" (*RS* 20, *Th.* ii. 176).

orders and Christian duty.[1] He was writing with the special object of counteracting a dangerous tendency on the part of a set of fractious enthusiasts in the Roman church.[2] When due allowance is made for the operation of these special conditions, there is nothing in Paul's teaching here that conflicts with his own and his Master's prohibition of retaliation, vengeance, injury, and bloodshed. The government to which he assigns a Divine origin is, it must always be remembered, a *pagan* government, intended to act as a check on pagans—or on Christians in so far as they act in a more immoral way than even pagan society permitted. Nothing is said or implied as to the duty or propriety of Christians acting as the agents of God's wrath either in their private capacity or as officials of the government. On the contrary, Paul had negatived this idea only a few lines earlier.[3] He sees in the love for law and order and the Roman sense of justice the principles of a providentially-ordained[4] system of *pagan* checks on pagan crime—a system which will be needed and will last only as long as paganism itself lasts, and which, though temporarily and sectionally valid and legitimate as a propædeutic for the discipline of Christian love, is yet framed on a lower level than that of the Christian life, and so furnishes no model for the Christian's conduct and no justification for any departure on his part from the gentler redemptive ethics characteristic of the religion of Jesus.

Christians in Public Office.—Although the use of violence, either publicly or privately, was forbidden to the Christian, and although the State made regular use of violence in carrying out many of its functions, it would not follow that a Christian in the service of the State must necessarily have been guilty of an inconsistency; for there was a large area of political life that had no connection with the punitive and coercive measures of government. A further point to be reckoned with is the fact that the exact bearing of all the ethical principles involved in Christianity upon the concrete affairs of life would naturally not be obvious at the start, and would not become obvious to all at the same rate. The problem as to

[1] Sanday and Headlam 372; Holtzm. *RS* 19–21, *Th.* ii. 176.

[2] Weinel *SUS* 24: "Wenn man sich also auf ihre" (the evil angels') "ursprüngliche Einsetzung durch Gott besinnt, so geschieht dies . . . nur zu dem besonderen Zweck der Warnung vor Revolution." See above, pp. 99ff.

[3] I.e. in R xii. 17–21. See above, p. 104. The antithesis between the Christian policy (R xii. 17–21) and the pagan policy (R xiii. 1–7) is marked by the occurrence of the same leading terms in both sections—*τὸ ἀγαθόν, τὸ κακόν, ἐκδίκησις* (vel sim.), *ἡ ὀργή*: with *νίκα* of xii. 21, cf. *μάχαιραν* of xiii. 4.

[4] "All duty is divine in the last resort, though delivered in the form of obligation to man" (Martineau, *The Seat of Authority in Religion*, 632).

how far a Christian might co-operate with a pagan government that made large use of violent and cruel methods,[1] was a complicated one, requiring time and reflection in order to be seen in all its bearings. With these considerations in mind, we may briefly review the connections between Christians and the Government during our period.

Friendly relations existed between Paul and certain government officials with whom he was brought into contact—the Asiarchs,[2] the centurion who took him to Rome,[3] and the Governor of Melita.[4] While we read of no Christian of this period entering upon official or military life after his conversion, we find mention made of some already settled in such life being converted and (for all we are told to the contrary) remaining without reproach or compunction in their former stations. These are—the eunuch of the Queen of Ethiopia,[5] the centurion Cornelius,[6] Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus,[7] the gaoler of Philippi,[8] Dionysius the Areopagite of Athens,[9] Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue at Corinth,[10] the Christians in the households of Narcissus and Aristobulus at Rome,[11] Erastus, the city-treasurer of Corinth,[12] the saints belonging to Cæsar's household,[13] and Zenas the lawyer.[14] Of these, the case of the soldiers will be discussed in the next chapter. It is quite uncertain whether Zenas was a Roman jurisconsult or a Jewish scribe. The bona fide conversion of the proconsul of Cyprus would have been a very extraordinary achievement at this

[1] "In the early centuries of our era, under the best government that the Mediterranean broadly had ever known, and in peace, Civilization rested normally on atrocities that to-day are abnormal even in war. That it grew gentler under the Empire, is a proposition hard to maintain" (T. R. Glover, *Jesus in the Experience of Men*, 220).

[2] Ac xix. 31. [3] Ac xxvii. 3, 10f, 21–26, 31–36, 42–44. [4] Ac xxviii. 7f.

[5] Ac viii. 27, 38f. Whether Manaen, the foster-brother of Herodes, who was a member of the church at Antioch (Ac xiii. 1), held any sort of political office, we cannot say.

[6] Ac x. [7] Ac xiii. 12. [8] Ac xvi. 27–34. [9] Ac xvii. 34.

[10] Ac xviii. 8—or were his functions religious only, and not civil?

[11] R xvi. 10f. Narcissus was the freedman and private secretary of the Emperor Claudius. Aristobulus was a member of the Herodian family, and his domestic establishment may have been transferred to the imperial household: see Harnack *ME* ii. 45. It is, however, possible that R xvi. may be part of a letter sent to *Ephesus* (Moffatt *INT* 134–139; per contra, Sanday and Headlam xcivf, 421ff), in which case the names of Narcissus and Aristobulus would be without significance here.

[12] R xvi. 23.

[13] P iv. 22. Two of these are known to us by name from Clemens' letter to the Corinthians (lxiii. 3, lxv. 1)—Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito (Harnack *ME* ii. 44f). For Paul's allusion to the 'praetorium' (P i. 13), see below, p. 121 n 5.

[14] T iii. 13.

date ; and it is somewhat doubtful whether it actually occurred. Nothing is said of his baptism ; and perhaps all that is meant is that he was favourably impressed and sympathetic.[1] Others owe their place in the list to the fact of their being rather domestics, etc., in the households of rulers, than directly engaged in political administration themselves. We cannot affirm that any of them, except the soldiers, were involved by their official positions in coercive or punitive functions.

On the whole we may say that, while aversion from idolatrous associations, objection to the infliction of physical injury, a lowly station in life, and a freedom from worldly ambition, sufficed to keep the vast bulk of Christians out of political office and out of the army, the ethical issue was not at this time so widely or clearly understood as to prevent a few—perhaps those of a less reflective or even of a less carefully scrupulous type—who were already involved in judicial or military life, from remaining in office after baptism, without discovering any incompatibility between the duties of their office and the ethical principles of their religion. Nor, further, was the issue sufficiently clear to cause such people to be reproached or condemned by their fellow-Christians, even though these latter might have felt that they could not themselves conscientiously act in the same way. The general rule laid down by Paul of each man remaining in the condition of life in which he stood at the time of his conversion [2] had not yet received in any definite form that limitation which it obviously needed. On the other hand, the keen Christian, with his passion for proselytizing, would rather be inclined to rejoice that men in all stations of life, including those in positions of authority, were coming into the Church. The conversion of kings was at this early time little more than a bare possibility or at most a daring hope ; [3] and the complicated ethical problems which its realization would raise were as yet too remote to trouble anybody.

[1] Cf. Knowling, note *ad loc.* Bigelmair, the Catholic scholar, finds no difficulty in believing in the proconsul's full conversion. "Die freie unabhängige Stellung, wie sie ihm die Provinz bot, liess wohl einen Konflikt zwischen Glauben und Amtspflicht nicht aufkommen" (125).

[2] 1 C vii. 20. [3] Ac ix. 15, xxvi. 28f.

# CHAPTER V

## WAR

Scope and Limitations of the Subject.—The central issue raised by the application of early Christian ethical principles to the subject of war is amply covered by the full discussions in the last two chapters; and some remarks were offered at the close of the latter of these, referring to the conditions under which Christian conduct in connection with political and military life had to be regulated, and which tended to prevent the position to which Christianity really committed its adherents from being clearly seen. While, however, the essence of the subject has been disposed of, it will be convenient to gather together here the evidence on this particular aspect of it, and so try to determine how far the Christian mind of this period had got towards a real grasp of the central issues involved.

Let us remind ourselves that we are here handling a question of early Christian casuistry—the application of certain abstract principles and instincts to the concrete affairs of life. Such questions are continually challenging the Christian mind; and they are dealt with (if at all) only as they arise. Silence observed in regard to them before they arise cannot be interpreted as if it were a decision given after full reflection. The question before us is a case in point. In view of the scantiness of our data, we must speak with diffidence. But we can safely say that, to the vast bulk of Christians, it did not as yet present a problem at all. Jews and slaves were legally disqualified from serving in the imperial armies. The government could nearly always get as many soldiers as it needed by ordinary methods of enlistment, without making wide use of its powers to compel the unwilling. Such forcible recruiting as did occur took place more and more among the least civilized populations of the Empire. Gentile free- and freed-men who were Christians would thus hardly ever be called upon to serve.[1] The same

[1] On the conditions of military service in the Roman Empire, cf. Neumann *SK* 5f, 127f, 240; Harnack *ME* ii. 57 n 1, *MC* 48f; Bigelmair 25, 175–179; De Jong 1–3; Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 663b. The filling up of the Roman legions by means of the 'dilectus' (also 'delectus'), or levy (Smith, *Dict. of Gk. and Roman Antiqs.*, 2nd edn., 499; Ramsay, *Manual of Roman Antiqs.*, 430f) is often alluded to in the history of the Empire; but the number of men avail-

general conditions would probably prevail among the Jews in Palestine living under the Herodian princes or their own native rulers.[1] Even the presence of converted soldiers in the Church did not raise the issue; for, neither on the one hand would such men, being inured to their duties, be likely suddenly to find wrong what they had all their life been taught to regard as honourable;[2] nor, on the other hand, would the Christian civilians, who welcomed them into fellowship, and who, living far away from the battlefield, could only too easily ignore the question at stake, be likely to reproach or condemn them or urge them to abandon their calling. At the same time, the very presence of such men in the Church tended unconsciously to prejudice Christian judgment in a certain direction, before ever the issue was definitely raised. This unguarded immaturity of reflection must not be lost sight of in studying the Christian attitude to war during these early decades.

War in Hebrew History.[3]—The Christian, and particularly the Jewish Christian, regarding the history recorded in the sacred Scriptures as Divinely controlled, could look back upon Israelitish wars not only with complacence, but with a devout admiration, totally unconscious of any problem presented by their horrors. Stephen and Paul both recalled with a glow of patriotic enthusiasm how God had subdued and destroyed the Canaanites before their ancestors under Joshua.[4] The author of Hebrews reminds his readers how "by faith the walls of Jericho fell down, . . . by faith

able must always have vastly exceeded the number required, and it is therefore only rarely that we hear of any one being conscripted against his will. Allusion to the levying of soldiers in the first century A.D. appears in Tacitus, *Annales*, iv. 4, 46 (resistance to conscription on the part of some Thracians), xiii. 7, 35, xiv. 18, xv. 26, xvi. 13, *Historiae*, i. 65, ii. 11, 16, 57, 69, 82, 93f, 97, iii. 5, 50, 58, iv. 14 (resistance among Batavi); Suetonius, *Aug.*, xxiv. 1 (punishment of a man for amputating his son's thumbs causa detrectandi sacramenti), *Tib.*, viii. (of Italians in Augustus' reign who escaped the dilectus by hiding in private slave-prisons), xxx, *Calig.*, xliii. (dilectibus ubique acerbissime actis), *Nero*, xix. 2, *Galba*, x. 2, *Vitell.*, xv. 1. Many of these passages refer to the troubled period 68–70 A.D. See also below, pp. 433 (Hipp. *Can.* xiv. 74: . . . nisi coactus sit a duce) and 558ff (case of Maximilianus). A number of Jews were punished in the time of Tiberius for refusing on nationalist grounds to serve in the Roman army (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. iii. 5 [πλείστους δὲ ἐκόλασαν μὴ θέλοντας στρατεύεσθαι διὰ φυλακὴν τῶν πατρίων νόμων]: cf. Tacitus, *Annales*, ii. 85; Suetonius, *Tib.*, xxxvi.): but their conscription was a special proceeding, provoked by the scandalous conduct of four Jewish adventurers at Rome.

[1] The events of 66–70 A.D. constitute an exception to this general statement; but we shall see later what course was taken by the Christians in that emergency.

[2] This complacency would not extend to acts of immorality; for these, though tolerated in pagan life, were generally recognized, even by pagans, as immoral. Nor, of course, would it apply to polytheism and idolatry.

[3] Cf. Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 660f.

[4] Ac vii. 45, xiii. 19.

Rahab the harlot did not perish with the disobedient, because she had received the spies in peace": and he mentions in his catalogue of the heroes of faith "Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah, David, Samuel, and the prophets, who by means of faith subdued kingdoms, . . . escaped the edge of the sword, became strong in war, routed armies of foreigners."[1] Whatever was recorded and approved by an Old Testament author was not regarded as a fitting subject for Christian criticism. There was then no historical sense with which to discern development in man's knowledge of God's Will; and the Christian mind thus lacked, not only the inclination, but also the means, of properly comparing the ethic of their own faith with that of a long distant foretime. They were saved by the soundness of their own moral intuitions from drawing from these ancient precedents the erroneous conclusions affecting their own conduct which some modern controversialists are so eager to draw for them. The warlike habits of their ancestors and their own peaceful principles formed two separate realms, both of which they recognized, without attempting, or feeling any need to attempt, to harmonize them.[2]

War as an Analogy of the Christian Life.[3]—It was apparently Paul who introduced the custom of drawing from the military world metaphors and similes illustrative of different aspects of Christian, particularly apostolic, life. He urged the Thessalonians to put on the breastplate of faith and love, and to take the hope of salvation as a helmet.[4] He supported his right to subsist at the expense of the Church by asking: "Who ever engages in military service at his own expense?"[5] He spoke of his spiritual and disciplinary powers in the Church in the language of one holding a military command and suppressing a mutiny.[6] He spoke of his weapons of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, i.e. for

[1] H xi. 30–34; cf. vii. 1 ("Abraham returning from the slaughter of the kings"). It is possible that in iv. 8 we get the starting-point of that thought of Joshua as an early type of Christ, which the name Ἰησοῦς common to both inevitably suggested.

[2] B.-Baker (*ICW* 6, 18) justly points out the approbation with which the exploits of Hebrew warriors are spoken of in H. But he ignores that immaturity of Christian thought of which we have just spoken, and the fact that the approbation is in any case only a relative one. His conclusion that war is sanctioned and permitted to Christians by the teaching of the early disciples is vitiated by this serious oversight.

Christians did not think of blaming Rahab for being a prostitute (H xi. 31: cf. Jac ii. 25), or Abraham for having a concubine (G iv. 22): but that did not mean that prostitution and concubinage were permissible to Christians.

[3] Bigelmair 166.

[4] 1 Th v. 8.

[5] 1 C ix. 7; cf. 2 C xi. 8.

[6] 2 C x. 3–6.

attack and defence.[1] He called Epaphroditus and Archippus his fellow-soldiers.[2] In a detailed enumeration of items that made up the offensive and defensive equipment of a soldier, he elaborated the parallel between human warfare and the Christian's struggle against evil angelic powers.[3] Further use of military metaphors is made in the Pastoral Epistles. There the author bids Timotheus join him in bearing hardship as a good soldier of Christ Jesus. "No one going on military service gets entangled in the affairs of (civil) life, (for his aim is) to please him who enrolled (him)."[4] It is important to note that Paul, as if aware of the liability of such language to misconstruction, twice went out of his way to remind his readers that in using it he was not referring to earthly warfare.[5]

The Christian View of the Military Calling in Actual Life.—While we find much in the literature of the time which clearly implies the incompatibility of the Christian life with bloodshed in any form or in any cause, and while we have no record of any Christian of the time entering, either voluntarily or otherwise, upon military life after his conversion, we have no evidence to

[1] 2 C vi. 7. Cf. for other military expressions R vi. 13, 23, xiii. 12.

[2] P ii. 25, P 2; cf. P 23 ("Epaphras my fellow-captive"), R xvi. 7, C iv. 10.

[3] E vi. 12–18. Cf. Harnack *ME* i. 417 n.

[4] 2 T ii. 3f; cf. 1 T i. 18. The phrases used in 1 T vi. 12 and 2 T iv. 7 are probably borrowed, not from the battlefield, but from the athlete's race-course, as the context in the latter case strongly suggests: cf. 1 C ix. 25 (though ἀγωνίζομαι can also be used for fighting, J xviii. 36), H xii. 1. Harnack (*MC* 12–17) has investigated and discussed these military metaphors very thoroughly. He finds their origin "an den Bildern der alttestamentlichen Propheten" (cf. Isa xi. 4f, xlix. 2, lix. 17; Hosea vi. 5; and Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 659a). He observes that, while every Christian has to fight, it is not usually the ordinary Christian who is described as a soldier, but only the Christian apostle and missionary. He points out that the analogy became more than a mere analogy, when it was used to prove that the missionary should be supported by the Church and should not engage in the business of civil life. Cf. Harnack *ME* i. 414f.

[5] 2 C x. 3f, E vi. 12. "Zugleich aber zeigt eben die Ausführung, dass wirklich Alles . . . rein geistlich gemeint ist" (Harnack *MC* 13). Cf. Weinel *SUS* 25f; Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 653 ("Their military language is purely metaphorical and figurative . . . their principles were so well known that these militant terms could be employed without the smallest risk of misconception, either to themselves or to those who overheard them"). Yet this habit of speech had its own dangers. As Harnack says (*MC* 7f): "Werden die Formen des Kriegerstandes auf die höheren Religionen übertragen, so erscheint dadurch das Kriegerische zunächst in sein striktes Gegenteil umgesetzt oder in ein blosses Symbol verwandelt zu sein. Allein auch die Form hat ihre eigene Logik und ihre necessitates consequentiae. Zuerst unmerklich bald aber deutlicher führt das als Symbol rezipierte Kriegerische auch die Sache selbst herbei, und die 'geistlichen Waffen der Ritterschaft' werden zu weltlichen. Aber auch dort, wo es nicht so weit kommt, tritt eine kriegerische Stimmung ein, welche die normale der Sanftmut und des Friedens bedroht."

show that leading and representative Christians felt the incongruity so clearly as to suggest that a soldier, if he were converted, ought to leave the service. Some reasons for this unconsciousness have already been offered; and the paucity of our records must make us cautious in hazarding general statements one way or another. The facts as we have them are briefly as follows.

*The Christian attitude to soldiers who were not Christians* presents a mixture of disapprobation and respect. Most of the sufferings that befell Christians in the form of State-persecution were inflicted by the hands of soldiers.[1] Jacob, the son of Zebedæus, was executed by one of them.[2] Peter was guarded in chains by others, and escaped a like fate only by a miraculous deliverance.[3] Paul endured long confinement in their hands; and, when the ship in which he and other prisoners were being taken to Rome was wrecked, the soldiers advised that they should all be killed to prevent any of them escaping.[4] Both Paul and Peter were eventually martyred at Rome, doubtless by the hands of soldiers. Mark recorded how a soldier of Herodes Antipas had beheaded John the Baptist,[5] and how the soldiers of Pilatus had inflicted upon the Lord himself all the abominable indignities of his passion.[6] On the other hand, the piety of Cornelius (the centurion of Cæsarea) and of his personal soldier-attendant seems to have received recognition even before he was baptized;[7] Paul experienced kind treatment at the hands of the Philippian gaoler[8] and of the centurion Julius, who took him to Rome;[9] and Mark noted that the centurion in charge of the crucifixion of Jesus was so moved by the latter's death that he exclaimed: "Truly this man was a son of God."[10] Paul's theory of the nature of the political authority enabled him to look upon the military power wielded by the magistrate as a Divinely ordained means of restricting and punishing wrong-doing.[11] As

[1] On soldiers as the normal executioners, Schürer i. 470–473. On the brutal behaviour of the Roman legionaries of this period and the sort of deeds to which they lent their hands, see Tacitus, *Annales*, xiii. 41, 55f, xiv. 23, 31, *Historiae*, i. 63, 67–69, 80, ii. 12f, 56, 66, 73, 87f, iii. 14, 15, 19, 32–34, 77, 83, iv. 1. In face of these bloody records, the enthusiasm of some modern writers over the average Roman soldier would appear to be somewhat misplaced; see e.g. Gwatkin *ECH* i. 223 ("Even the common soldier (till Severus and Caracalla tampered with his discipline) seemed lifted above himself by the grandeur of Cæsar's service") and Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 663a ("plain, duty-loving men at arms, . . . who were content to serve in the legions with the same kind of healthy spirit as that which Marius expressed: 'Illa multo optuma rei publicae doctus sum—hostem ferire,'" etc.).

[2] Ac xii. 2 (μαχαίρῃ). [3] Ac xii. 6, 18f.
[4] Ac xxvii. 42, xxviii. 16, etc.; cf. xvi. 23f. [5] Mc vi. 27f.
[6] Mc xv. 16–20, 24. [7] Ac x. 1–4, 7, 22. [8] Ac xvi. 33a.
[9] Ac xxvii. 1, 3, 43. [10] Mc xv. 39. [11] R xiii. 4.

such, he was evidently willing to be taken under its protection, when his life was endangered through the violence of his enemies.[1]

*The Christian attitude to the few soldiers who are recorded to have 'believed' or been baptized* during this period exhibits—so far as our admittedly scanty records tell us—no consciousness that their profession was incompatible with their newly adopted faith.[2] Peter, shortly before baptizing Cornelius and his party, gave him the pith of the Christian Gospel as "the word which God sent to the sons of Israel, giving the good news of peace through Jesus Christ": [3] but this peace—so typical of the Christian frame of mind [4]—does not seem to have suggested to the apostle any necessity that Cornelius should change his calling. The position of Paul is similar: he baptizes the gaoler of Philippi, but does not tell him to be a gaoler no longer.[5] It must, however, be borne in mind that we are here resting on the argumentum a silentio: the possibility that both soldiers quitted the service shortly after their conversion is not to be dismissed as a mere fancy.[6]

The Action of the Christians in the Jewish War of 66–70 A.D.—In order to make our survey of the material complete, we must take note of the fact that, shortly before the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans, the Christians of that city, in obedience to "an oracular response given by revelation to approved men there," [7] left Jerusalem, and settled at Pella in Peræa, thus taking no part in the war against Rome. We are too much in the dark as to the

[1] Ac xxi. 32ff, xxiii. 12–35. For the thought-context in which this acceptance of military protection is to be read, see above, pp. 109–111.

[2] Bigelmair 166: "Keiner von allen erhält die Mahnung, seine Stellung zu verlassen, ihr Beruf findet überhaupt keine weitere Erörterung, wie denn überhaupt die heiligen Schrift sich mit irdischen Berufsfragen wenig beschäftigt."

[3] Ac x. 36, 48 (the *αὐτοὺς* probably included some soldiers besides Cornelius).

[4] Peace, of course, meant a number of different things to the Christian. I have collected above, on p. 96 n 1 a few passages, in which it refers to the relations between Christians and outsiders.

[5] Ac xvi. 30–34. I omit the reference to the proconsul of Cyprus (Ac xiii. 12), as we cannot feel sure that he became a Christian in the ordinary sense (see above, pp. 114f). In P i. 13 Paul says: "My bonds became manifest in Christ *ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν.*" Various opinions have been held as to the meaning of *πραιτώριον* here (cf. Purves in *DB* iv. 33); but, even assuming that it means the Prætorian Guard, that would not mean that some of the soldiers in it became Christians, but only that it became known to all of them that Paul was in prison because he was a Christian and not for any political offence.

[6] We must not therefore assume too confidently that "No one dreamt of any problem here, any more than in the case of marriage or of slavery" (Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 660b: cf. the similarly over-confident language of Bigelmair, quoted in n 2 on this page).

[7] Eus. *HE* iii. v. 3: *κατά τινα χρησμὸν τοῖς αὐτόθι δοκίμοις δι' ἀποκαλύψεως δοθέντα.*

details to be able to ascertain the motive that really prompted this step. How far was it due to a disapproval of the national policy of the Jews? how far to a sense of a final break with Mosaism? how far to a simple desire for personal safety? how far to a recollection of the Master's words "Flee to the mountains"? or how far, possibly, to a feeling that the use of the sword was forbidden them? None of these reasons can be either definitely affirmed or definitely denied. The one last suggested is by no means impossible. It is in keeping with what we know of the facts of the case. At all events, the flame of Jewish patriotism was extinct in the hearts of these Jerusalem-Christians.[1] Their policy on this occasion presented an exact contrast to that of a section of the Essenes, who, despite the fact that they were not usually over-patriotic, and that they had abjured the use of arms on principle, yet joined with their fellow-countrymen in the attempt to repel the Roman invader.[2]

## CHAPTER VI

### THE SEXES AND THE FAMILY

THE STATUS OF WOMEN.[3]—Paul is the only Christian author of this period who reveals to us the theories that underlay his views and convictions on the subject of the sexes. And inasmuch as these views and convictions were derived from many different sources and determined by many different circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that they should comprise divergent tendencies not easily harmonized with one another.

Thus in regard to the status of women, Paul is on the one hand clear that, from the full Christian point of view, the distinction of sex represents no real difference of value or dignity. "For ye are all sons of God by means of faith in Christ Jesus . . . (in whom) there is neither Jew nor Hellen, neither slave nor free, neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."[4] "Woman (does) not (exist) apart from man, nor man apart from woman, in the Lord: for as the woman (came) from the man, so also the man (came) by means of the woman. But all things (come) from God."[5] On the other hand, he often touches on the inferiority of woman's rank to man's, supporting his view by

[1] Weinel *SUS* 10f.
[2] Holtzm. *Th.* i. 147.
[3] Cf. Stöcker and Zscharnack.
[4] G iii. 26–28.
[5] 1 C xi. 11f.

analogies that appear to us now somewhat fanciful. "The head of every man is Christ; but the man is the head of the woman, and God is the head of Christ."[1] "For man . . . is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of man. For man is not from woman, but woman from man: for man was not created for the sake of the woman, but woman for the sake of the man."[2]

This inferiority of rank makes the position of woman one of distinct subordination. The duty of being submissive to her husband is often touched upon.[3] In the task of child-bearing that devolves upon her, the author of the Pastoral Epistles sees a sort of saving discipline imposed on account of Eve's transgression.[4] Women are not, according to Paul, to be allowed to speak in the church.[5] Whenever they pray or prophesy, they are to have their heads covered: various strange reasons are given for this injunction, among others that, being in danger from the unlawful lusts of angels, woman must have on her head some sign of man's authority over her.[6] She is to dress modestly and quietly and without finery.[7]

THE COMMENDATION OF CELIBACY.—While he avoided giving any dogmatic ruling on the subject, Paul was on the whole in favour of celibacy as the preferable state for Christian people.[8] He gave two reasons for holding this view. One was the imminence of the final termination of the world-order by the Parousia of Jesus: "The time has been shortened: henceforth let those who have wives be as if they had none, . . . for the form of this world is passing away."[9] The other reason—not unconnected with the former[10]—was that unmarried people are better able to devote their attention to 'the things of the Lord' than are those who are preoccupied with the responsibilities of married life.[11] The

[1] 1 C xi. 3; cf. E v. 23: "Man is (the) head of the woman, even as Christ (is the) head of the Church."

[2] 1 C xi. 7–9: cf. 1 T ii. 13f: "For Adam was created first, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived; but (it was) the woman who was deceived (and) fell into transgression."

[3] See below, p. 126.

[4] 1 T ii. 15. In v. 14 he prescribes marriage for young widows as preventive of wayward conduct.

[5] 1 C xiv. 34–36: cf. 1 T ii. 11f.

[6] 1 C xi. 4–16. [7] 1 P iii. 3–5; 1 T ii. 9f.

[8] 1 C vii., esp. 1, 6–9, 25–27, 36–38. In the last passage, "his virgin" means, not "his daughter," but "his Spiritual bride" (as Moffatt translates), i.e. a Christian woman, with whom a non-sexual union had been formed. See Peake ad loc. in his one-volume *Commentary on the Bible*, 839f.

[9] 1 C vii. 29–31.

[10] Perhaps the expression in 1 C vii. 26—*διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀνάγκην*—may be taken as in a way uniting both reasons.

[11] 1 C vii. 32–35: *θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀμερίμνους εἶναι, κτλ.*

wish to be entirely free from domestic limitations in order to cultivate the religious life was not altogether unnatural in a time of religious enthusiasm.[1] What Paul was expressing, many others doubtless were feeling. In the four virgin-daughters of Philip, who were prophetesses,[2] we see a practical example of this early Christian asceticism. Probably from the first, oriental notions of purity contributed something to the ascetic view-point; but we find no trace of them in the Christian writings of our period. The relations between Christian men and women are simple and natural. There is no attempt to seclude the sexes from one another. Christian teachers are free to associate with women for purposes of instruction, being careful to act always "with perfect propriety."[3]

The Legitimacy and Honour of Marriage.—Yet even in the midst of his counsels of celibacy, Paul is careful to indicate that it is merely counsel, not command, and that marriage for those not endowed in a special way is right and good.[4] Peter and most of the apostles and brothers of Jesus were married men, and took their wives about with them on their mission journeys; and Paul insisted that he had a right to do the same, though he did not exercise it.[5] Neither the Epistle of Peter nor the Gospel of Mark contains any hint of any special commendation of the unmarried state.[6] It is possible, though not certain, that the errorists whom Paul controverted in his letter to Colosse included a prohibition of marriage in their ascetic principles.[7] In the Pastoral Epistles we get a violent attack on those who forbade marriage.[8] In writing to Corinth, Paul dignified marriage by making it a type of the union between the local church and Christ;[9] and in a beautiful passage in Ephesians[10] he elaborates the parallel between marriage and the bond that unites the whole Church to her Lord.

A further stimulus was given to this recognition of the sanctity of marriage by the rôle of the domestic circle in fostering and extending the Christian life. While, on the one hand, Christianity was a thing for the individual and the acceptance of it must often have meant the rupture of family ties, on the other hand the home was a natural sphere for the operation of Christian influence and

[1] Troeltsch 71. On the whole subject of early Christian asceticism, see Troeltsch 95ff, 100ff.

[2] Ac xxi. 9. [3] Ac xvi. 13–15; 1 T v. 1f (ἐν πάσῃ ἁγνείᾳ).

[4] 1 C vii. 2, 6f, 9, 27f, 36 (Moffatt's trans.), 38a. See above, pp. 79 n 9, 123 n 8.

[5] 1 C ix. 5; Mc i. 30; Cl. *Strom.* VII. xi. 63 (= Eus. *HE* III. xxx. 2).

[6] Though Mark (xii. 25) refers to the abolition of marriage in the resurrection-life.

[7] C ii. 20–23; Moffatt *INT* 152f. [8] 1 T iv. 3. [9] 2 C xi. 2.

[10] E v. 22ff; cf. H iii. 6 (Christians as Christ's household).

the impartation of Christian teaching.[1] In withdrawing from the public life of the world, Christians were thrown back on the society —not only of the Church—but of their own homes.[2] Hence the household—as well as the individual and the local church—tended to form a sort of unit in the Christian community ; [3] and we read of ' churches ' at different people's houses.[4]

THE REGULATION OF SEXUAL RELATIONS.—Granted then that marriage is not only a legitimate, but a useful, honourable, and sacred institution, what are its nature and duties ? Its aim, according to Paul, is the regulation and confinement within due limits of the physical function of sex.[5] Unnatural departures from that function formed the great blot on gentile morals : [6] but even short of such extreme excess there was ample scope for that sinful abuse which, in the forms of concubinage, prostitution, adultery, and even at times of incest, constituted so melancholy a characteristic of pagan life, and against which the Christian was continually warned.[7] " (Let) marriage (be) held in honour among all, and the bed (kept) undefiled : for fornicators and adulterers God will judge." [8] The sexual act unites man and woman in an inviolable bond, so that even intercourse with a prostitute imposes the duty of a permanent union.[9] In regard to the intercourse between married people, there must be a mutual cession of conjugal dues, compliance with each other's wishes, temporary abstinence by agreement for purposes of prayer, and freedom from incontinence.[10] For the rest, husbands must love and cherish their

[1] Ac ii. 46, v. 42, xii. 12f.

[2] G. A. Jacob in *DCA* i. 659a ; Ac viii. 3 ; 1 C xi. 22, 34 ; 1 T iii. 4f, 12, v. 14, T ii. 5.

[3] Ac (x. 2, 24), xi. 14, xvi. 31–34, xviii. 8 ; 1 C i. 16 : cf. T i. 6 ; H xi. 7 (Noah builds an ark for the salvation of his house).

[4] 1 C xvi. 19, R xvi. 5, C iv. 15, P 2 : cf. Ac xii. 12–17 and Gayford in *DB* i. 431a.

[5] R i. 27 (*τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν τῆς θηλείας*), 1 C vii. 2, 9, 36 (*ἐὰν ἢ ὑπέρακμος*—see Moffatt's trans.), 1 Th iv. 3ff.

[6] R i. 26f.

[7] Ac xv. 20, 29, xxi. 25 ; 1 Th iv. 5 (*μὴ ἐν πάθει ἐπιθυμίας, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ εἰδότα τὸν Θεόν*), 1 C vi. 9–11, R i. 24, 28f, vi. 19, E ii. 2f, iv. 17–20, 22, v. 3–5, 11f, C iii. 5–7 ; T iii. 3 ; 1 P i. 14, iv. 1–3 (. . . *ἀρκετὸς γὰρ ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος τὸ βούλημα τῶν ἐθνῶν κατειργάσθαι, πεπορευμένους ἐν ἀσελγείαις, ἐπιθυμίαις, κτλ.*); H xii. 16, xiii. 4. It was an exceptionally severe reproach to the Corinthian church to tell them that the immorality committed among them was such as did not occur *even among the gentiles* (1 C v. 1). Note, however, that the concubinage of Abraham is referred to (by way of allegorical illustration) with no hint of disapproval (G iv. 22–31), and Rahab the harlot is praised (H xi. 31).

[8] H xiii. 4 : cf. E v. 31.

[9] 1 C vi. 16.

[10] 1 C vii. 3–6, 1 Th iv. 5.

wives:[1] wives must love their husbands,[2] look to them for instruction in Christian truth,[3] and above all be quietly submissive to them in everything.[4]

In regard to *divorce and separation*, Paul lays down on Christ's authority a general prohibition, and adds that a separated wife must either remain unmarried or be reconciled to her husband.[5] On the subject of *mixed marriages*, he forbids one who is already a Christian to marry a pagan;[6] but if one of two pagan partners was converted to Christianity, as seems to have frequently happened, particularly in the case of women, Paul advised that there should be no separation unless the unconverted partner insisted on it. The maintenance of the union might result in the latter's conversion; and the claim of the children to Christian privileges supplied an additional reason why the couple should keep together.[7]

In regard to *second marriages*, Paul clearly regarded them as disadvantageous for Christians, though permissible[8] on condition that the second partner was a Christian.[9] In the Pastoral Epistles, a still stricter view is taken: second marriage disqualifies a woman from being placed on the list of widows supported by the Church or a man from the office of deacon, elder, or bishop.[10]

THE DUTIES OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.—Paul counsels fathers not to irritate or vex their children, lest they should be discouraged, but to bring them up in the discipline and admonition of the Lord.[11] The Christian education of children and the good government of the household are specially necessary in the case

[1] C iii. 19, E v. 25, 28f, 33a; 1 P iii. 7.
[2] T ii. 4. [3] 1 C xiv. 35; 1 T ii. 11.
[4] C iii. 18, E v. 22–24, 33b; 1 T ii. 11f, T ii. 5; 1 P iii. 1–6.
[5] 1 C vii. 10f, 27, 39, R vii. 2f.
[6] This seems a fair inference to draw from 2 C vi. 14, 1 C vii. 39.
[7] 1 C vii. 12–16 (15b simply permits *separation* if insisted on by the pagan partner; it does not permit the Christian partner in such case to re-marry); 1 P iii. 1f. From the fact that Peter contemplates only the case of a Christian wife with a pagan husband and not the reverse, we may infer that that was the more frequent occurrence. An instance is the case of Pomponia Græcina, wife of Aulus Plautius; see below, p. 129 n 6.
[8] 1 C vii. 8, 27, 40. The marriage of a *παρθένον ἁγνήν* is the only one that can serve as a type of the Church's union with her Lord (2 C xi. 2): cf. E v. 26f (*ἁγία καὶ ἄμωμος*), R vii. 2f.
[9] 1 C vii. 39f.
[10] 1 T iii. 2, 12, v. 9, T i. 6. In regard to the regulations for young widows, the censure of 1 T v. 11 (*γαμεῖν θέλουσιν*) is to be reconciled with the precept of 14 (*βούλομαι οὖν νεωτέρας γαμεῖν*), by the assumption that the former refers to those who had abused their position on the Church's staff of widows—a sort of diaconate of women who were supposed to remain unmarried—by hunting for husbands.
[11] C iii. 21, E vi. 4. Cf. the reference to parental chastisement in H xii. 5–11.

of office-bearers in the Church.[1] Mothers are required to love their children,[2] bring them up properly,[3] and attend to the management of their households.[4] In regard to the duties of children, disobedience to parents is mentioned as a typically unchristian vice.[5] Children owe their parents, not only obedience,[6] but honour [7] and respect.[8] The first religious duty imposed on a Christian who has a widowed mother or other relative is to provide for their sustenance.[9]

## CHAPTER VII

### PROPERTY[10]

Fundamental Principles.—Early Christian views on the subject of property are for the most part the outcome of the action and interaction of three underlying motives. Firstly, there was that otherworldliness which characterized the whole thought of the period, a combination of the sense of the world's evil and the expectation of its early break-up at the Parousia of Jesus. The Christian is but an exile and a sojourner : the world is crucified to him, and he to the world :[11] all earthly interests are comparatively insignificant : God is about to do away both with the belly and the food meant for it.[12] From this point of view, property appears not only as an essentially ephemeral and perishable thing,[13] but as a hindrance and an entanglement.[14] Secondly, there was the obvious fact that, pending the Lord's coming, human needs had to be provided for, and men had to find subsistence for themselves and those dependent on them. This consideration gives us the Church's

[1] 1 T iii. 4f, 12, T i. 6. [2] T ii. 4.
[3] 1 T v. 10. [4] 1 T v. 14, T ii. 5.
[5] R i. 30 ; 2 T iii. 2 : cf. also the reference in 1 T i. 9 to *πατρολῴαις καὶ μητρολῴαις*.
[6] C iii. 20, E vi. 1 : cf. H xii. 5–11.
[7] E vi. 2f. [8] 1 T v. 1.
[9] 1 T v. 4, 8 (he who does not provide for his relatives *τὴν πίστιν ἤρνηται καὶ ἔστιν ἀπίστου χείρων*), 16 : per contra, 2 C xii. 14.
[10] Rogge 68–76 (primitive Church at Jerusalem), 77–86 (Palestinian Christianity and Jacob), 87–94 (gentile Christians), 94–116 (Paul) : for the last-named, cf. Peabody (iv.) 70.
[11] G vi. 14 ; 1 P i. 1, 17, ii. 11. [12] 1 C vi. 13. [13] 1 P i. 7, 18.
[14] 1 C vii. 29–31 (*ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος ἐστίν· τὸ λοιπὸν ἵνα καὶ . . . οἱ ἀγοράζοντες ὡς μὴ κατέχοντες, καὶ οἱ χρώμενοι τὸν κόσμον ὡς μὴ καταχρώμενοι· παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*) ; 2 T ii. 4.

recognition of the rightfulness of private property, and her insistence on the duty of daily work. And thirdly, there was the great principle of mercy, the responsibility for supplying the needs of those unfortunates who could not support themselves: hence the great part played by almsgiving in early Christian economics. These three principles, while not mutually contradictory, would yet in most cases point to different courses of action: and in this way a certain appearance of inconsistency is given to the teaching and customs of the early Church.

The Right of Private Property and the Duty of Labour.—The rightfulness of private property is rather taken for granted than expressly declared. It is the presupposition that lies behind the prohibition of theft and covetousness, the place given to the Christian home, and the inculcation of the duties of work,[1] almsgiving,[2] and hospitality. Not even the communism established in the early days at Jerusalem deprived Church-members of the right to keep their property or contribute it to the common stock as they wished. Peter said to Ananias about his estate: "While it remained (unsold), did it not remain thine own? and when it was sold, was not (the purchase-money) in thy power?" [3]

Still more clear is the recognition accorded to the duty of working for one's daily bread. Apart from the Christians resident in Jerusalem and Judæa, who seem to have been chronically unable to support themselves except by the munificence of rich individuals and of other churches, Christians generally supported themselves by the usual forms of labour and trade. Some of the Palestinian Christians, including the relatives of Jesus, were engaged in agriculture,[4] others doubtless in trade.[5] Paul, Aquila, and Priscilla were tent-makers.[6] We find frequent references in the Epistles to the duty of Christians to work for their living: the approach of

[1] Cf. Uhlhorn *Ch.* 84; Ac xxviii. 30 (Paul lives for two years ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι); P iv. 12 ("I know how to abound," etc.).

[2] 1 C xvi. 2: κατὰ μίαν σαββάτου ἕκαστος ὑμῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ τιθέτω, θησαυρίζων ὅ τι ἐὰν εὐοδῶται.

[3] Ac v. 4. Similarly, the generosity of Barnabas (Ac iv. 36f) would not be singled out for special mention, if all Christians were doing the same—unless the point be that he was exceptionally rich. Cf. Weinel *SUS* 28: "Aber im ganzen behielt man das Eigentum bei."

[4] Heges. ap. Eus. *HE* III. xx. 3–5 (the conditions here reported probably began long before Domitianus' reign).

[5] It has been remarked that the age was one of great commercial activity, and that "the places in which the Gospel seems to have preferably taken root were busy commercial cities" (J. M. Ludlow in *DCA* i. 408b).

[6] Ac xviii. 3.

the Parousia was not to be made an excuse for idleness: "if any man will not work, neither let him eat." [1]

Depreciation of Wealth.—Side by side with this recognition of the right of property, insistence on honest toil, and approval of trade, we cannot help noticing a certain prejudice against wealth, and even, in certain quarters, against money-transactions generally. We get evidence of the latter in the severity with which Peter rebukes the suggestion of Simon of Samaria that the gift of conferring the Holy Spirit might be supplied to him on payment of a sum of money.[2] More than once Paul got himself into trouble because his activity as a Christian apostle damaged the business-prospects of pagans.[3] In regard to the question of wealth, it is clear that at this time, while the great majority of Christians were either poor, or, at most, people of modest means,[4] the Church was possibly beginning already to number among its members persons of rank and opulence. In the Pastoral Epistles we hear of "those who are rich in this world('s goods)." [5] One such wealthy convert was probably Pomponia Græcina, who in 57 or 58 A.D. was tried by her husband Aulus Plautius on a charge of foreign superstition, and pronounced innocent.[6] It is in the Pastoral Epistles that the warnings against wealth for the most part occur: the love of money is

[1] 2 Th iii. 10; cf. 6–12, 1 Th iv. 11f (*ἐργάζεσθαι ταῖς χερσὶν ὑμῶν . . . ἵνα περιπατῆτε εὐσχημόνως πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω καὶ μηδενὸς χρείαν ἔχητε*), v. 14 (Frame 161, 197), E iv. 28; T i. 12, iii. 8, 14: Uhlhorn *Ch.* 82f. Weinel (*SUS* 29) criticizes Paul and his school on this point. "Aber ihre Motive waren nicht die der Kultur oder des Dienstes gegen den Staat oder die einer bürgerlichen Existenz," but only the desire that the Christian should not be a burden on others, and should have something to give in charity. But, though he quotes 1 Th iv. 12, he omits the first half of it (*ἵνα περιπατῆτε εὐσχημόνως πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω*), which certainly seems to express a sense of public responsibility. One can hardly deny that Paul's instructions spring from that sense of what is due to one's fellows, which forms the very basis of citizenship, though he may not use political or sociological terms in issuing them.

On the heathen contempt for manual labour, see Schmidt 63–67, Bigelmair 293–296: on the change introduced by Christianity, Schmidt 212–215, Bigelmair 296ff.

[2] Ac viii. 18–24. No doubt the gravamen of the apostle's warning lay on quite a different point, viz. Simon's total neglect of God in the matter. But the horror with which Peter speaks surely implies a cheap view of commercial transactions in general: cf. 1 P v. 2.

[3] Ac xvi. 16–24, xix. 23–41.

[4] 1 C ii. 26–28. Peter gives advice in his Epistle (ii. 18–25) to Christian slaves, but none to Christian masters. On the humble social and economic status of most of the early Christians, cf. Deissmann, *LVO* 6f, 12f (note 8). He refers to his earlier articles in *The Expositor*, Feb.–Apl. 1909.

[5] 1 T vi. 17: *τοῖς πλουσίοις ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι.* (But the Pastoral Epistles *may* belong to the early part of the second century.)

[6] Tacitus, *Annales*, xiii. 32. There seems to be a general agreement as to her having been a Christian: cf. *DCB* iv. 437f; Doulcet 22f; Hardy 57; Bigelmair 215–217.

condemned,[1] and wealthy Christians are warned not to be arrogant, not to rely on the uncertainty of wealth, but on God who gives us richly all things to enjoy, and to use their wealth in generous charity towards others.[2] We see that, while wealth is regarded as bringing special temptations and dangers, against which serious warnings are uttered, and while it is thought of as a characteristic of pagan rather than Christian life, the early Christian utterances do not amount to a declaration that the actual possession of wealth is wrong in itself.

The Glorification of Poverty.—Corresponding to the suspicion and prejudice with which the Church regarded wealth, is the dignity and honour that were felt to attach to poverty as the normal and fitting state for the followers of Jesus. Peter says openly that he has neither silver nor gold.[3] One factor that contributed to this attitude of mind was the insecurity to which the profession of Christianity exposed the convert's property—not to mention his life. Christian faithfulness often meant parting with one's goods. Paul declared that for Christ's sake he had suffered the loss of all things.[4] In the pursuit of his apostolic task he had to endure many privations, and to practise self-sufficiency in reliance on Divine aid.[5] More often than not it was persecution that was the cause of such losses.[6] The author of Hebrews puts the Christian attitude thus: "(Let) your life (be) free from the love of money: (be) content with what ye have. For He Himself has said, 'I will not leave thee, nor will I forsake thee.'"[7]

The Disbursement of Property.—Frequent mention is made of the Christian duty of mercy towards those in need of it, and of almsgiving to the poor and needy as a special form of mercy. We have already seen that, while the fundamental principle of love was not meant in theory to be confined to the relations of fellow-Christians with one another, it did nevertheless tend in practice to be so limited. In somewhat the same way while the terms in which the duties of mercy and almsgiving are enjoined are often perfectly general,[8] and while they are often mentioned as being shown to fellow-Christians, there are very few passages in which they are explicitly described as being practised towards non-

[1] 1 T iii. 3, 8, vi. 9f, 2 T iii. 2, T i. 7: cf. H xiii. 5. On the evil of teaching religion for the sake of money-making, cf. 1 P v. 2; 1 T vi. 5, T i. 11.
[2] 1 T vi. 17–19. [3] Ac iii. 6. [4] P iii. 8.
[5] 2 C xi. 27, P iv. 11–13.
[6] H x. 34. Cf. Weinel *SUS* 28: "Im ganzen blieb man dem Grundsatz Jesu treu, der keine asketische Armut, aber das Bereitsein zu jedem und dem vollen Verzicht gefordert hatte."
[7] H xiii. 5; cf. 1 T vi. 6–11.
[8] Ac ix. 36, 39, xx. 35; H xiii. 3, 16; R xii. 8, E iv. 28; 1 T vi. 18f.

Christians. The noble words of Peter: "Silver and gold I have not; but what I have, this I give thee," [1] were addressed to one who, though a fellow-Jew, was not at the time a fellow-Christian: and his description of the benefits and cures wrought by Jesus represents them as not confined to the members of his circle.[2] Paul bids the Christian satisfy the hunger and thirst of his enemy; [3] but some allowance must be made for the fact that his words are a quotation from the Old Testament. It will thus be seen that the evidence for the exercise of Christian charity towards pagans is extremely scanty; but no doubt environment and circumstances were as much, if not more, answerable for the facts to which this silence points, as any sin of omission on the part of the Church.[4]

The economic arrangements adopted within the Church, while of great interest in themselves, bear only very indirectly on the Christian attitude to pagan society, and therefore lie beyond the scope of the present inquiry. We must content ourselves here with a passing allusion to the widely practised and frequently enjoined exercise of hospitality to Christians when journeying, to the organized collections taken in the Pauline churches for the support of the churches in Judæa, to the regulations laid down in the Pastoral Epistles for the relief of poor Christians, and lastly to the somewhat obscure experiment in communism made by the primitive Church in Jerusalem.[5]

# CHAPTER VIII

## SLAVERY AND OTHER CUSTOMS

Interest and Significance of the Early Christian Attitude to Slavery.—A peculiar interest attaches to the attitude of the

[1] Ac iii. 6. [2] Ac x. 38. [3] R xii. 20.

[4] For the teaching of Paul on almsgiving, cf. Uhlhorn *Ch.* 85ff. He rightly describes the organized charity of the Church as confined to its own members. "Individuals might bestow gifts on an excluded person, as also upon a heathen, but they received nothing from the church, which gave no assistance to idlers" (89).

[5] I resist the temptation to discuss this interesting topic—at most a passing phase of early Church life—and content myself with referring the reader to Ac ii. 44f, iv. 32, 34–37, v. 1–11, vi. 1–6; Uhlhorn *Ch.* 73–77; Holtzm. *GA* passim, *Th.* i. 459ff; Beyschlag i. 321f; Rogge 68–76; Peabody (i.) 15–17; Bigelmair 88f; Carlyle 98–101, 132–135; Dobschütz 143f; Weinel *SUS* 28; Troeltsch 49–51 ("Aber die Neuordnung beschränkt sich auf die Gemeinde selbst und ist nicht ein Programm der sozialen Volkserneuerung überhaupt"); Meyer 6f; Bartlet *P* 96.

early Church to the institution of slavery. For here is a clear instance of a custom once universally believed to be necessary and tolerated accordingly (though not without a certain uneasiness that manifested itself in isolated protests and mitigations),[1] not at first objected to by Christian teachers, but recognized after the lapse of centuries to be incompatible with the spirit and teaching of Christianity, and now universally condemned. Except for the fact that the disapprobation of it has attained a remarkable degree of unanimity, slavery thus forms a parallel in many ways to war; and the development of Christian thought on the one subject sheds an interesting light on that of Christian thought on the other.

Several answers have been given to the question why the Church in general and Paul in particular did not at the outset condemn slavery, and urge all slave-owners in the Church to emancipate their slaves. One favourite type of answer needs to be definitely rejected, not only on account of its inherent inaccuracy, but also by reason of the pernicious inferences often drawn from it touching the modern duty of Christians in regard to other evil social institutions. It is the view that Paul and others, though probably aware of the moral iniquity of slavery, refrained from forbidding Christians to practise it, because society as a whole was unripe for such a reform, and to have attempted it would have produced immediate revolution and turmoil, not to mention an internecine war between masters and slaves.[2] The difficulty in the way of accepting such an apologia lies in the fact that it ignores the very vital distinction between what is possible, probable, practicable, and right, within the limits of a small and growing community, and what can reasonably be anticipated and advocated for the whole of society at

[1] On slavery in paganism, particularly in the Roman Empire, and the heathen attitude to it, see Schmidt 75–88, 347–349, 355f, 361f, 367f, 397–404; Lecky i. 300–308, ii. 61f; Uhlhorn *C* 131–141; Guignebert 369–371; Dobschütz 383–387; Bigg *CE* 111–115; Westermarck i. 689–694; Gwatkin *ECH* i. 217–223. The Essenes were, apparently, the only body of people who objected to slavery on principle (Holtzm. *Th.* i. 140: cf. Dobschütz 386).

[2] Brace may be taken as typical of this class of exponents. "Now," he says (45), "for a Divine teacher to have proclaimed, then and there, the duty of absolute and immediate emancipation, would have plunged the Roman world into a 'misery' beyond all bounds of conception, and would have let loose a war of extermination between masters and slaves, which would have turned Europe and Asia into a field of blood and slaughter." Similarly, F. Wayland, *Elements of Moral Science*, 203f; W. E. Channing, *Works* (ed. 1843), i. 27, 225, 250; Schmidt 216, 220; H. Rogers, *Eclipse of Faith*, 362–366: cf. also Mullinger in *DCA* ii. 1903a; Luthardt 259f; Dobschütz 118 ("There is no suggestion that the Apostle set up slave-emancipation as a demand. That would have entailed a social revolution," etc.); Bartlet *P* 110f.

once and en masse—Christian and unchristian alike. How could a social revolution or a general slave-war have been precipitated by a mere handful of masters (and the slave-owning Christians could not have numbered more than a very few) emancipating their slaves?[1] It is quite possible to explain the silence of the early Church without having resort to such an hypothesis. In the first place, we shall be fairly safe in saying that the essential incompatibility between slavery and Christianity, which is so clear to us, had not yet in those early days forced itself upon the minds of Christian people.[2] Secondly, though Paul was aware, as we shall see, of certain objections to the institution, several circumstances combined to weaken the force of these objections, and to discourage or delay the adoption of practical reforms. Thus, the expectation of the Parousia would naturally tend to make the abolition of slavery seem a matter of comparative unimportance.[3] Again, if both master and slave (or even the master only) were Christian, the inherent evil of the institution would be effectively disguised by Christian conduct. While if only the slave were a Christian, the duties of meekness and patience would deter him from agitating for his emancipation.

The Actual Christian Attitude to Slavery as an Institution.[4]—With these preliminary observations we turn to examine the facts. The cardinal point of the whole position is this: that from the spiritual point of view of the Church, the distinction between slave and free, like that between male and female, Jew and Hellen, has no validity whatever.[5] On either side of this centre Christian feeling shapes itself in opposite directions. On the one hand, slavery is felt to be to this extent an evil, that Paul advises a slave who has the chance of securing his emancipation

[1] I have attempted a discussion of the general ethical question involved here in an art. on 'The Individual Factor in Social Progress' in *The International Journal of Ethics*, Jan. 1922, 129–141.

[2] Stevens 451: "It is quite unwarranted to suppose that Paul refrained from disapproving of slavery from considerations of expediency. It is equally incorrect to say that he attempted any theoretic justification of it. There is no reason to suppose that the question of its abstract rightfulness or wrongfulness was before his mind at all. He certainly could not have considered it as wrong *per se*," etc.

[3] So Bartlet *P* 111.

[4] For the early Christian attitude to slavery, see Martineau, *Essays, Reviews, and Addresses*, iii. 44–47; Schmidt 166–168, 215–227; Seeley (xii.) 154–159; Lecky ii. 62–71; Overbeck 158–230; Uhlhorn *C* 184–188, *Ch.* 92–94; Bestmann ii. 287–290; Luthardt 259f; Guignebert 371–378; Harnack *ME* i. 167–171; Carlyle 85–89; Dobschütz 33–36, 115–120; Westermarck i. 693–695; Gwatkin *ECH* i. 232f; Troeltsch 132–134; Meyer 5f; Bartlet *P* 108–111.

[5] G iii. 28, 1 C xii. 13, C iii. 9–11, P 16: cf. Lecky ii. 66f.

to take it,[1] and gives Philemon a fairly straight hint that he ought to emancipate Onesimus,[2] and a number of metaphorical expressions are used which presuppose or imply a disparagement of the slave's condition.[3] On the other hand, servitude is not so great an evil, but that the slave may be encouraged to remain patiently as he is. "Let each one remain in the calling in which he was called. Wast thou called (whilst) a slave? Never mind! . . . for the slave that was called in the Lord is the Lord's freedman; likewise, the free-man who is called is Christ's slave. . . . Let each one remain in God, brothers, in that (station of life) wherein he was called."[4] Paul sends back the converted slave, Onesimus, to the master whom he had robbed and from whom he had run away, and refrains from saying right out that he ought to be emancipated.[5] And not only do we find slavery often used as an illustration of much that was essential and invaluable in Christian thought and practice,[6] but we are enabled to see how Christianity was specially adapted to impart a moral dignity to the slave's lot and to foster the virtues for which that lot was the peculiar field.[7]

Duties of Masters and Slaves.—Paul bids masters treat their slaves justly, and refrain from threatening them, remembering

[1] 1 C vii. 21: cf. Robertson and Plummer 147f, and Dodd in *Journ. Theol. Stud.* Oct. 1924, 77f. The interpretation given in the text of the passages referred to in this and the following note is also adopted by one of the most recent interpreters of Philemon, P. J. Mpratsiotes, Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὴν πρὸς Φιλήμονα ἐπιστολὴν . . . μετὰ παραρτήματος περὶ τοῦ τῆς δουλείας θεσμοῦ ἔν τε τῇ ἀρχαιότητι καὶ τῇ Καινῇ Διαθήκῃ. Athens, 1923. See review in *Theol. Litzg.* 1924. 20. 440; and cf. Deissmann *LVO* 274.

[2] P 21: Πεποιθὼς τῇ ὑπακοῇ σου ἔγραψά σοι, εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἃ λέγω ποιήσεις.

[3] G iv. 1, 3, 7–9, 24f, v. 1, 1 C vii. 15, R vi. 6, viii. 15, 21, ix. 12; T ii. 3, iii. 3. Such metaphors do not, indeed, carry us very far: some speak of good slavery and bad slavery in the same context, e.g. R. vi. 16–22, xvi. 18. In 1 C vii. 23—in a context dealing with actual slavery—occur the words τιμῆς ἠγοράσθητε· μὴ γίνεσθε δοῦλοι ἀνθρώπων. The strictly literal meaning of the words is here impossible. Nor are we entitled to give γίνεσθε the meaning of μένετε. In spite of the context, the words are probably to be taken in a quite general and metaphorical sense (cf. G v. 1), unless indeed they are a gloss.

[4] 1 C vii. 20–22, 24. It was not until later that the Christian impulse to emancipation, of which Lecky (ii. 69–71) speaks, came into operation.

[5] P 10–19. Παιδίσκη, the word used in Ac xii. 13 to describe Rhodē, the servant of Mark's mother, normally means 'slave-girl' (Deissmann *LVO* 167 n 5, 278 n 6).

[6] Jesus took the form of a slave (P ii. 7): Christian apostles or disciples spoken of as slaves of God or Christ (G i. 10, 1 Th i. 9, 1 C vii. 22; Ac xx. 19; R i. 1, vi. 22, vii. 6, xii. 11, xiv. 18, xvi. 18, P i. 1, C iii. 24, iv. 12, E vi. 6; 2 T ii. 24, T i. 1; 1 P ii. 16), of one another (G v. 13, 2 C iv. 5), of outsiders (1 C ix. 19), of the Gospel, of righteousness, etc. (R vi. 18f, vii. 25, P ii. 22).

[7] Lecky ii. 67–69. "Christianity for the first time gave the servile virtues the foremost place in the moral type. Humility, obedience, gentleness, patience, resignation, are all cardinal or rudimentary virtues in the Christian character; they were all neglected or underrated by the Pagans; they can all expand or flourish in a servile condition" (68).

that they have a master of their own in heaven who pays no regard to social rank.[1] Philemon was exhorted to receive Onesimus no longer as a slave, but as more than a slave, a beloved brother.[2] Slaves in general were bidden to show genuine obedience and respect to their masters, not only when the master's eye was on them, but in singleness of heart, as earnest slaves of Christ doing the Will of God. They were to try to give satisfaction, not to be refractory, and not to steal. The credit of Christian doctrine and the expectation of future judgment were referred to as the sanctions for this teaching.[3] Slaves of Christian masters in particular are warned in the Pastoral Epistles against the natural tendency to think less highly of their masters' authority than heathen slaves did: they were to do their work all the better because the recipients of their services were beloved fellow-Christians.[4] Peter warns slaves of heathen masters to be submissive and respectful, not only to those who are kind, but also to those who are harsh and perverse and inflict punishment unjustly. They are to follow the example of the suffering Christ.[5] He does not mention explicitly the duty of a Christian slave when commanded by a heathen master to perform some cruel, dishonest, idolatrous, or otherwise unchristian act; but in his reference to unjust punishment we may perhaps see an allusion to incidents of this kind.[6]

Idolatrous Customs, etc.—As long as Christianity remained on Jewish soil, no conflict with polytheism or idolatry arose; but as soon as it crossed the border and began to appeal for and to receive gentile converts, the case was different. Criticism of the usual pagan methods of worship must have formed a part of the missionary's average address to the heathen,[7] though it seems to have been only towards the end of this period that the Christian attitude roused universal pagan indignation, and it was only later still, in the time of the early apologists, that the topic came to fill an important and central place in Christian literature. The Christian attitude, however, was already fixed and definite. While not quite clear and precise as to the nature of the heathen gods,[8]

[1] C iv. 1, E vi. 9. Dobschütz (35) remarks that nothing is said in the Epistles about the treatment of heathen slaves by Christian masters. But we are not bound to suppose that all the slaves possessed by the Christian masters here addressed must have been Christians also.

[2] P 16. [3] C iii. 22–25, E vi. 5–8; 1 T vi. 1, T ii. 9f.

[4] 1 T vi. 2. [5] 1 P ii. 18–25. [6] Cf. Bigg *PJ* 142f.

[7] E.g. Ac xiv. 11–18 (εὐαγγελιζόμενοι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ματαίων ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ Θεὸν ζῶντα), xvii. 16, 22–31, xix. 26f; 1 Th i. 9, 1 C xii. 2.

[8] Thus Paul denies that an idol is 'anything' (1 C viii. 4, x. 19), but also says that what the heathen sacrifice is sacrificed to demons (1 C x. 20f; cf. viii. 5f, 2 C iv. 4).

they rigidly abstained from all participation in idolatrous worship.[1] This involved not only the refusal to sacrifice, but also the refusal to eat food that had been offered to an idol.[2] How to avoid such food altogether without giving up all social intercourse with pagans was a problem that troubled some of the Corinthians a good deal. Others of them took a laxer view, and ate such food without restraint, even at meals in an idol's temple. Paul had occasion to write to them at some length on the matter. In the main he disapproved of such food being eaten—even by those who saw nothing wrong in it themselves—on the score that it gave offence to the weaker brother; but he advised the scrupulous not to ask questions about what was offered them at the table of a heathen friend or exposed for sale in the meat-markets.[3]

The Christian disapprobation of paganism naturally extended to several other customs besides the offering of idolatrous sacrifices and the consumption of the food so offered.[4] Some of these have already been touched upon. Others, more or less connected with the pagan religion, are mentioned from time to time in early Christian literature. I have not attempted a detailed treatment of all of these; to have done so would have unduly swollen the bulk of this treatise: but some of them will have to be referred to later. The question of Christians attending heathen *public shows* does not arise in the present period, but becomes important in subsequent periods. The probability is that at this early date Christians kept entirely aloof from them. They are referred to in the sources for our period only for purposes of illustration.[5]

[1] G v. 19f, 1 Th i. 9, 1 C v. 11, vi. 9f, viii. 5f, x. 7, 14, xii. 2, 2 C vi. 16–18. For the connection between idolatry and lust, cf. C iii. 5, E v. 5, R. i. 18–32.

[2] So in the apostolic decree, Ac xv. 19f, 28f, xxi. 25.

[3] 1 C viii., x. 19—xi. 1, R xiv. Cf. Dobschütz 26–29. The suggestion has been made that the prohibition to eat meat offered to idols was grounded partly on the foul moral atmosphere of the public Roman inns, where such meat was customarily sold as food (*Times Lit. Supplt.* 3rd Apl. 1924, 206, in review of W. C. Firebaugh's *Inns of Greece and Rome*).

[4] " In social and trading pursuits the individual Christian met and mingled with fellow-citizens outside his own religious circle, and these relationships started serious points of ethical principle. . . . The line was drawn, but not always at the same place; and natural laxity lay on the borders of enlightenment " (Moffatt *R* 357b).

[5] Ac xiii. 25, xx. 24; 1 Th ii. 19, 1 C ix. 24–27, xv. 32 (unless the allusion here be literally meant), P i. 30, iii. 14, iv. 1, C ii. 1; 1 T vi. 12, 2 T ii. 5, iv. 7f; H xii. 1; 1 P v. 4.

# PART III.—THE LATER APOSTOLIC AGE, 70–110 A.D.

## LITERARY INTRODUCTION

While the history of the Church during this period is usually and indeed rightly regarded as very obscure, yet we are not without a considerable number of Christian writings, the date of the composition of which can be assigned to it with tolerable certainty. Owing to unsettled problems of authorship, provenance, and exact date, these writings do not enable us to reconstruct a continuous thread of narrative; yet they form a moderately full body of information as to the leading tendencies of the Christian thought of the time. There is not one of them on the literary problems of which much might not be written; but, as has already been intimated, we are here happily independent of the settlement of many of these problems; and in regard to the rest, it must suffice to indicate briefly the position adopted, and to refer the reader to the pertinent authorities whose special province it is to discuss them.

We take first a couple of markedly Jewish writings, viz. the canonical *Gospel of 'Matthew,'* [1] and the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. In regard to the former of these, some remarks have already been offered on this use of a biography of Jesus a second time over,[2] and they do not need to be repeated here. It may, however, be remarked that, inasmuch as 'Matthew' incorporates the written productions of earlier authors in his narrative, the task of estimating his own personal contribution becomes much more delicate and difficult. The latter of the two writings mentioned was in use among the Jewish Christians of Palestine, to whom the names 'Nazarenes' and 'Ebionites' are often applied.[3] That it

[1] On its Judaism, cf. Moffatt *INT* 255–257: on its date, *ib.* 213.

[2] See above, p. 70.

[3] A good deal of confusion and obscurity surrounds the Ebionites and their history. We do not seem to be able to get much beyond the general fact that the Jewish Christians of Palestine possessed and developed certain marked characteristics of their own, but that there were among them many various shades of opinion, and that the names 'Ebionite' and 'Nazarene' did not, at first at any rate, stand for any hard-and-fast divisions. Cf. Harnack

was on the one hand distinct from, and on the other hand related to, the canonical Gospel of 'Matthew' appears certain; but what exactly this relation was is still an unsolved problem. Only a few fragments of the work remain to us.[1] With these productions of Palestinian Jewish Christianity we may—though with some hesitation—group *the Epistle of Judas*, who is traditionally regarded as one of the brothers of Jesus. Great difficulties, however, beset the questions of its date, authorship, and provenance;[2] and we must rest content with simply grouping it in the present period as on the whole probably covering its date. *Hegesippus*[3] gives us some interesting particulars in regard to the grandchildren of Judas, the Lord's brother, who in the time of Domitianus were working a small farm of their own, presumably in Palestine.

Proceeding with the characteristically Jewish writings, we have next to mention *The Testament of Hezekiah* and *The Vision of Isaiah*, two Christian compositions, which were later combined by an editor with an earlier Jewish work on the 'Martyrdom of Isaiah,' the resultant product being generally known as *The Ascension of Isaiah*. The former of the two Christian constituents has been assigned to 88–100 A.D., the latter to the close of the century.[4]

Turning now to the wider field of the mixed or gentile churches outside Palestine, we come first to the two works of *Luke*, the medical companion of Paul. Of his *Gospel* and *Acts of the Apostles*, the same must be said as was said of the Gospels of Mark and 'Matthew': they have to be used as sources of information for the period in which they were composed as well as for that of which they treat. In regard to the date of the Lucan writings, an attempt has been made within fairly recent years to place them both shortly after the conclusion of Paul's two years' residence at Rome,[5] i.e. about 60 A.D.; but by far the greater number of scholars put them somewhere between 70 and 110 A.D.[6] We need not go below 95 A.D.

*HD* i. 287ff; Fisher *HD* 48–51; Beveridge in *ERE* v. 139f. Theodoretus (*Haer. Fab.* ii. 1f [Migne *PG* lxxxiii. 388f]) assigned the origin of the Ebionites and Nazarenes to the time of Domitianus. We must not, however, assume that the Christian communities of Palestine were composed entirely of Jewish Christians. Beveridge (140a) considers that at Pella after 70 A.D. the Jewish element ceased to be predominant: in the second century the church at Jerusalem was Catholic, not Jewish.

[1] The fragments are given by Preuschen 3–9 and James 1–8. For the literary problems, cf. Harnack *C* i. 625–651 (esp. 647f), Krüger 50f, Bardenhewer 90f, Moffatt *INT* 260f and in *DAC* i. 489b–494a.

[2] Bigg *PJ* 312–322; Moffatt *INT* 347f, 355–358.

[3] Ap. Eus. *HE* III. xx. 1–8.

[4] Charles *AI* xlii.–xlv. *VI* consists of vi.–xi. 40 of *AI*, and *TH* of iii. 13b—iv. 18, of *AI*.

[5] Harnack *DA* 90–125.

[6] Moffatt *INT* 213.

even if we accept Luke's supposed dependence on Josephus. A date about 75–80 A.D. well satisfies the main conditions of the problem. There is little evidence for or against any particular place of composition: Hieronymus says the Gospel was written "in the parts of Achaia and Bœotia."[1]

*The Apocalypse of John*, though it may contain elements as early as the reign of Vespasianus or even Nero, seems to belong in the main to the later years of the reign of Domitianus—about 93 A.D.[2] The opening chapters define its provenance as the province of Asia. The Christian apocalyptic literature of the period also comprises a section of the third, and possibly also the fourth, book of the *Sibylline Oracles*.[3]

*The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (often known as *the Didache*) probably dates from about 85–90 A.D. The place of composition seems certainly to have been Syria. The author was probably a Jewish Christian, and has possibly embodied in his work a piece of previously existing oral or written Jewish catechesis called 'The Two Ways': but his work belongs to the broader development of the Christian Church, which embraced both Jewish and gentile elements: it is addressed "to the gentiles."[4]

*The Epistle of Barnabas* is connected with the 'Didache' by the fact that it contains a description of the Ways of Light and Darkness very similar to that of the Ways of Life and Death in the 'Didache.' Into the questions whether one of these two copied from the other, and if so, which, or whether they both copied from a common original, and if so, which of them did so the more closely, we do not need to enter. There are good reasons for supposing that the 'Epistle of Barnabas' was written by an Alexandrian Christian, during the reign of Vespasianus.[5]

*The (so-called first) Epistle of Clemens of Rome* was written from that city and addressed to the church at Corinth, either at the end of the reign of Domitianus or at the beginning of that of Nerva.[6]

[1] Plummer xxix.–xxxiii.; Knowling 33–36; Moffatt *INT* 211–217, 311–313.

[2] Moffatt *INT* 503–508; Harnack *C* i. 245f.

[3] *Sib. Orac.* iii. 63–92 are assigned by Lanchester (Charles *APOT* ii. 371) to the latter part of the first century. iii. 93–96 are not markedly Christian (*ib.* and 380). There is some doubt whether iv. (dated about 80 A.D.) emanates from Jewish or Christian hands (*ib.* 373). iii. seems to have been composed or compiled in Egypt (*ib.* 372).

[4] Lightfoot *AF* (1 vol.) 215f; Funk *PA* xiii.–xv. ("Christianus e Iudaeis, qualis auctor fuit, a Christiano e gentilibus (vulgari) paulum differebat"); Bardenhewer 20f. On *The Two Ways*, see above, p. 68 n 5.

[5] Funk *PA* xxv; Bardenhewer 23f; Krüger 20; Lightfoot *AF* (1 vol.) 241 (places it "between A.D. 70–79"); Ramsay *CRE* 308f; Bartlet, *The Apostolic Age*, 521.

[6] Harnack *C* i. 255; Funk *PA* xxxviif; Bardenhewer 27.

There are great difficulties in the way of assigning the so-called *Epistle of Jacob* to the brother of Jesus who presided over the church at Jerusalem about 41–62 A.D. It is probably an unsystematic collection of pieces of teaching uttered or written—perhaps in Egypt—by a leading Christian during the first decades of the second century. It is not a specifically Jewish-Christian writing.[1]

*The Fourth Gospel* and *the three Epistles of John* belong by fairly general consent to the latter part of our period and to Western Asia Minor.[2] To an even greater extent than the Synoptists, the author of the Fourth Gospel has stamped his own subjective mark upon his work: so much so that the Gospel can be quoted as an authority for the teaching of Jesus himself only with great caution.[3] Except to a very limited degree, we have not ventured to use it as such; but the very reasons which made this restraint necessary render the work all the more valuable as a source of information in regard to the views of the writer and his circle.

The seven genuine *Epistles of Ignatius*, the bishop of Antiochia in Syria, were written in Asia Minor, while the writer was on his way to his martyrdom at Rome. This event has been assigned to various dates between 106 and 116 A.D. Eusebius (in the *Chronicle*) and the Martyrium Colbertinum give the ninth year of Trajanus (Jan. 106 to Jan. 107 A.D.); but this date cannot be regarded as resting on any really reliable foundation, and most scholars are inclined to put the event somewhat later.[4]

*The Epistle of Polycarpus*, bishop of Smyrna, to the church at Philippi, was written shortly after Ignatius had passed through the latter city on his way to Rome.[5]

A few references and quotations in *Eusebius* complete the list of our original authorities for the period.

[1] See above, pp. 67f, and cf. Harnack *C* i. 485–491; Moffatt *INT* 463, 465, 471. Mayor's elaborate efforts to establish the traditional authorship and date (*J* intro. passim, esp. cliv.–clxviii.) do not, in face of the difficulties, carry conviction.

[2] Moffatt *INT* 482, 580f, 589f, 593f. [3] See above, p. 2.

[4] Lightfoot inclines to about 110 A.D. (*AF* II. i. 30; but on ii. 472 he says "between A.D. 100–118, without attempting to fix the year more precisely"): cf. Krüger 28–34; Harnack *C* i. 379, 406; Funk *PA* lvii f; Bardenhewer 30–35.

[5] Pol. ix. 1, xiii. 1f. x.–xii., the last sentence of xiii., and xiv., have not survived in the original Greek; and quotations accordingly will be made from the Latin version.

# CHAPTER I

## THE WORLD AND THE CHURCH

THE EVIL STATE OF THE WORLD.—Apart from one or two half-unconscious allusions to manifestations of goodness on the part of unconverted pagans,[1] the view of the pagan world taken by the Christians of this period was that it was entirely evil,[2] a world of darkness and ignorance.[3] The Johannine writings draw a sharp antithesis between the world and those that are of it, on the one hand, and Jesus, his Kingdom, and his disciples, who are not of it, on the other.[4] It is assumed that men generally need to repent and be saved.[5] Satan, in some form or another, is at the bottom of all the trouble.[6] In the Apocalypse, we find a very well-developed doctrine of the Satanic mastery of the world. "Woe to the earth and the sea; for the devil has descended upon you in great wrath, knowing that his time is short."[7] He sets up his throne in divers places:[8] he seduces the whole world.[9] The close way in which the author connects the power and influence of Satan with the world-wide sway of the Roman Empire[10] is one of the most striking features in the literature of the period. In the Johannine writings Satan appears as 'the ruler of this world' and as the foe and inferior of Jesus.[11] In the 'Epistle of Jacob' friendship with the world is described as enmity with God.[12]

[1] Ac xxviii. 2 (the barbarians in Melita show great kindness to Paul and his companions); 1 Cl. xxxiii. 4f (God making man in His own image), lv. 1f (quotation of several instances of noble self-sacrifice performed by gentiles); B ix. 5 (*ἰδού, λέγει Κύριος, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀπερίτμητα ἀκροβυστίᾳ, ὁ δὲ λαὸς οὗτος ἀπερίτμητος καρδίᾳ*); 1 T v. 8 (pagans normally generous to their parents). Under the same heading must be grouped the Christian recognition of good in the pagan government; see below, pp. 178f.

[2] Lc xi. 29; Ac ii. 40, iii. 26; B ii. 1 (*ἡμέρων οὖν οὐσῶν πονηρῶν*), iv. 9, xv. 5, xviii. 2 (*ὁ δὲ* [sc. *σατανᾶς ἐστιν*] *ἄρχων καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας*); 1 Cl. xxxix. 4; J iii. 19, vii. 7; 1 J v. 19 (*ὁ κόσμος ὅλος ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ κεῖται*); Ig. *R* iii. 3.

[3] Ac xiv. 11ff, xvii. 23ff, xxviii. 4–6; B iv. 1 (*τὴν πλάνην τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ*); 1 Cl. lix. 2; Pol. xi. 2.

[4] J iii. 6, 31, viii. 23, xv. 19, xvii. 14, 16, xviii. 36; 1 J iv. 5f, v. 19.

[5] Ac ii. 40; Ap xiv. 3f; B iv. 1; J iii. 17; Ig. *E* x. 1, *P* i. 2.

[6] B xii. 5, xviii. 2 (see n 2 on this page).

[7] Ap xii. 12.

[8] Ap ii. 13.

[9] Ap xii. 9, xx. 3: cf. B iv. 1.

[10] See below, pp. 167f.

[11] J xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11; 1 J iv. 4. Ignatius holds the devil responsible for the noisome teaching of the errorists (Ig. *E* xvii. 1).

[12] Jac iv. 4; cf. i. 13–15.

While, as before, the predominant ideas of the world's evil are those of ignorance and sin, yet the idea of suffering is very closely connected with these:[1] and mention is made, not only of the Lamb of God, who bears away the sin of the world,[2] but also of the tree of life in the Holy City, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations.[3]

Development of the Idea of the Kingdom of God.—The composition of three, out of the four, Gospels during this period ensured the retention, in the mind of the Church of that day, of much that was original and primitive in the conception of the Kingdom of God.[4] The continual drift of Christian thought towards an exclusively eschatological view of the Kingdom was checked in the writings of those who undertook to record the sayings of Jesus and his apostles; for in these sayings the thought that the Kingdom had already begun on earth was to be found in full vigour side by side with the more strictly eschatological view. The testimony of the Gospels of 'Matthew' and Luke on this point has already been given.[5] The latter, in fact, seems to have grasped so clearly the idea of the Kingdom as present and to have connected such special 'coming' as was foretold of it so closely with the fall of Jerusalem, that, though he still looked forward to the Parousia of Jesus, he almost ceased to regard the Kingdom as future in any special eschatological sense.[6] The Fourth Gospel substitutes eternal life for the Kingdom of God as the standing theme of Jesus' message; but he represents it as a present, as well as a future, possession: and on the few occasions on which he actually mentions the Kingdom, his language suggests a present rather than an exclusively future thing.[7] In the remaining literature of our period, while there are one or two passages which either suggest or permit the thought that the Kingdom is present,[8] the usual representation given of the Kingdom is that of the glorious consummation still lying in the future.[9] One factor that

[1] J v. 14. [2] J i. 29, 36. [3] Ap xxii. 2; cf. iii. 17f (blindness of Laodiceans).

[4] For the Kingdom as the main theme of the teaching of Jesus and his apostles, see Mt iv. 23, vi. 33, ix. 35, x. 7, xiii. 11, 19, 52, xxiv. 14, etc.; Lc iv. 43, viii. 1, 10, ix. 2, 11, 60, xii. 31, etc.; Ac i. 3, viii. 12, xiv. 22, xix. 8, xx. 25, xxviii. 23, 31; J iii. 3, 5. Cf. *GH* 11 (6).

[5] For passages in Mt and Lc implying a *present* Kingdom, see above, p. 12 n 1. Note in particular Lc xvii. 21.

[6] Such is the impression conveyed to us by a combination of passages like Lc ix. 27, xvii. 21, xix. 43f, xxi. 20, 31, xxiii. 42f.

[7] For eternal life as present, see J iii. 36, v. 24, vi. 47, 54, x. 28, xii. 50, xvii. 3. For the Kingdom, see J iii. 3, 5, xviii. 36. Cf. Robertson *RD* 90–96; Scott 247–251.

[8] B viii. 5f (for the connection of the Kingdom with sufferings, cf. also Ac xiv. 22; B vii. 11; J xviii. 36; Ap i. 9); Ig. *Ph.* iii. 3; Pol. ii. 3; Jac ii. 5.

[9] *D* viii. 2, ix. 4, x. 5; 1 Cl. l. 3; B iv. 13, vii. 11, xxi. 1; Ig. *E* xvi. 1; Pol. v. 3.

tended to limit the Kingdom more and more to the glories of the future was the natural inclination of early Christians to correlate it with the personal royalty of Jesus,[1] and thus, in a way, to transform it from its original meaning as a state of human life on earth regenerated and purified through the obedience of men to the Will of their heavenly Father, into the final triumph of their royal Master. The Kingdom of God often appears as the Kingdom or royalty of Christ;[2] and though no Christian would have thought of denying that the Saviour's royalty was a present reality, yet his inclination was rather to dwell on the full manifestation of that reality which could be made only at the Parousia. On the other hand, the Apocalypse, with its doctrines of the kingship of all believers and of the earthly reign of Christ for a thousand years, conserved, though with modifications, two important elements in Jesus' own teaching, viz. the present reality of the Kingdom, and its fulfilment *upon earth*.[3]

Characteristics of the Christian Gospel.—With the rapid extension of Christianity throughout the gentile world, its essential *universalism* came more and more to be taken for granted, and the old struggle to find a place for circumcision and the other Mosaic observances within the Christian system had by the time of the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. ceased to be a burning question. The terrific disaster of 70, however, had not quenched the flames of national pride and political hope in the Jewish breast.[4] The Jewish Christians of Palestine counted among their number men of all degrees of attachment to the Jewish system, from those who regarded a full acceptance of it as part and parcel of their Christianity, denied salvation to uncircumcised gentiles, and refused to associate with them,[5] to those who retained little more of their Judaism than the badge of circumcision and a special sympathy and reverence for the

[1] Lc i. 32f, xix. 38, xxiii. 2ff; Ac xvii. 7; *GH* 4 (5 top).

[2] Lc i. 33, xix. 11f, 15, xxii. 29f (cf. ||), xxiii. 42; 1 Cl. l. 3 (but cf. the variant reading); B iv. 13, vii. 11, viii. 5f; J xviii. 36: cf. C i. 13; 2 T iv. 1, 18.

[3] Βασιλεία in the Apocalypse thus represents not only the royal supremacy of God (xi. 15, xii. 10), but also the status of Christians, both now (i. 6, 9, v. 10) and also during a future period of a thousand years on earth, when Satan will be bound (xx. 4, 6: the ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς of v. 10b seems to refer to this. Cf. also *GH* 24 (9)). Here we have the first mention in Christian literature of the earthly millennial reign of Christ, which played so important a part in the history of Christian teaching. For the teaching of the Apocalypse on the Kingdom, see Robertson *RD* 105–115 and below, p. 158.

[4] Schürer i. 659f.

[5] Beveridge in *ERE* v. 141b; Fuller in *DCB* ii. 26a, 27a. Hippolytus (*Ref.* vii. 34 (22)) tells us that the Ebionites lived ἔθεσιν Ἰουδαϊκοῖς and held that Jesus had been justified by obedience to the Law, and that they were justified in the same way.

literature and history of their race. While we have no literary production of this period, emanating from the extreme Judaistic wing of Ebionism, many Christian documents of the time bear witness to the Judaistic leanings of the circles in which they were produced. This witness consists, for the most part, of the tacit assumption of some sort of Jewish primacy in the Kingdom of God, either by emphasizing the Jewish features of the situation or else by a marked omission of all reference to the gentile world. The Gospel of 'Matthew,' for instance, abounds in Jewish or particularistic features, and the juxtaposition of these alongside of catholic sayings constitutes, in some ways, "the main problem of the Gospel."[1] Similar leanings betray themselves in other Jewish Christian writings. Like the Gospel of 'Matthew,' the Gospel of the Hebrews adopts the Jewish use of the word 'brother' as an equivalent of 'fellow-Jew.'[2] The Ebionites, we are told, laid stress on the words of Jesus: "I was not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel."[3] But the obvious historical fact that the Jews as a nation had rejected Jesus and done him to death and bitterly persecuted his followers must have gone far to neutralize the judaïzing proclivities of the average Jewish Christian. No Gospel, Ebionite or other, could ignore the fact that the crucifixion was the result of Jewish enmity.[4] Even in writings bearing marked traces of Jewish origin and sympathy, indications of the wider universalistic outlook are not lacking. It is doubtful whether we ought to press the explicit rejection of sacrifices in the Gospel of 'Matthew';[5] but in any

[1] Moffatt *INT* 255: cf. Bartlet in *DB* iii. 303b. Some of the Jewish features seem to represent a real phase of Jesus' own mind and mission; see above, p. 7. (Cf. also, in regard to the limitation of Jesus' mission to Israel, Mt i. 21, ii. 6.) Besides these, we may mention that the predominant aspect under which the writer treats Jesus is that of the Messiah or king (i. 1, 16–18, ii. 2, 4, 6, xi. 2, xxi. 5, xxiii. 10, xxvii. 17, 22), that he often adverts to the descent of Jesus from David (i. 1–17, 20, ix. 27, xii. 23, xv. 22, xx. 30f, xxi. 9, 15), that he delights in pointing out fulfilments of Old Testament prophecy (i. 22f, ii. 5f, 17f, etc. etc.), and that he occasionally represents Jesus as speaking with deference even of scribes and Pharisees (xiii. 52, xxiii. 2f, 34). Cf. also Mt iv. 5, v. 17–19, xvii. 24–27, xxiii. 23 fin., xxvi. 17–19. Judaistic touches also occur in the Fourth Gospel (J i. 31, 47, 49, iv. 22).

[2] *GH* 11 (6): Jesus says to the rich young man, 'multi fratres tui, filii Abrahae, amicti sunt stercore,' etc. For Mt, see above, p. 26 nn 1 and 2.

[3] Mt xv. 24. Origenes (*Princ.* iv. i. 22), in interpreting these words of the spiritual Israel, i.e. the Christians, contrasts his explanation with the earthly interpretation of the Ebionites. For particularistic touches in *The Vision of Isaiah*, see *AI* ix. 22, xi. 18.

[4] Mt xxvii. 25: cf. *VI* ap. *AI* xi. 19.

[5] Mt ix. 13, xii. 7: ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν. Some contend that the cleansing of the Temple (Mt xxi. 12f; Lc xix. 45–48; J ii. 13–17) was intended "to abrogate entirely the Jewish sacrificial system" (Oesterley in *DCG* ii. 712f: cf. A. Caldecott in *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, July 1923, 382–386; but see also F. C. Burkitt's reply in *op. cit.*, July 1924, 386–390).

case the ascription of this rejection to Jesus is not without significance. Apart, however, from this point, the Gospel of 'Matthew' includes many traces of that broad universalism which we believe to have characterized the teaching of Jesus himself. To the passages already quoted as going back in all probability to him,[1] we have now to add others that indicate rather the outlook of the evangelist. He applies to Jesus the prophecy saying that the beloved Son would proclaim judgment to the gentiles, and that the gentiles would hope in his name ;[2] and he represents the Risen Jesus as saying to the apostles : "All authority in heaven and on the earth has been given to me. Go then, and make disciples of all the gentiles, baptizing them . . . (and) teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."[3] Similarly in the 'Testament of Hezekiah' : "And the Beloved . . . will come forth and send out his twelve disciples, and they will teach all the nations and every tongue of the resurrection of the Beloved."[4] The tradition that Matthew, the apostle who most of all represents the Jewish Christianity of Palestine, after preaching to the Hebrews, went to other peoples,[5] and the missionary zeal of the Essene or Gnostic (as distinct from the Pharisaic) Ebionites,[6] are further signs showing that even Jewish Christians with strong judaïzing sympathies shared in some measure the larger spirit of catholic Christianity. When we turn from the Jewish Christianity of Palestine to the catholic Christianity of other Mediterranean lands, the latent universalism of the Gospel appears in an everywhere perfectly explicit way. It is naturally prominent in the writings of Luke, the companion of the apostle of the gentiles and possibly the one whose entreaties moved him to cross over from Asia to the help of the Macedonians.[7] His Gospel abounds in illustrations of the wide sympathies of Jesus, embracing both Samaritans[8] and gentiles ;[9] and his account of the 'Acts of Apostles' describes how they evangelized both these classes of men, and how in particular the gentiles gained full admission to the Church without having to submit to the yoke of the Law. Prophecies were recalled announcing the extension of Divine or Messianic blessings to the gentiles,[10] but the original meaning of ἔθνη, viz. non-Jewish peoples, tended to give way to the wider meaning of 'nations' generally, i.e. all man-

[1] See above, pp. 8f. [2] Mt xii. 18–21. [3] Mt xxviii. 18–20.
[4] *TH* ap. *AI* iii. 17f. [5] Eus. *HE* III. xxiv. 6. [6] Fuller in *DCB* ii. 27a.
[7] Souter in *DCG* ii. 83b. [8] Lc x. 33ff, xvii. 16–19.
[9] Lc iv. 25–27, vii. 1–10, xi. 31f (cf. 1 Cl. vii. 7), xiii. 29.
[10] Lc ii. 32 ; Ac iii. 25, xiii. 47 ; *D* xiv. 3 ; 1 Cl. x. 3, xxxvi. 4 ; B xii. 11, xiii. 7, xiv. 7f : cf. Ig. *S* i. 2.

kind.[1] We frequently come across phrases stating explicitly in one way or another that the Gospel was intended for the whole human race.[2] That this universality of application was made a matter of practice, as well as of theoretical belief, will be evident when we come to consider the propagandist work of the Church during the present period.

Something may be said at this point on the conception of the Christian community as *the true Israel*, the real heirs of God's promises made of old to the Chosen People.[3] The idea was implied in the words addressed by Jesus to the Jews: "Wherefore I tell you that the Kingdom of God will be taken from you, and given to a nation that produces the fruits thereof."[4] The literature of our period abounds in allusions to this Christian claim. In the Apocalypse, its expression is facilitated by the incorporation of portions of Jewish writing adapted for Christian readers.[5] Clemens applies Scripture passages bearing on God's selection of Israel from among the nations to His election of the Christians.[6] The 'Epistle of Jacob' addresses the general Christian public as "the Twelve Tribes in the Dispersion," and speaks of "Abraham our father."[7] 'Barnabas' is very interested in this point of view, and works it out at great length. The Mosaic Law, he argues, was never meant to be taken literally, but was intended as a type foreshadowing Christianity. The Jews were deceived by an evil angel into understanding the Law literally, and thereby forfeited their covenant in favour of the Christians, who alone understand how to interpret Scripture aright as referring to themselves.[8] It is worth noticing that it is only in connection with the fortunes of Israel that Christian writers have any occasion to deal with *the sentiment of nationality*. Within the Roman Empire, national feeling in the proper sense can hardly be said to have existed vigorously anywhere else than among the Jews. And both Israel and Christendom were such unique and peculiar 'nations'[9] that what is said about them has little or no direct bearing upon nationality as a factor in human life

[1] Cf. *D* title; Ap x. 11, xxi. 24, 26, xxii. 2.

[2] Lc ii. 30f, iii. 6, xxiv. 47; Ac i. 8, xiii. 47, xvii. 26ff; Ap vii. 9, xiv. 6, xv. 3f; B xiv. 8; 1 Cl. v. 6f, vii. 4, xxxvi. 4, lix. 4 fin. The universalism of the Johannine writings comes out in their use of words like κόσμος (J i. 9f, 29, iii. 16–19, iv. 42, vi. 33, 51, viii. 12, ix. 5, xii. 46f; 1 J ii. 2), ἄνθρωποι (J i. 4, 9), πάντες (J i. 7, xii. 32: cf. xvii. 2), and πᾶς ὁ . . . (J iii. 15f, iv. 13, xi. 26, xii. 46; 1 J iii. 6, 9, v. 1, 18). Allusions to the gentile Christians seem to occur in J (vii. 35), x. 16, xi. 51f.

[3] See above, p. 78.

[4] Mt. xxi. 43.

[5] E.g. Ap vii. 4–8, xiv. 1, xxi. 2.

[6] 1 Cl. xxix., quoted below, p. 149 n 4.

[7] Jac i. 1, ii. 21: cf. 1 P i. 1 and Moffatt *INT* 464.

[8] B ii.–xvi.

[9] On Christians as a new race, see Harnack *ME* i. 240ff.

generally. Outside Israel and Christendom, the 'nations' were lumped together in a homogeneous mass whose inner distinctions and conflicts[1] had little or no significance for the Christian mind. Whatever marks of nationality, as commonly understood, Jews and Christians may have lacked, the strong antipathy they felt for one another resembled somewhat markedly that racial antagonism that has too often characterized the mutual feelings of neighbouring nations.[2]

There is no mistaking the enormous emphasis placed by the Christians of this period on *practical morality* as being of the very stuff and substance of Christianity. The brilliant constructions of Paul in the realms of religious and moral psychology and philosophy seem to lie almost outside the world of these teachers. The author of the Johannine Gospel and First Epistle takes an exceptional position owing to his mystical intensity and depth, but he has not got Paul's genius for theoretical speculation. The result is, generally speaking, that the writers of this time display a tendency to lay all the stress of the human side of Christianity on practical righteousness. But for this very reason the general tone and emphasis of their teaching bear a remarkable resemblance to those of the teaching of Jesus himself. A large number of passages testify to the tremendous seriousness with which the moral demands of the Christian Gospel were regarded. 'Righteousness,' for instance, appears as a leading attribute of God[3] and of Christ,[4] and is used, either singly or in brief enumerations, to sum up the substance of Christian interests.[5] Over and over again, it is eulogized, and inculcated upon Christian readers.[6] The performance of good works is repeatedly enjoined.[7] Judgment will be

[1] Mt xxiv. 7f‖. Cf. Ac xvii. 26 (*ἐποίησέν τε ἐξ ἑνὸς πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ παντὸς προσώπου τῆς γῆς, ὁρίσας προστεταγμένους καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ὁροθεσίας τῆς κατοικίας αὐτῶν, κτλ.*); 1 Cl. xxix. 2 (see below, p. 149 n 4).

[2] Ac passim; Ap ii. 9, iii. 9f. In the Fourth Gospel, 'the Jews' is a term virtually synonymous with 'enemies of Jesus,' e.g. J v. 10, 15f, 18, vii. 1, 13, etc. etc. Christians are on their guard against Jewish perversions of the faith, e.g. Cerinthus: cf. Ig. *Ph.* vi. 1. Papias (according to some) said *ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνηρέθησαν* (Papias ap. Funk *fr.* xi.; cf. *fr.* xii.). On the mutual antipathy of Jews and Christians, see Lecky i. 416f; Overbeck 101–106; Bigelmair 36; Dobschütz 293f; Harnack *ME* i. 65–70; Workman 113–122.

[3] Ac xvii. 31; Ap xv. 3, xvi. 5, 7, xix. 2; 1 Cl. xxvii. 1; B xiv. 7; J xvii. 25; 1 J i. 9; Pol. v. 2.

[4] Lc xxiii. 47; Ac iii. 14, vii. 52, xxii. 14; Ap xix. 11; B vi. 7; 1 J ii. 1, 29, iii. 7.

[5] Ac xxiv. 25; 1 Cl. v. 7; Pol. iii. 1.

[6] Lc i. 75; Ac x. 35, xiii. 10; *D* xi. 2; Ap xxii. 11; 1 Cl. iii. 4, xiii. 1, xxxiii. 8, xxxv. 2, xlii. 5, xlviii. 2, 4, lxii. 2; B i. 4, 6; J xvi. 8, 10; 1 J ii. 29, iii. 7, 10; Pol. ii. 3, iii. 3, iv. 1, viii. 1, ix. 1.

[7] Lc iii. 8; Ac xxvi. 20; 1 Cl. ii. 7, xxxiii. 1, 7, xxxiv. 4, xxxviii. 2; cf. xxi. 4, xxii. 4, xxxiv. 2; Pol. vi. 3; Jac i. 22–25, ii. 14–26, iv. 17.

rendered to each according to his works.[1] Other leading ethical conceptions are those of keeping the commandments of God or Jesus, and of imitating Jesus.[2]

The Church.—Nearly all Christian writers of the time display in some way a consciousness of the unity of all Christians throughout the world, and most of them use the word ἐκκλησία to designate this unity. The point was apt to be a little obscured by the fact that the same word had to be used to indicate a single local company of believers.[3] Of the four Gospels, that of 'Matthew' is the only one in which the word occurs, and which represents Jesus as having used it.[4] It there appears under the figure of a building to be erected by Jesus on a solid foundation, strong enough to withstand the assault of the powers of evil,[5] and as an assembled and organized body of disciples invested with disciplinary powers of expulsion over its own members.[6] Luke, in his 'Acts,' loved to trace the steady increase in the number of believers from the earliest times, when the church of Jerusalem virtually coincided with the Church universal: [7] he mentions the extension of it throughout Judæa, Samaria, Galilee, and Palestine generally: [8] he tells us that the elder Agrippa's persecution was aimed at "certain of those belonging to the church"; [9] and he records how Paul bade the elders of Ephesus "shepherd the Church of God which He has purchased

[1] Ap ii. 23, xxii. 12; 1 Cl. xxx. 3f, xxxiv. 3, xxxv. 4f; J v. 29: for the dependence of future rewards on righteousness, cf. *D* v.=B xx.; 1 Cl. xxii. 6; B iii. 4, iv. 12, v. 4, xi. 7; Pol. ii. 3: on ethical conditions generally, cf. 1 Cl. l. 3; B iv. 13, xx. 1; Ig. *E* xvi. 1; Pol. v. 3. The Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, not by works, is found in 1 Cl. xxxii. 3f, but is definitely countered in Jac ii. 14–26, iv. 17.

[2] J xiv. 15, 21, 23, xv. 10; 1 J ii. 3, iii. 22, v. 2f; 2 J 6; Ig. *E* ix. 2; Pol. ii. 2, iv. 1, v. 1, vi. 3. In the Johannine writings we see a tendency to regard the commandment and work of God as consisting of orthodox belief as to the person of Jesus (J vi. 29, xvii. 3; 1 J iii. 23, v. 13; 2 J 7); but the definite association of the Divine command with the duty of love (J xiii. 34, xv. 12, 17; 1 J iii. 23, v. 2; 2 J 5f) shows that the thought had a practical moral denotation also. For the imitation of Jesus, see J xiii. 15, xiv. 12; 1 J ii. 6, iii. 3; Pol. viii. 2, x. 1. The Ebionites affirmed their motto to be: "We also would be imitators of Christ" (*DCB* ii. 26a). The distinction between the perfect and the good-enough standards of morals, begun by Paul (see above, p. 79 n 9), appears rather more consciously in Mt (xix. 11, 21) and *D* (vi. 2: note the naïve qualification of the demand for complete obedience: "If thou canst bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect; but if thou canst not, do what thou canst"): see also below, p. 469 n 1.

[3] Numerous instances of such use occur in the literature of our period. Jac ii. 2, v. 14 evidently refer to the local company of believers. Further quotations are unnecessary.

[4] See above, pp. 15f, and cf. Moffatt *INT* 256f.

[5] Mt xvi. 18. [6] Mt xviii. 17: with 18–20 cf. xvi. 19.

[7] Ac i. 15, ii. 41, iv. 4, v. (11), 14, vi. 1, 7, viii. 1, 3.

[8] Ac ix. 31, xii. 24. Christians at Damascus (ix. 10ff), Joppa (ix. 42), Cæsarea (x.), Antiochia (xi. 19–24). [9] Ac xii. 1.

with His own blood." [1] Clemens does not apparently use the word ἐκκλησία of the whole body of believers; but he displays his consciousness of their unity by the use of other terms: "the whole brotherhood," [2] "the number of His elect," [3] the body of Christ. He regards the Christians as a nation, chosen by God from among all the other nations.[4] "Why," he asks, "do we rend and tear asunder the limbs of Christ, and revolt against (our) own body, and come to such a pitch of folly as to forget that we are members of one another." [5] The 'Testament of Hezekiah' speaks of "the descent of the angel of the Christian Church, which is in the heavens, whom He will summon in the last days." [6] 'Barnabas' mentions an Old Testament usage, which, he says, was intended to be 'a type of Jesus, which is set before the Church.' [7] It is, however, Ignatius who of all this group of writers seems to be most impressed with the thought of the oneness of the Christian Church, though he says little or nothing about its relations with the outside world. The apostles are "the presbytery of the Church," [8] the deacons are its servants.[9] He speaks of the "one body of his Church," [10] the "oneness of the Church," [11] and the closeness of its relations with Jesus Christ: [12] "wherever Christ Jesus is, there is the catholic Church." [13] But the unity of the Church—as these writers display consciousness of it—is a spiritual unity, certified by the belief in a common Master and the ministry of a common body of itinerant apostles and prophets. The actual communities stood side by side in full sympathy with, and yet in independence of, one another, without any unifying organization or central control. The euchar-

[1] Ac xx. 28. [2] 1 Cl. ii. 4.

[3] 1 Cl. ii. 4, lviii. 2, lix. 2. For the elect, cf. i. 1, vi. 1, (xxix. 1), xlvi. 4, 8, xlix. 5, l. 7, lviii. 2, lxiv. 1.

[4] 1 Cl. xxix. 1 (. . . πατέρα ἡμῶν, ὃς ἐκλογῆς μέρος ἡμᾶς ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ), 2 (οὕτω γὰρ γέγραπται· Ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ Ὕψιστος ἔθνη, . . . ἐστησεν ὅρια ἐθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ. ἐγενήθη μέρις Κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰάκωβ, σχοίνισμα κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ Ἰσραήλ [Deut xxxii. 8f]), 3 (καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ λέγει· Ἰδού, Κύριος λαμβάνει ἑαυτῷ ἔθνος ἐκ μέσου ἐθνῶν, ὥσπερ λαμβάνει ἄνθρωπος τὴν ἀπαρχὴν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἅλω· καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐκείνου ἅγια ἁγίων), lix. 3 ([sc. Θεὸν] τὸν πληθύνοντα ἔθνη ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐκ πάντων ἐκλεξάμενον τοὺς ἀγαπῶντάς σε διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ).

[5] 1 Cl. xlvi. 7. I am not clear whether τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἴδιον should be rendered 'his own body' or 'our own body.' Cf. xxxvii. 5, xxxviii. 1.

[6] *TH* ap. *AI* iii. 15. [7] B vii. 11. [8] Ig. *Ph.* v. 1.

[9] Ig. *T* ii. 3. [10] Ig. *S* i. 2. [11] Ig. *Ph.* iii. 2.

[12] Christ loves the Church (Ig. *P* v. 1), breathes incorruptibility on it (Ig. *E* xvii. 1), is closely joined with it as he is with the Father (Ig. *E* v. 1), is the door through which the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and the Church enter in (Ig. *Ph.* ix. 1).

[13] Ig. *S* viii. 2. Neumann (*SK* 57) says that, if the epithet 'catholic' is not an interpolation, Ignatius cannot be the author of the letter: per contra, Ramsay *CRE* 181 n. On Ignatius' teaching concerning the Church, cf. B.-Baker *CD* 357–359.

istic prayers prescribed in the 'Didache' voice the Christian longing for a completer realization of the unity of the Church: "Remember, Lord, Thy Church, to rescue her from every evil and to perfect her in Thy love: and gather her, the sanctified one, from the four winds into Thy Kingdom, which Thou hast prepared for her."[1]

PROPAGANDA.—While the paucity of our historical records leaves us very much in the dark as to how the missionary work of the Church was carried on,[2] yet the well-known fact that by 180 A.D. Christianity had pervaded practically the whole area of the Roman Empire and even some regions beyond its limits[3] is sufficient proof of the unflagging efforts put forth in the interval with the object of converting the heathen. Whatever be the truth as to the historicity of the evangelizing commission said to have been given by the Risen Jesus to the apostles and the extent to which the Twelve actually fulfilled it,[4] the very fact of its being recorded in the Gospels composed during this period[5] not only bears witness to the belief of the Church of this time in the commission itself and its fulfilment,[6] but also sheds some light on the principles, and even the practice, of those of the Twelve who still survived and of the men who, by reason of their functions as travelling missionaries,

[1] *D* x. 5: more briefly in ix. 4. Neumann says: "Aller Orten, wo das Christenthum Wurzel schlägt, erwachsen solche Gemeinden, solche Kirchen; sie stehen selbständig neben einander, einig nur in dem Bewusstsein desselben Glaubens und insofern eine Kirche, eben die Gemeinde Gottes. Die geistige Verbindung der Gemeinden vermitteln in erster Linie die Apostel; sie sind nicht Abgesandte von Einzelgemeinden, sondern die Missionare der Kirche. . . . Über das Bewusstsein geistiger Gemeinschaft hinaus hat sich die Kirche noch nicht zu festerer Einheit verbunden; noch ist sie zersplittert und wartet der Sammlung." (He then quotes the prayers in *D*.) "Die geistige Gemeinschaft der Kirche wird aber eben durch die Wirksamkeit der Apostel, Propheten und Lehrer gesichert; sie stehen nicht im Bezirke der Einzelgemeinde, sondern sind Diener der ganzen Kirche" (*SK* 44f). Cf. also the excellent remarks of J. Réville, quoted by Bartlet in *DB* v. 448b. The reference to the church or churches in *D* xi. 11 is too obscure to furnish any contribution to the question in hand (cf. Funk *PA* 28ff). On early Church organization, cf. Hatch *ECC* 26–36; Troeltsch 83ff; Headlam, *Doctrine of the Church*, 92ff.

[2] Maclear in *DCA* ii. 1207b. Harnack (*ME* ii. 1–22) collects and arranges in chronological order all the important passages in Christian literature down to the time of Constantinus, bearing upon the spread of Christianity, and appends (22–32) a brief elucidation.

[3] See Harnack's two lists (*ME* ii. 91–96) of places where Christianity can be traced before the end of the first century, and before 180 A.D. respectively.

[4] Harnack *ME* i. 350.

[5] Mt xxviii. 19f; Lc xxiv. 46–48; Ac i. 8; J xvii. 18, 20, xx. 21.

[6] For the interest of the Church in the earlier apostolic mission, see Ac passim: cf. 1 Cl. v. 7 (*δικαιοσύνην διδάξας* [sc. *ὁ Παῦλος*] *ὅλον τὸν κόσμον*), xlii. 4 (*κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες* [sc. *οἱ ἀπόστολοι*]). For the missionary interest generally, see Mt iv. 19, v. 16, ix. 36—x. 1; Lc v. 10, viii. 39, ix. 1ff, x. 1ff.

came to share with them the august title of Apostles.[1] "It is from this period that we learn properly and accurately about the extent of missionary endeavour. Everywhere there are apostles whose task it is to speak to non-Christians. If these come to a place where an organised Church already exists, they may only make a short stay there. Their calling drives them further. For here in the place the Church itself does mission work; its assemblies stand open to all. (Only to the Lord's Supper are non-baptized denied admission, Did. ix. 5.) All who come are bid kindly welcome."[2] Of the missionary duty of the ordinary bishop, Ignatius speaks in his letter to Polycarpus: "I exhort thee by the grace wherewith thou art endued, to . . . exhort all men that they may be saved. . . . Bear with all men, as the Lord doth with thee; patiently endure all men in love, as indeed thou dost . . . bear the illnesses of all men, as a perfect athlete. Where the labour is great, there is much gain."[3] Of a similar responsibility resting on the ordinary Christian, 'Barnabas' speaks: "Remember the day of judgment night and day . . . proceeding to exhortation and taking thought how to save a soul by (thy) word": [4] and still more clearly Ignatius: "On behalf of the rest of men, pray without ceasing. For there is in them a hope of repentance, that they may attain to God. Permit them then to be made disciples even through your works."[5] Either then as a travelling missionary or as a leading church-official or as an ordinary lay-Christian, either by word of mouth, or by intercessory prayer, or by the witness of a good example, every Christian had to take his part in the propagandist work of the Church.[6] It does not fall within our province to delineate the content of the missionary message.[7]

[1] On the traditional missionary travels of the Twelve, cf. Maclear in *DCA* ii. 1207b; Farrar *EDC* (v.) 46–48: and, on the whole subject of early Christian apostles and missionaries, Harnack *ME* i. 319–368.

[2] Dobschütz 290f. Cf. Cheetham in *DCA* i. 763a (4); Neumann *SK* 45 ("Wie die Apostel sich in erster Linie an die Leute zu wenden haben, die noch ausserhalb des Christenthums stehen, u.s.w. . . . während den Apostel sein Beruf immer auf's Neue aus den Gemeinden zu den noch nicht bekehrten hinführt," u.s.w.). We gather from 3 J 7 (cf. Brooke *J* 186) that the missionaries were accustomed to accept nothing from the unconverted gentiles to whom they preached.

[3] Ig. *P* i. 2f. [4] B xix. 10.

[5] Ig. *E* x. 1: *ἐπιτρέψατε οὖν αὐτοῖς κἂν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ὑμῖν μαθητευθῆναι.* I take it *ὑμῖν* is an 'ethic dative'; but it is difficult to render its exact force in English.

[6] Harnack *ME* i. 366–368 ("It was characteristic of this religion that everyone who seriously confessed the faith proved of service to its propaganda," etc. etc.), 385 ("The mission was reinforced and actively advanced by the behaviour of Christian men and women").

[7] Harnack *ME* i. 87ff.

Its delivery was known usually among Christians as 'bearing witness,'[1] and it had to be characterized by outspoken frankness and publicity.[2]

## CHAPTER II

### ESCHATOLOGY

Dissatisfaction with the Prevalent View.—The expectation of the early return of Jesus to earth and the consequent break-up of the existing order of things continued as before to govern the thoughts of Christian people in general as to the world in which they lived and their hopes and beliefs concerning it. At the same time, the fact remained that many years had now passed leaving these expectations unfulfilled; and this continual postponement of the realization of what had been so firmly believed to be imminent was bound to have its effect on Christian minds. The first and most natural effect was one of simple *discontent and impatience.* Of this we find traces at Corinth towards the end of the first century. Clemens of Rome wrote to the Christians of that city: "May this Scripture be far from you, where it says, 'Wretched are the double-minded, who doubt in their mind, who say: "These things we heard in the time of our fathers; and behold, we have grown old, and not one of them has happened to us." O foolish ones, compare yourselves to a tree: take a vine; first indeed it sheds its leaves, then comes a shoot, then a leaf, then a flower, and after that a sour grape, then a ripe grape.' Ye see that in a short season the fruit of the tree attains to ripeness. Of a truth, soon and suddenly will His Will be accomplished, scripture also adding its testimony that 'He will soon come and will not tarry, and suddenly will the Lord, the Holy One whom ye await, come to His Temple.' . . .

[1] Ac passim; Ap i. 9, ii. 13, vi. 9, xii. 11, etc.; J xv. 27; 1 J i. 2; 1 Cl. v. 4, 7. But some of these passages refer to the technical confession of the 'martyr' in time of persecution.

[2] Ac saepe; J xviii. 20: cf. 1 Cl. xxxv. 2, xlii. 3; Ap xxii. 10 (*μὴ σφραγίσῃς τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου· ὁ καιρὸς γὰρ ἐγγύς ἐστιν*). On the methods of the mission, cf. Harnack *ME* i. 381–398. As for the method of politic concealment of which we found traces in the teaching of Jesus (see above, pp. 17f), Gwatkin says: "There is no trace of this 'reserve' or *disciplina arcani* in the writers of the New Testament, who never shun to declare unto us the whole counsel of God. We do not find it either in the sub-apostolic Fathers" (*ECH* i. 272): cf., however, the passages quoted from Mt and Lc on pp. 17f and J vii. 2–10.

Let us look, beloved, at the resurrection which happens in due season." [1] But another force, besides mere impatience, was at work upon currently accepted beliefs, and that was *the tendency*—natural to the Hellenic, as distinct from the Jewish, mind—*to rationalize and spiritualize* the cruder features of primitive Christian eschatology. We have already seen traces in the Pauline period of the operation of both of these factors, either singly or in combination. At Corinth there were some who denied the resurrection —at all events in its usually accepted sense : at Ephesus (apparently) some said that the resurrection had already occurred.[2] How severe a view was taken by Church-leaders of these aberrations from orthodoxy appears in a passage in the letter of Polycarpus to the Philippians : "Whoever craftily perverts the words of the Lord, to (suit) his own lusts, and says that there is neither resurrection nor judgment, this (man) is the firstborn of Satan." [3] We cannot be sure that what Polycarpus is here rebuking is a Hellenistic tendency to rationalism : but we know that in at least one highly respected quarter such rationalism, if we may so term it, was adopted as an integral part of Christian theology. *The eschatology of the Johannine writings* is of such a highly spiritualized form as to leave no logical standing-ground for that approaching cataclysm which was so essential a feature in the ordinary Christian view. The Parousia of Jesus is identified with his resurrection and entry into mystical union with the disciples ; [4] the judgment is not a future event at all, but a present and constant, almost automatic, process of separation of the good from the evil ; [5] resurrection is virtually an equivalent for belief in Jesus ; [6] and eternal life is a spiritual condition already within the reach of every believer.[7] This bold attempt to escape from the crudities of an eschatological belief, the forms of which were mainly drawn from the Jewish apocalypses, and to arrive at something more in conformity with inner Christian experience and with sober philo-

[1] 1 Cl. xxiii. 3–5, xxiv. 2. The source of the prophecy quoted is unknown. Cf. Scott 300f : "The closing verse of Revelation bears pathetic witness to the sickness of hope deferred which was stealing into the hearts of many." Ap xxii. 20 reads : Λέγει ὁ μαρτυρῶν ταῦτα Ναί, ἔρχομαι ταχύ. Ἀμήν, ἔρχου, Κύριε Ἰησοῦ. Cf. Ap xxii. 17 ; *D* x. 6 (ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος) ; Jac v.7f.

[2] 1 C xv. 12 ; 2 T ii. 18. See above, p. 86 n 5.

[3] Pol. vii. 1.

[4] Scott 298–319.

[5] J iii. 18–21, v. 24, ix. 39, xii. 31, xvi. 11. Cf. B x. 5 : ἀσεβεῖς . . . κεκριμένοι ἤδη τῷ θανάτῳ. Cf. Martineau, *The Seat of Authority in Religion*, 497f.

[6] J v. 21, xi. 25f.

[7] J iii. 36, v. 24, 40, vi. 47, x. 28, xvii. 3 ; 1 J iii. 14f, v. 11f, 20 ; Scott 247–251. Cf. the similar contention of George Fox (*Journal*, ed. Penney, 133) over against the crude Chiliasm of the Baptists and Fifth-Monarchy men.

sophical reflection (possibly also with the mind of Jesus himself) is highly interesting and significant ; but it seems to have made remarkably little impression on the course of early Christian thought. The author in fact seems almost frightened at his own boldness, and, while setting forth his own fresher view, not only abstains from explicitly contradicting the more orthodox beliefs, but even admits them at times to his pages, to the detriment of his own consistency.[1]

General View as to the Imminence of the End.—Despite all delays and disappointments, the general Christian view still was—as a multitude of passages testifies—that the final catastrophe was about to take place very shortly. The period in which the writers themselves live is repeatedly referred to by some such phrase as ' the last time,' ' the last days,' and so on.[2] The world is said to be passing away : [3] the devil knows he has got only a short season : [4] the Lord is said to be coming ' speedily ' : [5] the critical time is ' drawing near.' [6] Ignorance as to the exact time was admitted : [7] hence the call to watch and be ready.[8] Jesus had spoken of certain *signs of the times*, which were already foreshadowing the approaching cataclysm, and would do so still more clearly in the future ; [9] and it became an important problem with Christian thinkers and teachers to determine how such signs were to be recognized.[10] The attempt led to the formation of numerous detailed Messianic programmes. We have already examined one of the earliest of these in the Pauline prophecy of the Man of Lawlessness.[11] More or less regular constituents of such programmes

[1] J v. 25, 28f, vi. 39f, 44, 54, xi. 24, xii. 48, xxi. 22 ; 1 J ii. 18, 28, iii. 2, iv. 17. There is a phrase in Ignatius' letter to Polycarpus (iii. 2) that looks something like a blending of the Johannine and orthodox views : *τοὺς καιροὺς καταμάνθανε· τὸν ὑπὲρ καιρὸν προσδόκα, τὸν ἄχρονον, κτλ.*

[2] *D* xvi. 2f ; *VI* ap. *AI* xi. 38 ; Jd 18 ; B iv. 9 ; 1 J ii. 18 ; Ig. *E* xi. 1 : cf. Ac ii. 17, also *TH* ap. *AI* iii. 30, iv. 1 (*αὗται εἰσιν αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς πληρώσεως τοῦ κόσμου*).

[3] 1 J ii. 17.

[4] Ap xii. 12.

[5] Ap i. 1, 19, iii. 11, iv. 1, xxii. 6, 7, 12, 20 ; B iv. 3 (*ὁ δεσπότης συντέτμηκεν τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας, ἵνα ταχύνῃ ὁ ἠγαπημένος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν ἥξῃ*) ; 1 Cl. xxiii. 5 ; Jac v. 7–9 : cf. Lc xviii. 8, xxi. 32 ; Mt xxiv. 34.

[6] Ap i. 3, xxii. 10 ; B iv. 3, xxi. 3 (*ἐγγὺς ἡ ἡμέρα*) ; *TH* ap. *AI* iii. 21f (*ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτόν* (bis), evidently referring to the writer's own time) ; Jac v. 8 : cf. B iv. 1 (*περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων*).

[7] Mt xxiv. 36 ; Lc xii. 36–40, xvii. 24–37 ; Ac i. 7 ; *D* xvi. 1 ; Ap iii. 3, xvi. 15—though the full chiliastic scheme placed the Parousia exactly 6000 years from the Creation (see below, pp. 157–159, and B xv. 4f).

[8] Mt xxiv. 42ff, xxv. 13 ; Lc xii. 37ff, xxi. 34ff ; *D* xvi. 1 ; Ap iii. 3, xvi. 15.

[9] Mt xxiv. 3ff, 32f ; Lc xii. 54—xiii. 9, xxi. 7ff, 28–31.

[10] ' Barnabas ' lays special stress on the need for historical insight into the past, present, and future ; e.g. i. 7, iv. 1, 6, v. 3, xvii. 2 : cf. 1 Cl. xxxi. 1, xlv. 2.

[11] See above, pp. 88f.

are the corruption of the Church by the activity of false prophets and teachers and other manifestations of unchristian spirit,[1] the appearance of the dreaded Antichrist under some title or other,[2] and then the occurrence of severe persecution before the actual advent of Christ.[3] Of all the attempts, however, to delineate in detail the events of the forthcoming crisis, the most remarkable is that preserved in the Apocalypse. It is not necessary in this place to examine in detail its extraordinary visions and prophecies. Despite the frequent use of numerical schemata,[4] its arrangement of events is confusing in the extreme. One can discover as many as four or five distinct programmes, each culminating in the final triumph of Christ's cause ;[5] but it is not possible to weave out of them any single series of incidents. In fact, it is more than doubtful whether any such single series ever existed in the writer's mind. He leaves his readers with a blurred expectation of signs and portents, wars and massacres, plagues and famines, political upheavals, angelic and satanic activities, persecutions and deeds of vengeance. Reference has already been made[6] to his prophecy of Nero Redivivus (a phase of the Antichrist-myth), and reference will be made later to his picture of the millennial reign of Christ on earth[7] and to the aspersions he casts on the Roman Empire and his prophecies of its fall.[8]

*The few outstanding events of the End* itself,[9] as distinct from the incidents that were to usher it in, were generally agreed upon,

[1] *D* xvi. 3f ; B iv. 3 ; *TH* ap. *AI* iii. 21–31, iv. 9 ; 1 J ii. 18–23, iv. 3 ; 2 J 7 ; Pol. vii. 1 : cf. 2 T iii. 1ff. Thus did the orthodox Christian teachers employ prophecy to chastise the heresy and worldliness of their contemporaries.

[2] *D* xvi. 4 (*καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλανὴς ὡς υἱὸς Θεοῦ καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει ἀθέμιτα, ἃ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰῶνος*) ; B xv. 5 (*ὅταν ἐλθῶν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καταργήσει τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἀνόμου, κτλ.*) ; *TH* ap. *AI* iv. 1–18 (the Beliar-myth, on which see Charles *AI* li.–lxxiii. and cf. *Sib. Orac.* iii. 71–76). For the allied myth of Nero Redivivus, see Ap xvii. 8–15, *Sib. Orac.* iv. 119–124, 137–139, v. 33f, 361ff : cf. Charles *AI* lvii.–lxi. It is quite in keeping with the Johannine attitude on eschatology generally that the Antichrist should be treated, not as a future historical figure, but as the embodiment of erroneous doctrine : cf. Neumann *H* 1f ; 1 J ii. 18, 22, iv. 3 ; 2 J 7.

[3] *D* xvi. 5–7 ; *TH* ap. *AI* iv. 3, 14 ; Mt xxiv. 8–13, 29ff.

[4] Set forth in Moffatt *INT* 485f.

[5] Cf. Robertson *RD* 110 (" Clearly, the End is reached repeatedly. Again and again all seems to begin *de novo*, and with each new beginning much is repeated "), and Vict. *Comm. Apoc.* viii. 2 (86) (nec aspiciendus est ordo dictorum, quoniam septiformis spiritus sanctus, ubi ad nouissimum temporis finemque percucurrit, redit rursus ad eadem tempora et supplet quae minus dixit).

[6] See n 2 above. [7] See below, p. 158. [8] See below, pp. 167f, 175f.

[9] Designated as *ἡ συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος* (Mt xiii. 39f, 49, xxiv. 3, xxviii. 20 ; Heges. ap. Eus. *HE* iii. xx. 4) : cf. *VI* ap *AI* xi. 37 (consummatio saeculi huius).

though the agreement tended to lessen according as more detail was striven after. The chief items were the visible coming of Christ on the clouds of heaven,[1] the resurrection of the dead[2] (though opinions differed as to whether this would be a resurrection of all or only of the good), and a judgment of all according to their deserts.[3] We do not need to specify in detail all the various forms under which the rewards and punishments were conceived of. The great leading ideas of life, salvation, and happiness on the one hand, and of death, destruction, and wrath on the other, are still very prominent; and all of them occur with varying frequency in practically all our authors: but there is a tendency to apply these conceptions more and more to the Christian life as such and its opposite, rather than confine them to that period of each which lay beyond the Parousia of Jesus. Salvation and life, and the joy and happiness that accompany them, are present, as well as future, things.

We have practically no direct evidence to tell us to what extent and in what forms *the offer of heavenly rewards and the threat of fiery punishment* entered into the normal appeal made by a Christian preacher *to a pagan audience.*[4] But from the large part it played in Christian thought and belief,[5] and from the generally held view that salvation could be had only by accepting Christianity[6]—a view

[1] Mt xxiv. 29ff, xxvi. 64; Lc xvii. 30, xxi. 27, xxii. 69; Ac i. 11; *D* x. 6, xvi. 6–8; Jd 14; Ap i. 7, ii. 25, iii. 3, 11, xvi. 15, xxii. 7, 12, 17, 20; 1 Cl. xxiii. 3–5; B iv. 3, xv. 5, xxi. 3; J xxi. 22; 1 J ii. 28, iii. 2; Ig. *P* iii. 2; Pol. ii. 1.

[2] Lc xiv. 14, xx. 35f; Ac iv. 2, xvii. 18, xxiii. 6, xxiv. 15, 21; Mt xii. 41f||, xxii. 30f; *D* xvi. 6f; Ap xx. 5f; 1 Cl. xxiv.–xxvi., l. 4; B v. 6f, xi. 7, xxi. 1; J v. 25, 28f, vi. 39f, 44, 54, xi. 24; Ig. *T* int., ix. 2, *R* ii. 2, iv. 3; Pol. ii. 2, v. 2. As for the good who had died in previous generations, Clemens says: "All the generations from Adam up to this day have passed away; but those who were made perfect in love according to the grace of God obtain the position of the pious, who will be revealed in the visitation of the Kingdom of Christ" (1 Cl. l. 3: for the idea of the deceased good waiting in happiness for the end, cf. Ap vi. 9–11).

[3] Mt xxv. 31ff; Ac xvii. 31, xxiv. 25; B i. 6, iv. 12, xix. 10, xxi. 1, 3, 6; Jd 6, 14f; Heges. ap. Eus. *HE* III. xx. 4; Jac v. 9; etc. etc.

[4] Luke tells us that Paul spoke of judgment to the Athenians (Ac xvii. 31) and to Felix (Ac xxiv. 25); and Hegesippus tells us that the grandchildren of Judas referred to it in giving an account of their religion to Domitianus (Eus. *HE* III. xx. 4). Cf. also the striking threats addressed by 'Jacob' to the iniquitous wealthy (Jac v. 1–6).

[5] It constituted for the Christian one of the prime motives to practical righteousness: e.g. B iv. 9f, xix. 10; 1 Cl. xxxv. 4f, etc.

[6] This view is one of those that are implied as a presupposition, rather than explicitly stated, in Christian writings of the time. It was taken for granted. Hence it is difficult to quote chapter and verse for it. See, however, Ig. *M* v., x. 1, *S* vi. 1. Clemens, however, recognizes that opportunities of repentance were granted to men—even to gentiles—before Christ came (vii. 5), and he speaks of those who "made the generations before us better" (xix. 1).

which of course rendered eschatological truth a matter of the first importance to non-Christians—we should infer that it must have entered very largely into any ordinary statement of the case coming from Christian lips.[1]

Chiliastic and Other Hopes of a Renewed Human Society on Earth.—While on the question as to whether Jesus would return, whether the dead would rise, whether there would be a judgment with due assignment of rewards and penalties, the Church spoke with virtually one voice, yet there was no unanimity or certainty as to a large number of closely connected topics. One point upon which early Christian belief seems to have been indeterminate and vague was the question whether, after the great cataclysm, the new conditions of human society would be realized on earth or elsewhere. The Chiliasts, of whom we shall speak presently, definitely foretold an earthly reign of Christ; but there were others, in whom little trace of Chiliasm is to be found, who appear to have looked forward—more or less vaguely—to a regeneration of human society on earth. Thus Luke quotes Peter as speaking of "the times of the restoration of all things" and as adding that, until these times come, Christ must remain in heaven, thus implying apparently that earthly life was to be restored.[2] The 'Didache' foretells, in the words of the familiar beatitude, that "the gentle will inherit the earth."[3] Clemens is still more explicit: "The good," he says, "will be inhabitants of the earth, and the innocent will be left upon it: but the transgressors will be destroyed from off it."[4] As regards the Fourth Gospel, the conspicuous absence from the writer's real system of any single catastrophic Parousia or judgment, would seem to commit him to the hope of a rejuvenated human society on earth. But the idea is not explicitly put forward, and such universalism as appears in his work[5] is so seriously qualified by a strain of pessimism,[6] that any affirmation as to his actual view of the nature of Christ's triumph would be hazardous in the extreme.

*Chiliastic views proper* appear in the teaching of three approximately contemporary Christians. 'Barnabas,' à propos of the command to hallow the Sabbath Day, and the statement that God

[1] B xix. 10 (*εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ψυχὴν τῷ λόγῳ* probably refers to propagandist work); Jac v. 20 (*ὁ ἐπιστρέψας ἁμαρτωλὸν ἐκ πλάνης ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ σώσει ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκ θανάτου*—with reference to the reclamation of Christian backsliders).

[2] Ac iii. 21: cf. Lc i. 52.

[3] *D* iii. 7: Mt v. 5.

[4] 1 Cl. xiv. 4.

[5] J xii. 32, xvi. 33 fin., xvii. 2.

[6] J i. (5), 10f, iii. 32, vii. 7, xvii. 25.

employed six days in creation and rested on the seventh day and hallowed it, quotes the phrase in the Psalms, "A day of the Lord is as a thousand years," and proceeds to infer that "in six thousand years the Lord will bring everything to an end": when Christ has come and crushed the Lawless One and judged the impious, then will God rest: it is not possible to hallow the Sabbath now, for we are not pure enough; but when the Lord has made all things new and we are justified and iniquity is no more, then we shall be able to hallow it. There will thus be a period of a thousand years of sanctified rest. The beginning of the eighth day will be the beginning of a new world.[1] 'Barnabas' does not say more here as to the nature of the millennial rest; but elsewhere he looks forward to the suppression of Christ's enemies under his feet, and to the submission of the gentiles before him,[2] and, on the ground of the promise of dominion given to man in the Genesis Creation-story, tells his readers that "we, being made alive, shall live, lording it over the earth."[3]

The author of the Apocalypse tells how an angel will bind Satan for a thousand years, during which time those who have been faithful as Christians will sit on thrones and give judgment and will reign with Christ upon the earth. When the thousand years are over, Satan will be let out for a time, and there will then be further developments.[4]

The third teacher of chiliastic doctrines was Cerinthus, a Christian of this period who is classed as a Gnostic and who incurred much censure from orthodox writers. He seems to have lived and taught in the province of Asia. His doctrine was that after the resurrection there would be an earthly kingdom of Christ lasting for a thousand years, and having its centre at Jerusalem. The joys of this kingdom included the pleasures of the table and of matrimonial intercourse. Whether—as orthodox authors give us to understand—Cerinthus taught that the joys of the kingdom were exclusively sensual, we cannot say for certain; but if, as they suggest, his interests were limited to the flesh, it seems strange that he should have troubled himself about a kingdom of Christ at all: and had not the Lord himself compared the Kingdom to a

[1] B xv.; Ps xc. 4. On the Jewish antecedents of this numerical scheme, cf. Charles, *Crit. Hist. of the Doctr. of a Future Life* (1913), 315, etc.; E. N. Adler in *ERE* i. 204; G. W. Wade, *New Test. Hist.*, 61f.

[2] B xii. 10f.

[3] B vi. 17–19. On the idea of dominion as part of the future reward, cf. Lc i. 52, xii. 43f, xiv. 11, xix. 17, 19, 24–26, xxii. 28–30; Mt v. 5, xix. 28; 1 Cl. xxxi. 4: see also the next note.

[4] Ap xx. 1–10. The fact that the saints' reign will be on earth does not appear in this passage, but independently in v. 10. Other references in the Apocalypse to the faithful Christian being invested with judgment and other ruling functions are ii. 26f and iii. 9: cf. Pol. v. 2 (*συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτῷ*); 2 T ii. 12.

marriage-feast, and spoken of drinking wine with his disciples in it ? [1]

Chiliastic views, though eventually rejected, were widely held in the Church for a considerable period, being taught by some of the most highly respected authors. Originally derived from the realm of Jewish apocalyptic,[2] they were open to some objection on the score of a tendency to materialism ; but they are of interest and value as representing, in however imperfect a form, the Christian hope of the amelioration and sanctification of human life on this earth.[3]

## CHAPTER III

## ETHICAL PRINCIPLES AND THEIR GENERAL APPLICATION

The Principle of Love.—As we have already noticed in studying the previous period, the circumstances in which the Christians were placed rendered it inevitable that Christian love should come to be thought of and spoken about mainly as love for one's fellow-members in the Christian community. This is perhaps to be accounted for partially by a certain measure of failure on the Church's part to grasp and apply the great precept of her Master : but it is not to be wholly attributed to that cause. However faithfully Christians had tried to carry out the teaching of Jesus, a certain special emphasis on the loving and intimate relations that existed among themselves was only natural. Over against this appearance of one-sidedness, we have to place three facts. Firstly, the numerous allusions in general terms to love as a Christian duty, without any suggestion of its confinement to the Christian circle.[4] While the significance of these passages is not to be over-

[1] For Cerinthus see Gaius ap. Eus. *HE* III. xxviii. 2 ; Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* III. xxviii. 4f and VII. xxv. 2f ; Iren. I. xxvi. 1 (i. 211f), III. iii. 4 (ii. 13) (= Eus. *HE* III. xxviii. 6 and IV. xiv. 6) ; Fuller in *DCB* i. 447–449 ; Peake in *ERE* iii. 318–320.

[2] On the Jewish origin of Chiliasm, see Milman *HC* i. 76f n, and J. A. MacCulloch in *ERE* v. 379f, 388a.

[3] On Chiliasm generally, see Martineau, *The Seat of Authority in Religion*, 552–569 ; Harnack *HD* i. 167–169 n ; Neumann *SK* 56 ; B.-Baker *CD* 68–71 ; Scullard 155 n.

[4] *D* xvi. 3 ; Ap ii. 4, 19 ; 1 Cl. xxi. 8, xxxiii. 1, xlix., l. 1–3, 5, li. 2, liv. 1, lxii. 2 ; B i. 6 ; 1 J iv. 16–19 ; Ig. *E* xiv. 1, *S* vi. 2, vii. 1.

rated, they do indicate that the Christians recognized the duty of love to be a central and dominant feature in their ethical life, and that, whatever limitation circumstances or frailty might put upon the exercise of it, there was no conscious or deliberate intention to exclude any portion of humanity from its scope.[1] Secondly, there is that smaller group of passages, in which the duty of love is explicitly universalized, the Christian being bidden to do to others what he wishes them to do to him,[2] to love his neighbour[3] as himself,[4] to love his enemies,[5] and to hate no one.[6]

Thirdly, there is the outstanding fact of Christian propaganda. The application of his energies to the salvation of others at the cost of fatigue and danger to himself speaks more eloquently than any quotations can do of the Christian missionary's love for his pagan fellow-men. Nor must we forget that, while the missionaries formed a special class in the Church, the average Christian, who was not called to this particular function, nevertheless clearly recognized it to be his duty to do all that lay in his power to win over outsiders to the faith. Nor are we without indications that this ministry was closely connected in Christian thought with the duty of love for others. "Every word," says 'Barnabas,' "which goes forth from you through your mouth in faith and love, shall be for the conversion and hope of many."[7]

[1] Per contra, Holtzm. *Th.* ii. 435f; Weinel *Th.* 631f. In commenting on 1 J ii. 9 (one of a number of Johannine passages enjoining love for one's brethren or fellow-Christians: cf. 1 J iii. 10, 14, 18, iv. 7f; 2 J 5f), Brooke remarks (*J* 38f): "The full meaning of these verses can be realized only in the light of the revelation of the brotherhood of all men in Christ . . . we are hardly justified in saying that this universalism is beyond the writer's vision. . . . But the idea of the brotherhood was actually realized among Christians. . . . It is of this brotherhood that he is primarily thinking. . . . And the usage of the word ἀδελφοί in the New Testament favours this view." Again, on 1 J iii. 10 (*J* 90f): "The writer is obviously thinking of members of the Christian Society, not thereby excluding the wider duty on which the Sermon on the Mount and the Parables insist." Gould (*Biblical Theol. of the New Test.*, 207) argues that love in 1 J is strictly limited to God and one's fellow-Christians: he quotes in support of this view ii. 15–17: μὴ ἀγαπᾶτε τὸν κόσμον μηδὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, κτλ. (cf. Pol. ix. 2: οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἠγάπησαν αἰῶνα). But it is the sins, pleasures, interests, etc., of the world—not its inhabitants—that the Christian is here forbidden to love. On Christian charity towards pagans, cf. Schmidt 323–329.

[2] Mt vii. 12; Lc vi. 31; *D* i. 2.

[3] Pol. iii. 3; cf. iv. 2 (Christian women to love πάντας ἐξ ἴσου ἐν πάσῃ ἐγκρατείᾳ); Ig. *P* i. 2 (πάντων ἀνέχου ἐν ἀγάπῃ).

[4] Mt xix. 19; Lc x. 27; *GH* 11(6) (diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum); *D* i. 2; B xix. 5; Jac ii. 8.

[5] Mt v. 44ff; Lc vi. 27ff; *D* i. 3f: cf. Ig. *E* x. 2f.

[6] *D* ii. 7.

[7] B xi. 8. See above, p. 151 n 6. I have not attempted from this point onwards to give a detailed examination of the other leading principles of

General Attitude to Heathen Society.—The principles governing the general attitude of Christian people to the heathen society around them continued as before to sway between the two extremes of separation and association, according as the motive of avoiding offence, danger, and contamination, or of bearing testimony and making converts, proved uppermost. Looking first at the tendency to *seclusion*, we see how Christians had to face the obvious fact that the world was unsympathetic and hostile. It was no part of the Christian's duty to force his message on unwilling ears.[1] The world was full of sin and evil; and, by association with it, Christian purity might be infected. 'Barnabas' is continually warning his readers not to be attached to sinful men of various types, lest they become like them.[2] The author of the Apocalypse demands the complete separation of Christians from 'Babylon': "Come ye out from her, my people, lest ye share in her sins, and get (some) of her plagues."[3] The 'Epistle of Jacob' declares that pure and undefiled religious worship involves keeping oneself unspotted from the world, and that friendship with the world is enmity with God.[4] An interesting sidelight on this Christian fear of defilement from outside sources is thrown by the Church's attitude towards the various groups of errorists that stood on her own borders. The abhorrence that was felt and displayed towards docetist and antinomian teachers even exceeded that which was normally manifested against pagan idolaters. It was evidently a case of 'corruptio optimi pessima.' Ignatius associated erroneous teaching with "the ruler of this age," i.e. Satan;[5] according to the Johannine author, it was not only distinctive of 'the world,'[6] but also a mark of Antichrist.[7] The genuineness of a Christian stranger must be duly tested:[8] towards those whose falsity has been made apparent, the normal

Christian ethics, viz. truthfulness, humility, service, prudence, wisdom, etc. These of course remain integral parts of the Christian system; but there is next to nothing in what is said about them as general principles that has any direct bearing on the attitude taken up towards the pagan world.

[1] Mt vii. 6, x. 23; Lc ix. 53–56; Ac xvii. 32f, xviii. 6. Weinel (*Th.* 522) points out that there is little polemic against heathendom in the N.T., and that none of the N.T. writings were addressed to non-Christians.

[2] B iv. 2 (*μὴ δῶμεν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ψυχῇ ἄνεσιν, ὥστε ἔχειν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν μετὰ ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν συντρέχειν, μήποτε ὁμοιωθῶμεν αὐτοῖς*), x. 3–11 (*οὐ κολληθήσῃ, φησίν, ἀνθρώποις τοιούτοις, οἵτινές εἰσιν ὅμοιοι χοίροις· κτλ.*), xix. 2 (*οὐ κολληθήσῃ μετὰ τῶν πορευομένων ἐν ὁδῷ θανάτου*), 6 (*οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυχῆς σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ταπεινῶν καὶ δικαίων ἀναστραφήσῃ*. Similarly *D* iii. 9).

[3] Ap xviii. 4. [4] Jac i. 27, iv. 4.

[5] Ig. *E* xvii. 1, xix. 1.

[6] 1 J v. 4f. [7] 1 J ii. 18–23, iv. 2f; 2 J 7: Moffatt *INT* 586–589.

[8] *D* xii; 1 J iv. 1–6.

attitude is to be one of cautious self-defence:[1] the 'Didache' says that "some" are to be refuted:[2] the Apocalypse commends hatred for the works of certain errorists (apparently antinomians), and sternly forbids the churches to tolerate them.[3] Ignatius advises that the docetists should be neither spoken to[4] nor listened to[5] nor even met;[6] but shunned like wild beasts[7] and forgotten,[8] though he allows that they may be prayed for.[9]

Turning now to the contrary tendency, viz. that towards *association with the world*, it needs perhaps to be remarked at the outset that besides the desire to exert a Christian influence on society and on individuals—the motive which naturally appears uppermost in the Christian writings of the time[10]—there was another factor of a very different kind, which tended to produce results that were externally and partially similar. A Christian might abjure separatist principles, not from a desire to leaven the world, but from an insufficient desire for that purity of moral conduct which was distinctively Christian. We cannot suppose that all nominal Christians were equally heroic or equally saintly. Despite all those tests which from time to time were applied to Christian sincerity by persecution, there would doubtless commence at an early date, and continue to increase gradually as time went on, a tendency towards a certain slackening of moral rigour—a slackening which would naturally make it easier for the Christians whom it affected to mix with heathen society. While it was not till the next period that the matter attracted the serious attention of Church-writers, we cannot imagine that it had not already begun to operate. The writers of this period concern themselves rather with the higher and better aspect of Christian and heathen intercourse. They betray a vivid consciousness that their lives are

[1] *D* xii. 5; 1 J ii. 26, iii. 7; 2 J 7f; Ig. *S* vi. 1, *E* viii. 1, x. 2, *M* viii. 1, xi. 1, *T* vii. 1.

[2] *D* ii. 7.

[3] Ap ii. 2, 6, 14f, 20.

[4] Ig. *S* vii. 2: cf. 2 J 10f.

[5] Ig. *E* vi. 2, ix. 1, *T* ix. 1.

[6] Ig. *T* xi. 1, *S* iv. 1, vii. 2. Cf. the well-known story of the apostle John fleeing from the public baths, when he noticed that "Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth," was in them: Iren. III. iii. 4 (ii. 13) = Eus. *HE* III. xxviii. 6 and IV. xiv. 6.

[7] Ig. *E* vii. 1, *Ph.* ii. 2, *S* iv. 1. In Ig. *P* iii. 1 he tells Polycarpus not to be panic-stricken at them.

[8] Ig. *S* v. 3.

[9] Ig. *S* iv. 1. For other expressions of aversion, see Ig. *T* vi., *Ph.* iii. 1, *E* xvii. 1, *P* iii. 1. For the Christian attitude to heretics, etc., cf. Weinel *Th.* 631f.

[10] Cf. Bigelmair 225: "Es lag in der universalen Tendenz des Christentums, mit der heidnischen Welt in Verkehr zu treten. Eine Bekehrung konnte vielfach doch nur dann als möglich erscheinen, wenn die Christen mit ihren heidnischen Mitbürgern in gegenseitiger Berührung blieben."

lived not in seclusion but in the sight of the world; and they are extremely anxious that no handle should be given to outsiders to enable them to cast reproach on the Christian Name. Without any servile quest for human favour, they are anxious that Christians should earn for themselves *a good reputation with the world at large.* Luke loves to represent the conciliatory aspect of Christian relationships, despite the numerous collisions and conflicts which as a historian he had to narrate. He notices the popularity of Jesus as boy and man,[1] the popularity of the apostles and early Christians with the non-Christian Jews among whom they lived,[2] and the innocence both of Jesus and the apostles of the charges brought against them.[3] The author of the Fourth Gospel represents Jesus as praying God to preserve the disciples from evil, but as explicitly refraining from the prayer that He should take them out of the world.[4] Ignatius lays stress on the possibility and importance of conciliating the favour of the pagans. He thinks the godless would naturally respect the gentleness of the bishop of Tralles.[5] "And on behalf of the rest of men" (i.e. the non-Christians), he writes, "pray unceasingly: for there is in them a hope of repentance, that they may attain to God. Permit them then to be made disciples even through your works. Towards their wrath (be) ye gentle, towards their pride humble, to their railings (oppose your) prayers, against their error be ye steadfast in the faith, against their savagery be ye mild, not being eager to imitate them. Let us be found their brothers in forbearance."[6] "Let none of you," he says elsewhere, "have (anything) against his neighbour. Do not give opportunities to the gentiles; lest, through a few foolish people, the godly community be reviled. For 'Woe (be to him), through whom my Name is reviled in levity among any.'"[7] Polycarpus, in his advice to the elders at Philippi, says: "Always take thought in advance for what is good in the sight of God and men."[8] Later on, he says to the Christians generally: "Be subject all of you to one another, keeping your conduct among the gentiles blameless, that from your good works ye may receive praise, and the Lord may not be reviled through you. For woe

[1] Lc ii. 52, iv. 22.
[2] Ac ii. 47, iv. 21, 33, v. 13, 26; cf. vii. 10.
[3] Lc xxiii. 4, 14–16 (cf. Mt xxvii. 23–25), 41; Ac xviii. 14f, xxiv. 13ff, xxv. 8, xxvi. 32.
[4] J xvii. 15. [5] Ig. *T* iii. 2. [6] Ig. *E* x. 1–3.
[7] Ig. *T* viii. 2: in ii. 3 Ignatius bids the deacons "please all in every way"; but the context suggests that this means all within the church.
[8] Pol. vi. 1. The words are a quotation from Prov iii. 4 (2 C viii. 21; R xii. 17).

to him through whom the Name of the Lord is reviled. Therefore teach to all men the sobriety with which ye also behave." [1] And again: "Pray also for kings and authorities and rulers and for those who persecute and hate you, and for the enemies of the cross, that your fruit may be manifest among all, that ye may be perfect in him." [2]

The Christian Treatment of Wrong-Doers.—In a certain sense all pagans were from the Christian point of view wrong-doers; and the passages we have just quoted from Ignatius and Polycarpus mingle precepts touching the Christian's attitude to the world in general with others concerning his behaviour when subjected to insult and injury. It is well, however, to collect together the teaching of the time on this latter point. It may be regarded both in its negative and in its positive aspects. Negatively, murder,[3] anger,[4] strife, jealousy, and so on, are frequently condemned. The discouragement of strife appears for the most part in connection with the maintenance of harmony within the Christian community, with which we are not here directly concerned. Of a wider and more general application are those prohibitions of resistance, retaliation, and revenge, which both 'Matthew' and Luke embody in their reports of the Sermon on the Mount,[5] and which are re-echoed in other writings of our period.[6] Over against these forbidden things is to be placed the positive commendation of the corresponding virtues of love, gentleness, patience, long-suffering, and the return of good for evil. The passages in the Sermon on the Mount which have just been referred to give the positive as well as the negative side of Christian duty. "Love your enemies; do good to those that hate you;

[1] Pol. x. 2f: cf. 1 P ii. 12.

[2] Pol. xii. 3 (see below, p. 178 n 2).

[3] Mt v. 21f, xix. 18; Lc xviii. 20; *D* ii. 2, iii. 2, v. 1; Ap ix. 21, xxi. 8, xxii. 15; 1 Cl. iv. 1–7; B xx. 1; J viii. 40, 44; 1 J iii. 15. 1 Cl. iv. furnishes a striking instance of the psychological incapacity of Christians to criticize the O.T. heroes, when their conduct was not censured by the Scriptural author himself (see above, pp. 117f). After describing the murder of Abel by Cain as a dreadful instance of the effect of ζῆλος, he proceeds to give other instances, and among them the enforced flight of Moses from Egypt when distrusted and challenged after he had slain the Egyptian! It does not occur to Clemens that Moses' act was itself a case of murder. In the same way, he speaks (lv. 4f) with warm approval of Judith's murder of Olophernes.

[4] Mt v. 21f; *D* iii. 2; 1 Cl. xiii. 1, xix. 3: cf. Pol. xii. 1f.

[5] Mt v. 38–48; Lc vi. 27–36.

[6] *D* i. 3, ii. 3 (cf. B xix. 4), 6 (cf. B xix. 3), 7 (οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον); 1 Cl. xxx. 1, 3; Pol. ii. 2 (μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἢ λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας ἢ γρόνθον ἀντὶ γρόνθου ἢ κατάραν ἀντὶ κατάρας); Jac iii. 9ff (against cursing).

bless those that curse you ; pray for those that abuse you." [1] The other Christian authors of the time often give advice in a similar strain.[2] More significant, however, than all quotations, as an indication of the true and typical Christian policy towards sinful and wayward paganism, is that beautiful story told by Clemens of Alexandria about the aged apostle John. The story has every appearance of being historically true, at least in substance ; but, even if fictitious, it must still be ' in character,' and therefore have value as evidence for the approved Christian method of grappling with heathen immorality. The story is briefly as follows. John, while visiting the Christians in some city (perhaps Smyrna ?), saw in the church a handsome heathen youth, and feeling attracted to him entrusted him, in the presence of Christian witnesses, to the bishop's care. The bishop took the youth home, taught and baptized him ; and then, thinking him secure, neglected him. When he was thus prematurely freed from restraint, bad companions got hold of him, and by degrees corrupted and enticed him into evil ways and finally into the commission of some great crime. He then took to the mountains with them as a brigand-chief, and committed acts of bloodshed and cruelty. Some time after, John visited that city again, and, learning on inquiry what had happened, called for a horse and a guide, and at length found his way unarmed into the young captain's presence. The latter fled away in shame ; but the apostle pursued him with entreaties : " Why, my child, dost thou flee from me, thine own father, unarmed and aged as I am ? Have mercy on me, my child ; fear not. Thou still hast hope of life. I will give account to Christ for thee. If need be, I will willingly endure death for thee, as the Lord endured it for us. I will give my life for thine. Stand ; believe ; Christ has sent me." The youth halted, looked downwards, cast away his weapons, trembled, and wept. When the apostle approached, the youth embraced him, and poured forth confessions and lamentations. John assured him of the Saviour's pardon, and, falling on his knees and kissing the right hand which the youth had concealed in shame, prevailed upon him to suffer himself to be led back to the church. There the apostle spent time with him in inter-

[1] Lc vi. 27f. Mt's version (v. 44) is somewhat briefer.

[2] *D* i. 3; Ig. *E* x. 2f (see text above, on p. 163), *T* iii. 2 (*ἡ δὲ πραότης αὐτοῦ δύναμις, κτλ.* see above, p. 163), iv. 2 (*χρῄζω οὖν πραότητος, ἐν ᾗ καταλύεται ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*). Many of the references to *πραότης* and *μακροθυμία* are seemingly quite general, though we cannot always be sure that the writer is not thinking primarily of relations between fellow-Christians. For *πραότης*, see Mt v. 5 (cf. 9), *D* iii. 7 (=B xix. 4), v. 2 (=B xx. 2), 1 Cl. xiii. 4, xxx. 8; for *μακροθυμία D* iii. 8, B ii. 2 ; 1 Cl. xiii. 1, etc.

cessory prayer, prolonged fasting, and multiplied counsels, and did not depart until he had restored him to the church, "a trophy of visible resurrection." [1]

## CHAPTER IV

### ATTITUDE TO THE STATE

View of the State as Evil and Satanic.—The starting-point for this aspect of the Christian attitude to the State is the current Christian view of the pagan world as something inherently and characteristically evil. How far this view may have owed its origin to the existence within the Church of elements derived from Jewish apocalyptic, it would be hard to say; but it is worth noting that it pervades, in some form or other, practically the whole Christian literature of the time, including those writings which, like the Gospel and Acts of Luke and the epistle of Clemens, tend to take a comparatively favourable view of the State, and those which, like the Johannine Gospel and Epistle, are least strongly marked by apocalyptic interests. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the phrase of the last-named piece of writing, "the whole world lies in (the power of) the Evil (One)," [2] is a fairly representative summary of the general Christian position.

Now it was not the world in the natural or cosmological sense, upon which this sweeping judgment was passed, but the world as a heathen social system, manifesting itself in various human institutions. Of these institutions, the State was at once the chief and the summary. It was the main visible embodiment of 'the world' in the bad sense. As the prime organization of non-Christian—and still more of anti-Christian—humanity, it could not but be looked upon as the realm of Satan. The Roman Empire was a Satanic power.[3] Nor must it be supposed that this severe

[1] Cl. *Quis dives* xlii. 1–15; Eus. *HE* III. xxiii. 6–19.

[2] 1 J v. 19: ὁ κόσμος ὅλος ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ κεῖται. See above, p. 141.

[3] Bestmann i. 402. Cf. Troeltsch 153: "Die Welt im Sinne des Spätjudentums und des Urchristentums und dann weiter der ganzen alten Kirche ist eben kein kosmologischer Begriff, sondern ein politisch-sozial-historischer. Er bedeutet das Heidentum, die Völker, die ausserjüdische Welt, die durch Abfall und Bosheit ein Reich der Dämonen geworden ist und die sich immer

view was confined to the Apocalypse ; for, although, no doubt, the apocalyptic standpoint tended strongly to emphasize it, yet the unfavourable reception of Christianity by society at large, and still more the frequent experience of State-persecution, must have given it a very wide prevalence among Christian people generally.[1] Both 'Matthew' and Luke embody in their Gospels a narrative of the temptation of Jesus, drawn doubtless from a common source, in which the kingdoms of the world and their glory are represented as belonging to Satan, who can give them to whomsoever he wills on condition that the recipient worships him.[2] I have already argued for an interpretation of this incident which does not commit Jesus himself to the view that the kingdoms of the world were objectively Satanic ;[3] but I submit that that interpretation does not exclude the belief that such may have been the view of the evangelists. When we consider the form in which they tell the story, it is hard to escape the conclusion that the unnamed author whom 'Matthew' and Luke quote must have believed in the objectively Satanic character of the Empire, and that these evangelists themselves—for the moment at least, and perhaps (in the case of Luke) almost unconsciously—subscribed to the same view.[4] In the Fourth Gospel, Satan is alluded to as "the ruler of this world," particularly in connection with the end of Jesus' life, suggesting the diabolical nature of the agents concerned in his death.[5] The First Epistle of John does not speak explicitly of the Empire ; but it implies a complete opposition between Church and State.[6]. It is, however, admittedly in the Apocalypse that this extreme view is most uncompromisingly taken. There the Roman Empire is depicted as a Beast—irresistibly powerful—to whom the Dragon (i.e. Satan) has entrusted his world-wide authority,[7] and as a luxurious harlot, with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, who has made the nations drunk with the wine of her fornication,[8] and is the mother of harlots and of all

mehr zuspitzt in dem grossen, den Kaiserkult fordenden Imperium der Cäsaren. . . . Indem dann das Heidenchristentum es wesentlich mit dem römischen Reich zu tun hat, werden die Cäsaren zu den Herren und Repräsentanten der 'Welt.'"

[1] Cf. Harnack *ME* i. 257f.

[2] Mt iv. 8f ; Lc iv. 5–7.

[3] See above, pp. 37, 43f.

[4] Weinel *SUS* 24.

[5] J xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11. Wellhausen (*Das Evang. Johannis*, 85) thinks the last clause of xix. 11 was added out of hatred for Rome by one who thought the preceding ἄνωθεν too complimentary.

[6] Ramsay *CRE* 302–306.

[7] Ap xiii. 1f, 4, 7, xvii. 18. The satanic Dragon and the imperial Beast both wear diadems, the symbols of regal sway (Ap xii. 3, xiii. 1 ; cf. xix. 12).

[8] Ap xvii. 2, 18, xviii. 3, 9 : on her luxury, xvii. 4, xviii. 11–19.

the abominations of the earth.[1] The analogous representation (borrowed from Daniel) of the Roman Emperors as horns of an evil, mighty, and savage beast, appears in the Epistle of 'Barnabas.'[2] It will be seen that, in these apocalyptic pictures of the Roman power, the actual offences with which the Empire is charged, apart from the crowning sins of blasphemy and persecution, are overbearing power, pride, cruelty, luxury, and sensual vice. Similar accusations appear in the other books of our period, directed sometimes against the imperial government, sometimes against rulers in general, sometimes against particular princes. Thus, on the first point (pride and tyranny), we have, in the Gospels both of 'Matthew' and Luke, the Master's depreciatory allusion to the domineering and compulsory character of gentile rule;[3] Luke speaks of the pride and pomp of Herodes Agrippa I;[4] 'Barnabas' reckons "haughtiness of power" along with the other vices that constitute the Way of Darkness.[5] On the question of luxury, there are again the Gospel-sayings about the soft clothing of courtiers[6] and the gorgeous array of Solomon;[7] Luke refers to the splendid robe worn by Agrippa I when he was stricken with mortal illness as a punishment for his presumption,[8] and to the magnificent array of Agrippa II and Bernice;[9] and the 'Sibylline Oracles' depict the image of an extravagant woman—probably Rome—who rules the world after the fall of Beliar.[10] Parallel to the charge of fornication against Rome, we have the scandal of Herodes' marriage with his brother's wife.[11] Other more general

[1] Ap xvii. 5. On the hostile attitude of the Apocalypse to the Empire (particularly under the stimulus of persecution, on which we shall touch presently), see Holtzm. *RS* 23–25, *Th.* i. 540f, 549f; Ramsay *CRE* 296f; McGiffert 632–636; Stevens 550–555; Neumann *H* 7–11; Carlyle 93; Workman 194 ("In our judgment the *Apocalypse*, or the Christian interpellations in the *Sibylline Oracles*, represent much more accurately the real views of the early Church upon the Empire," than do the apologetic utterances of Tertullianus in *Scap.* 2); C. H. Turner, *Studies in Early Church History*, 207–219.

[2] B iv. 4, 5 (quoting from Dan vii. 7f) (*καὶ εἶδον τὸ τέταρτον θηρίον τὸ πονηρὸν καὶ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ χαλεπώτερον παρὰ πάντα τὰ θηρία τῆς θαλάσσης* [v.l. *γῆς*], *καὶ ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀνέτειλεν δέκα κέρατα, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μικρὸν κέρας παραφυάδιον, καὶ ὡς ἐταπείνωσεν ὑφ' ἓν τρία τῶν μεγάλων κεράτων*). The three kings overthrown by the little one are probably Vespasianus and his two sons, or Domitianus and the two sons of T. Flavius Clemens (destined by him for the purple), the little one being either Nerva or (if *ἐταπείνωσεν* is 'prophetic perfect') Nero Redivivus or Antichrist. Cf. Ramsay *CRE* 307–309; Funk *PA* xxivf.

[3] Mt xx. 25–28; Lc xxii. 25–27.

[4] Ac xii. 20–23.

[5] B xx. 1: *ὕψος δυνάμεως.*

[6] Mt xi. 8; Lc vii. 25.

[7] Mt vi. 29; Lc xii. 27.

[8] Ac xii. 21: *ἐνδυσάμενος ἐσθῆτα βασιλικήν.* Josephus tells us that the garment was made entirely of silver (*Antiq.* xix. viii. 2).

[9] Ac xxv. 23.

[10] *Sib. Orac.* iii. 75–78.

[11] Mt xiv. 3f; Lc iii. 19.

accusations appear in Luke's allusion to "all the evil things that Herodes had done," [1] his reference to Jesus' description of Herodes as a she-fox,[2] his mention of the savagery of Pilatus, the Roman Procurator, in mingling the blood of the Galilæans with their sacrifices; [3] and his repetition of the parable of the Unjust Judge, who neither feared God nor respected man.[4] 'Barnabas' and the 'Didache,' quoting perhaps from the pre-existent 'Two Ways,' speak of "those who do not cleave . . . to just judgment, . . . iniquitous judges of the poor." [5] Clemens recalls the foolish hard-heartedness of Pharaoh.[6] The 'Vision of Isaiah' describes the angelic rulers of the world (the celestial counterpart of earthly potentates) as "envying one another and fighting; for here there is a power of evil and envying about trifles." [7] The matricide of the Emperor Nero is embodied by the author of the 'Testament of Hezekiah' in his description of the figure of Beliar.[8]

The State condemned for Blasphemy and Persecution.—But two crimes stand out before all others as damning the Empire in the eyes of Christendom, viz. the worship of the Emperor as a god, and the persecution of the Christians.

The idea of an iniquitous king, who *blasphemously assumes Divine honours*, had by this time become a regular feature in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic. The idea seems to have originated through familiarity with the lofty titles and pretensions of certain of the Diadochi, notably the Seleucidæ,[9] and to have been stimulated by the custom—now well established throughout the provinces of the Empire—of offering regular religious worship to the reigning Emperor.[10] The notorious attempt of Gaius Caligula to erect his statue in the Temple at Jerusalem impressed the Jewish mind still more deeply with horror at this pagan impiety. The Christian documents bear abundant witness to the strong disapprobation with which the Church regarded all human encroachments on the prerogatives of Deity. Luke tells us that when Agrippa I in his

[1] Lc iii. 19. [2] Lc xiii. 32. [3] Lc xiii. 1.
[4] Lc xviii. 2. [5] B xx. 2; *D* v. 2. [6] 1 Cl. li. 5.
[7] *VI* ap. *AI* x. 29: the words are missing in some versions; see Charles *AI* 74, 132f.
[8] *TH* ap. *AI* iv. 2: ἐν εἴδει ἀνθρώπου βασιλέως ἀνόμου μητραλῴου. It is true that Nero was usually and deservedly looked upon as an exceptional monstrosity; but the fact that such a monstrosity had appeared on the imperial throne would tend to put its occupants generally in an unfavourable light from the Christian point of view.
[9] Dan xi. 36f.
[10] On the Kaiserkult, cf. Lecky i. 258–261; Uhlhorn *C* 56–62; Westcott *TE(J)* 268–282; Neumann *SK* 7–12; Hardy 93ff; Harnack *ME* i. 295–298; Bigelmair 23–25, 110–114; Workman 94–103; Schürer ii. 33f.

gorgeous attire had made a public speech at Cæsarea, the people shouted: "(It is the) voice of a god and not of a man," and that then "immediately an angel of the Lord struck him, because he gave not the glory to God: and he was eaten by worms, and expired." [1] Apparently many of the terms applied in Christian circles to God and Christ were imitated from the phraseology of the Kaiserkult, and intended to be a sort of indirect protest against it.[2] The blasphemous assumption of divinity appears as a feature of the Pauline Man of Lawlessness,[3] and of the Beliar whose advent is foretold in the 'Testament of Hezekiah.' [4] In the Apocalypse the imperial Beast utters loud blasphemies against God's Name and His dwellers in heaven: [5] blasphemous titles are written on his seven heads,[6] and all over the scarlet beast on which the Harlot sits.[7] The whole world goes after the Beast in wonder, worshipping the Dragon who has given him authority, and worshipping the Beast, saying: "Who is like the Beast, and who can make war against him?" [8] The provincial authorities demand that every one shall perform an act of worship before the Beast's statue, those who do so receiving the Beast's mark on their foreheads,[9] and those who refuse having to suffer the penalty of death.[10]

Much has been written on the causes and nature of the *State-persecution* of the Christians during the obscure period which we are now studying. We have already indicated briefly the now usually accepted view as to the inception of the persecution in the act of Nero and as to its general character in subsequent times.[11] It is hardly a part of our present inquiry to enter into a discussion of the historical and legal problems centring round the policy of

[1] Ac xii. 21–23.

[2] Weinel treats this point very thoroughly (*SUS* 18–23, 49–51): "Die Offenbarung," he says, "ist ganz erfüllt von der Liturgie, die sich gegen den Kaiserkult richtet, wie sie ja auch in ihrem Inhalt das der Staatsgewalt feindlichste Buch ist" (50): he quotes Ap i. 5, iv. 11, v. 9f, xi. 15, 17, xii. 10, xvii. 14, 18, xix. 1f, 16. See above, p. 102 n 2.

[3] 2 Th ii. 4.

[4] *TH* ap. *AI* iv. 6 (Beliar "will say: 'I am God, and before me there has been none'"), 7 ("And all the people in the world will believe in him"), 8 ("And they will sacrifice to him, and they will serve him, saying: 'This is God, and beside him there is no other'"), 11 ("And he will set up his image before him in every city"). Note that in the *Sibylline Oracles* iii. 63, Beliar comes from the Augusti: such at least seems to be the meaning of the line—ἐκ δὲ Σεβαστηνῶν ἥξει Βελίαρ μετόπισθεν. In the 'Vision of Isaiah' (ap. *AI* x. 12f) special judgment and punishment are denounced against the princes and angels and gods of the world, who have denied God, and said: "We alone are, and there is none beside us."

[5] Ap xiii. 5f.

[6] Ap xiii. 1.

[7] Ap xvii. 3.

[8] Ap xiii. 4; cf. 8.

[9] Ap xiii. 11–18, xvi. 2, xix. 20.

[10] Ap xv. 2, xx. 4.

[11] See above, pp. 102f.

the Flavian Emperors. Broadly speaking, we may say, there was probably no marked change in the official attitude to Christianity during this period. Generally disliked on account of their anti-social habits and sentiments,[1] suspected of indulging in Thyestian banquets and Œdopodeian intercourse, and, above all, irreconcilably opposed to pagan religion and worship in every form, the Christians were liable at any time, not only to outbursts of popular hatred, but also to punishment at the hands of the magistrate by virtue of his ordinary police powers, in the same manner as thieves, incendiaries, and pirates. It seems clear that there was no continuous or systematic attempt on the part of the Government to suppress Christianity. Whether the restrictive powers of the magistrate should be applied or not would depend, partly on the vehemence or quiescence of local pagan feeling, partly on the personal views of the provincial governor concerned. We have no direct evidence of the extent to which they were actually put into operation during the Flavian period. That long intervals might elapse without the Christians being molested was perfectly possible, and doubtless actually did elapse in different places. It seems to have been due to the official puritanism of Domitianus, and the serious view he took of his own divinity, that during his reign not only was a stimulus given to proceedings against the Christians, but also that refusal to participate in the worship of the Emperor—originally only one of a number of causes of offence against the Christians—came to be adopted as a useful practical test of a man's Christianity, and thus in a way to be regarded as the central point of conflict between the Church and the Empire. That is the position of affairs as it is seen in the pages of the Apocalypse.[2] That the imperial government of the day should thus commit itself to a struggle on principle with the followers of Christ—a struggle intermittent indeed, yet continually liable to renewal—must have affected

[1] Mt x. 22, xxiv. 9f; Lc vi. 22, xxi. 17; 1 Cl. lx. 3 (ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς ἀδίκως); J xv. 18f, 23–25, xvii. 14; 1 J iii. 13; Ig. *R* iii. 3.

[2] Ap ii. 13, vi. 9, xii. 11, xiii. 8, 12, 14f, xiv. 9f, xvi. 2, xix. 20, xx. 4. On persecution during the Flavian period, see Overbeck 100f; Neumann *SK* 11 ("Je allgemeiner der römischen Herrschaft diese Huldigung erwiesen wurde, ohne religiösen Bedenken zu begegnen, desto leichter konnte die Verweigerung derselben politisch motiviert erscheinen. . . . Schien eine Religion nicht reichsgefährlich, der als ein Gräuel galt, was alle anderen willig boten?" etc.), 12–16; Ramsay *CRE* 252–319; Hardy 78–101; Bigelmair 38; Workman 203–207. On the causes of persecution, see Lecky i. 406–422; Westcott *TE(J)* 253ff; Ramsay *CRE* 346–360 (he finds the main political reason in the fact that the Church-organization constituted an extra-imperial unity. "Such an organisation was contrary to the fundamental principle of the Roman government"); Workman 105–196; Gwatkin *ECH* i. 115–123.

very profoundly the whole Christian attitude towards the State. It cast a sinister light on the old idea—inherited from Jewish apocalyptic—of the governments of the world as being essentially hostile to the people of God. It was in line with certain traditional elements in the Gospel story. Herodes the Great had slaughtered the babies of Bethlehem in the hope of doing away with the child Jesus;[1] Archelaus had inspired the Holy Family with dread;[2] Antipas had imprisoned and executed John the Baptist,[3] was said to be desirous of killing Jesus,[4] and had actually mocked and insulted him at his trial.[5] The Jewish rulers as a body had rejected Jesus,[6] and in combination with the Roman Governor, Pilatus, had brought him to crucifixion.[7] Jesus had warned his disciples that they would be arraigned before governors and kings for his sake.[8] Agrippa had beheaded Jacob, and imprisoned Peter, who had escaped a like fate only by flight.[9] The whole Church remembered the events of 64 A.D. and the deaths of Paul and Peter in Nero's reign.[10] All these experiences, both of the present and of the past, tended to produce an attitude of deep and constant hostility on the part of the Church towards the powers that be.

That *Christian opposition to the persecuting government* went in some cases as far as acts of violence is indeed perfectly possible, but there is not much evidence for it during our present period, and in any case it could not have affected more than a very few Christians.[11] Persecution comes to be reckoned as something

[1] Mt ii. 16–18. [2] Mt ii. 22.
[3] Mt iv. 12, xiv. 1–12; Lc iii. 19f, ix. 7–9.
[4] Lc xiii. 31. [5] Lc xxiii. 11. [6] J vii. 48.
[7] See, besides the Passion-stories, Ac iv. 27f; *VI* ap. *AI* ix. 14 (princeps mundi illius extendet manum suam in filium Dei et suspendet illum in ligno et occidet nesciens qui sit), xi. 19.
[8] Mt x. 18; Lc xxi. 12. [9] Ac xii. 1ff.
[10] Clemens refers to them (v. 3–7): he speaks of Paul as *μαρτύρησας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων*. The death of Peter seems to be referred to in the 'Testament of Hezekiah' (*AI* iv. 2f: *ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος τὴν φυτείαν ἣν φυτεύσουσιν οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ διώξει καὶ τῶν δώδεκα εἷς ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ παραδοθήσεται*): cf. also J xxi. 18f.
[11] The passage which suggests most clearly that some Christians thought of forcible resistance is Ap xiii. 9f: *Εἴ τις ἔχει οὖς ἀκουσάτω· εἴ τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν, εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει· εἴ τις ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτενεῖ, δεῖ αὐτὸν ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι. Ὧδέ ἐστιν ἡ ὑπομονὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις τῶν ἁγίων.* Clemens (xxx. 1) warns the Christians of Corinthus against *νεωτερισμούς* (revolutionary movements). Cf. Mt xxvi. 51–54; Lc xxii. 50f; J xviii. 10f, 36: Moffatt *R* 431b. If Acilius Glabrio was a Christian, and if there was any truth in the charge that he was a molitor rerum nouarum (Suet., *Domit.*, x. 2), we should have to count him as a Christian revolutionary: but the supposition is highly precarious (see below, p. 180 n 2). The evidence is rather stronger for the period before than for that after 70 A.D. (see above, pp. 99–101). The events of that year would have a discouraging effect on revolutionary and seditious politics. Weinel (*SUS* 15–18, cf. *Th.* 637) tends somewhat to exaggerate the traces of

to be expected—a part of the normal Christian experience.[1] It appears as if controlled by a sort of providential fatalism,[2] though this does not exempt the persecutors themselves from blame.[3] If opposition to it stopped short of physical violence, it did not, in some quarters at least, dispense with strong language. The Gospels record the fierce outburst of passionate denunciation uttered by Jesus against the Jewish rulers as persecutors of the prophets and of his own followers.[4] Luke tells us of the stinging rebuke flung by Stephen at his judges.[5] The tone of the Apocalypse is one of uniform invective: the Empire is a Beast warring on the saints,[6] a harlot drunk with their blood:[7] we hear the Christian cry for condign vengeance.[8] We hear too protests against cruel and illegal usage.[9] Both by flight[10] and still more by avowed and resolute refusal to do any act tantamount to a denial of their faith —even though the refusal should involve death[11]—the Christian aimed at thwarting the repressive measures of the State.

Christians hold aloof from Public Office.—With the exception of one or two possible cases to be noticed presently, we

hostility. Luke's representation of the Roman officials as favourable to the Christians was, he thinks, meant as an apology to the State, but also as a warning to revolutionary Christians ("hütet euch vor Gewaltthat und Aufruhr").

[1] Mt x. 16ff, xxiv. 9ff; Lc x. 3, xxi. 12–19; Ac xiv. 22; B vii. 11; Ap ii. 10; J xv. 20, xvi. 2f, 33, xxi. 18f; Ig. *S* iv. 2.

[2] Ac ii. 23, iv. 27f, xxi. 14; J xix. 11; Ap xiii. 7, 10 (cf. Moffatt *R* 431b: "Be patient. If captivity is your destiny from God, accept it"), 15.

[3] Yet cf. the apologetic tone of Ac iii. 17.

[4] Mt xxiii. 29–36; Lc xi. 47–51.

[5] Ac vii. 51–53. On abusive language used by Christian martyrs when on trial, see Dobschütz 293.

[6] Ap xiii. 7; cf. xii. 13–17, xvii. 14, xix. 19.

[7] Ap xvii. 6, xviii. 24.

[8] Ap vi. 10, xiv. 9–12, xvi. 6, xix. 2, 20f: cf. Lc xviii. 7f. Neumann (*SK* 15) remarks: "Aber nicht nur der Staat nahm seine Stellung, auch die Christem thaten es. Sie machten sich eine jüdische Schrift zu eigen voll glühenden Hasses gegen das Imperium. Die johanneische Offenbarung ist ein Manifest des Krieges."

[9] Lc xxii. 52f; Ac xxiii. 2–5, and Paul's frequent allusions to his rights as a Roman citizen; J xviii. 22f; Jac v. 6.

[10] Mt ii. 13–15, x. 23, xiv. 12f; Ac viii. 1, ix. 25, xii. 8–17; J vii. 1, viii. 59, x. 39, xi. 53f, 57. Christians, however, were not unanimous on the propriety of flight, and doubtless some favoured a more reckless line of conduct; cf. Ac v. 17–26, xxi. 10–14; J xi. 8–16. Ignatius eagerly desired to suffer martyrdom, and begged his Roman friends not to thwart his longings in this respect (Ig. *R* i.–viii.). We do not know the cause of his condemnation; but, as Lecky (i. 438) remarks, his character may very probably have led him into some act of exceptional zeal. Cf. Ig. *E* x. 3: *μιμηταὶ δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου σπουδάζωμεν εἶναι, τίς πλέον ἀδικηθῇ, τίς ἀποστερηθῇ, τίς ἀθετηθῇ.*

[11] Mt iv. 10, x. 17–22, 28, 38f, xvi. 24–26; Lc iv. 8, ix. 23–26, xii. 8f, xiv. 27, xvii. 33; Ac iv. 19f, v. 29; Ap ii. 10, 13, xiii. 15, xv. 2, xx. 4; Ig. *R* vii. 1 (*ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου διαρπάσαι με βούλεται καὶ τὴν εἰς Θεόν μου γνώμην διαφθεῖραι.* The *ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* is referred to in Ig. *Ph*, vi. 2, but without any apparent reference to the Kaiserkult).

have no evidence of any Christian of this period taking part in political life. This may be due in part to the paucity of our records; but that fact would account only in very small measure for the impression we get.[1] Other explanations at once suggest themselves —the poverty and humble rank of the average Christian,[2] his aversion from worldly interests and worldly glory and his expectation of the Lord's early return to earth,[3] the penetration of all official life by idolatrous observances,[4] and the inseparable connection of magistracy with compulsion, torture, imprisonment, and capital punishment.[5] The difficulties of the situation are exemplified in the case of Titus Flavius Clemens, the ex-consul and cousin of Domitianus, who was put to death by the Emperor on a charge of atheism or Judaism, but who is generally believed to have been a Christian. Suetonius says that his sentence rested on a very slender suspicion, but he calls him a man "of most despicable laziness,"[6] a phrase which rather suggests the difficulties of a Christian of magisterial rank. Possibly he had felt compelled by his religion to omit certain of the regular duties of the consulship;[7] possibly he had refused to hold any further office.[8]

The Christian Disavowal of Political Ambition.—There were certain features in early Christian teaching which not unnaturally roused in pagan minds suspicions of political ambition of a highly dangerous type; and it consequently became a real

[1] Overbeck says that the Christian sect, "indem sie auf jede nationale Grundlage verzichtete und, ihre Bekenner allem politischen Interesse entfremdend, das bisher alle Religionen des römischen Reichs mit einem Staate verknüpfende Band zu zerreissen schien, geradezu die Moral des Alterthums umstürzte" (106f). Weinel speaks of "die absolut ablehnende Haltung des Urchristentums gegen jede aktive Teilnahme am Staatsleben" (*SUS* 25).

[2] Jac ii. 1–7, (v. 1–6).

[3] Bigelmair 38f: "Freilich verlautet noch wenig von einem öffentlichen Leben dieser ersten Christen, und der Grund liegt wohl zum Teil in jener schon einmal berührten Abneigung derselben gegen alles Irdische überhaupt, wie sie unter dem mächtigen Eindruck der Lehre vom Himmlischen und unter den gesteigerten Hoffnungen einer baldigen Wiederkunft Christi zum Gericht sich bildete." Cf. Ig. *R* vi. 1: *οὐδέν μοι ὠφελήσει τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου οὐδὲ αἱ βασιλεῖαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.*

[4] Uhlhorn *C* 231: "Just because public life was wholly interwoven with Heathenism, were Christians compelled to withdraw from it."

[5] Weinel *SUS* 25 ("Der christliche Beamte wäre ja auch nicht bloss zum Kaiserkult, sondern zu Gewalttaten jeder Art gezwungen, zu denen ihm auch gerichtliche Todesurteile gehören"), *Th.* 640 ("Der antike Staat, ja der Staat überhaupt mit seiner Gewalt und seinem Blutvergiessen, hat nichts mit der sittlichen Religion zu tun").

[6] Suet., *Domit.*, xv. 1: contemptissimae inertiae.

[7] Bigelmair 151: "Vermutlich vernachlässigte Clemens die Götteropfer und namentlich den Kaiserkult und rief so den Argwohn des Kaisers wach."

[8] Weinel *SUS* 25 ("das letzte," i.e. contemptissima inertia, "doch wahrscheinlich auf sein Aufgeben der Staatsgeschäfte hinweisend"), *Th.* 640.

concern of Christian writers to allay these suspicions by denying the political character of the teaching in question. We refer to the current conceptions of *the royalty of Jesus and the Kingdom of God.*[1] The Davidic descent of Jesus was frequently referred to in the Christian writings of the time,[2] and the stories of his life in particular contained numerous allusions to his Messianic royalty.[3] Moreover, the conception of the Kingdom of God or of Heaven was an important or central item in the Christian message.[4] Nor was it possible for Christian teachers to divest themselves of the belief that their Lord's sovereignty was destined in the near future to swallow up the political sovereignties of the world. Here again the Apocalypse expresses the Christian viewpoint most uncompromisingly: but there is no reason to suppose that it departed in any essential particular from the general view. The book speaks of Jesus as "the ruler of the kings of the earth,"[5] and looks forward to the time when the sovereignty of the world will become "that of our Lord and his Christ, and he will reign for ever and ever,"[6] and the kings of the earth will bring their glory to the New Jerusalem.[7] The view that the ordinary Christian took of the approaching triumphal return of Christ involved *a belief in the downfall of the Empire* and the punishment of persecutors—however he might express it or refrain from expressing it. The putting-down of princes from their thrones was an essential item in the Christian—as well as the Jewish—apocalyptic programme.[8] The author of the Apocalypse was, therefore, only elaborating a generally accepted Christian belief, when he depicted in glowing and

[1] Harnack *ME* i. 259 n 2. It appears that the late Sultan of Turkey, Abdul Hamid, would not allow the Bible to circulate in his dominions except in an expurgated form, in which the phrases 'Kingdom of Heaven,' 'of God,' or 'of Christ,' the words 'Jew' and 'Hebrew,' and references to the Law of the Jews, were omitted (*Review of Reviews*, Dec. 1895, p. 500).

[2] Mt i. 1ff, 20, ix. 27, xii. 23, xv. 22, xx. 30f, xxi. 9, 15, xxii. 42–45; Lc i. 27, 32, 69, ii. 4, 11, iii. 31, xviii. 38f, xx. 41–44; Ac ii. 25–31, xiii. 22f, 34–37, xv. 16; (*D* ix. 2, x. 6); Ap iii. 7, v. 5, xxii. 16; B xii. 10f; (J vii. 42); Ig. *E* xviii. 2, xx. 2, *T* ix. 1, *R* vii. 3, *S* i. 1.

[3] Mt ii. 2f, xxi. 5, xxv. 31, 34, 40, xxvii. 11, 29, 37, 42; Lc i. 32f, xix. 12, 15, 27, 38, xxiii. 2f, 37f, 42; Ac ii. 30, xvii. 7; J i. 49, xii. 13, 15, xviii. 33, 37, 39, xix. 3, 12, 14f, 19, 21.

[4] See above, pp. 142f. [5] Ap i. 5. [6] Ap xi. 15.

[7] Ap xxi. 24. Neander (*Church History* [ET], i. 503) quotes the words of *Test. XII Patr. Judas* xxi. 4: ὡς ὑπερέχει οὐρανὸς τῆς γῆς, οὕτως ὑπερέχει Θεοῦ ἱερατεία τῆς ἐπὶ γῆς βασιλείας (exact text uncertain), as an early Jewish-Christian assertion of the "principle of the subordination of the Kingdom to the priesthood"; but the statement apparently belongs to the Jewish body of the work, and is not a Christian utterance at all (Charles *APOT* ii. 291, 322, *Tests. of the Twelve Patr.*, lxi f).

[8] Lc i. 52. Cf. B xii. 11 (quoting Isa xlv. 1): ἰσχὺν βασιλέων διαρρήξω.

lurid detail the approaching downfall of Rome and the tremendous conflicts and massacres of the kings of the earth and their armies.[1]

It was thus only natural that the Christians should be *suspected of being political revolutionaries.* The Gospels told how the proceedings that led to Jesus' death rested on garbled accounts of his claim to the royal title.[2] Luke recorded how the apostles had been suspected by the Jewish rulers of trying to raise a popular revolt to avenge the death of their Master,[3] and how Paul and his friends had been accused of acting contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying that there was another king, viz. Jesus.[4] Domitianus, hearing that descendants of King David were still living, "feared," says Hegesippus, "the coming of Christ," and sent for the grandchildren of Judas, the Lord's brother, and questioned them about their Davidic descent, and about Christ and his Kingdom.[5]

Christians, therefore, were at some pains to reassure the pagan authorities that their talk about the sovereignty of Christ and the Kingdom of God *did not mean any conflict of a political kind with the existing government.* The grandchildren of Judas told the Emperor that Christ's Kingdom was "not worldly or earthly, but heavenly and angelic, and would appear at the consummation of the age."[6] The Gospels represented Pilatus as able to find no fault in Jesus.[7] The Fourth Gospel describes Jesus as refusing to be made a king by the Galilæans[8] and as saying to Pilatus at his trial: "My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, my servants would struggle to prevent my being delivered to the Jews: but now my kingdom is not from thence."[9] Luke is especially anxious to make clear the political innocence of the Christians. He tells how the Risen Jesus dismissed the disciples' question about the restoration of the kingdom to Israel.[10] He uniformly represents the persecutions as the outcome of Jewish

[1] Ap xvi. 10–21, xvii. 12–18, xviii., xix. 11–21; cf. vi. 15–17, xi. 18, xiv. 17–20.

[2] See the passages from the Passion-narratives quoted on the previous page, n 3; also J xi. 48. Cf. Carlyle 92.

[3] Ac v. 28: "and lo! . . . ye wish to bring on us the blood of this man," "i.e. the vengeance of the people for His murder" (Knowling 153a).

[4] Ac xvii. 7; cf. xxi. 38 and Weinel *Th.* 522f.

[5] Heges. ap. Eus. *HE* III. xix., xx. 1–4.

[6] Heges. ap. Eus. *HE* III. xx. 4.

[7] Mt xxvii. 18f, 23f; Lc xxiii. 4, 13–16, 22; J xviii. 38, xix. 4, 6, 12. Contrast Barabbas, who had been guilty of στάσις and φόνος, Lc xxiii. 25; Ac iii. 13f.

[8] J vi. 15.

[9] J xviii. 36. Pilatus' words "I find no guilt in him" follow immediately in 38.

[10] Ac i. 6ff.

hatred or popular disfavour: Roman officials, on the contrary, are habitually favourable to the Christians.[1]

That such disavowals of political ambition had some effect in mollifying the severity of the Government's attitude is quite probable, in spite of the fact that during this period the official view of the illegality of Christianity seems to have gained a firm footing. The grandchildren of Judas, if we may trust Hegesippus, succeeded in convincing Domitianus that there was no occasion for persecuting them. The Emperor, we are told, dismissed them in contempt, and ordered the persecution of the Church to cease.[2]

Submission to the State.—Apart from the actual conflict produced by persecution, Christians were ready to offer practical proof of their political innocence by ready obedience to all government orders.[3] Luke represents Joseph as going up to Bethlehem for enrolment in compliance with a decree from Augustus,[4] and Aquila and Priscilla as leaving Rome in obedience to an order from Claudius.[5] The Gospel of 'Matthew' and the 'Didache' repeat the words of Jesus bidding his followers render forced labour when it was demanded.[6] The Gospels both of 'Matthew' and Luke record the Lord's command to pay tribute to Cæsar,[7] and represent him as normally conforming with the requirements of the Law of Moses.[8] The grandchildren of Judas paid their taxes from the produce of their farm.[9] Most important in this connection are some of the passages in the great liturgical prayer at the close of Clemens' letter. "Direct our steps that we may walk in piety of heart and do what is good and well-pleasing in Thy sight and in the sight of our rulers."[10] "Give concord and peace to us and to all who inhabit the earth, as Thou gavest to our fathers, when they devoutly called upon Thee in faith and truth, we being obedient to Thine almighty and most exellent Name and to our rulers and governors upon the earth."[11]

[1] See above, p. 108 n 1.

[2] Heges. ap. Eus. *HE* III. xx. 5. On the meaning of the last phrase, see E. H. Plumptre in *DCB* i. 873b.

[3] Cf. S. Amos in *DCA* ii. 940b.

[4] Lc ii. 1–4.

[5] Ac xviii. 2.

[6] Mt v. 41; *D* i. 4.

[7] Mt xxii. 21; Lc xx. 25. Mt (xvii. 24–27) adds his payment of the Temple-tax.

[8] See above, p. 38.

[9] Heges. ap Eus. *HE* III. xx. 2.

[10] 1 Cl. lx. 2. It is worthy of note that the whole of this passage is made up of quotations from the O.T., *except the last clause.*

[11] 1 Cl. lx. 4. In the next sentence (lxi. 1), he speaks of it being God's purpose *ἡμᾶς . . . ὑποτάσσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, μηδὲν ἐναντιουμένους τῷ θελήματί σου.* The uncertainty of date of the Pastoral Epistles and the possibility that they

A special form of this attitude of obedience to government is seen in *the normal behaviour of Christians under persecution*—their willingness to answer questions put to them by magistrates, to plead at length the justice of their cause, and to submit meekly and unresistingly to the penalties to which they were sentenced.[1] On the principle of returning good for evil, the Christian prays for his persecutors,[2] and, so far as he is free to act, treats them kindly.[3]

Indications of a Relative Approval of the State.—Besides the practical testimony of submission and obedience, there are several indications, slight in themselves, which point to a certain recognition, on the part of the Christians, of the relative rightfulness of civil government.

One of these is the familiarity of the Christian mind with the story of upright and praiseworthy rulers in the pages of Scripture and elsewhere. Luke makes Jesus tell the disciples that "many kings" had desired to see the things they saw.[4] Both he and 'Matthew' recall the Lord's commendation of the Queen of Sheba.[5] Various laudatory references to King David occur up and down the literature of the time.[6] Clemens reckons the ancestry of the Messiah and of the rulers of Israel among the high privileges of Jacob.[7] He speaks with warm approval of the patriotic conduct of Judith.[8] He also mentions the self-sacrifice of certain heathen kings and governors in times of plague as examples of heroic action.[9]

Secondly, if it be true that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, the fact that the Christian communities adopted for themselves a form of government modelled, in part at least, on the political and municipal usages of the contemporary gentile world[10]

were written during this period makes it worth while to refer here to the inculcation of the duty of subordination to rulers in T iii. 1. Cf. also Weinel *Th.* 522f (he refers to the apologetic interest visible in the Gospel-stories of Jesus' Messiahship and Passion, and in the story of Acts).

[1] These principles of conduct are illustrated mainly by the stories of Jesus and the apostles in the Gospels and Acts, which have already been quoted for former periods, and would doubtless serve as norms and patterns for Christians of a later age. Cf. Jac v. 6 (*οὐκ ἀντιτάσσεται ὑμῖν*), 10f.

[2] Mt v. 44; Lc vi. 28, xxiii. 34; Ac vii. 60; *D* i. 3; Ig. *E* x. 1f (see above, p. 163); Pol. xii. 3 (orate etiam pro regibus et potestatibus et principibus atque pro persequentibus et odientibus vos et pro inimicis crucis, ut fructus vester manifestus sit in omnibus, ut sitis in illo perfecti).

[3] Lc xxii. 49–51 (Jesus heals the severed ear of one who had come to arrest him); Ig *R* v. 1 (*δεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρδοις, ὅ ἐστιν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα, οἳ καὶ εὐεργετούμενοι χείρους γίνονται*); Pol. ii. 2 (quoted above, p. 164 n 6).

[4] Lc x. 24. [5] Mt xii. 42||.

[6] Mt xii. 3f; Lc vi. 3f; Ac ii. 25–35, xiii. 22: also the various allusions to him as the ancestor of Christ (see above, p. 175 n 2).

[7] 1 Cl. xxxii. 2.

[8] 1 Cl. lv. 4–6: *δι' ἀγάπην τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ὄντος ἐν συγκλεισμῷ.*

[9] 1 Cl. lv. 1. [10] Hatch *ECC* 61–65: cf. Ramsay *CRE* 361ff.

points to a certain Christian respect for the institutions of government. The same feeling comes out in Clemens' solemn warning to the Corinthians against jealousy and strife, which, he tells them, "overthrow great cities and uproot great nations," [1] and still more strikingly in the way in which he inculcates the duty of co-operation by pointing them to the admirable organization of the army of "our governors," in which every one has his own allotted rank, and performs the duties imposed upon him by the Emperor and the officers.[2]

Thirdly, we can observe in Luke the commencement of the Christian view of the Empire and the Church as coeval, and, in a sense, complementary organizations. Besides frequently marking political synchronisms and thus putting his story into relation with the history of the Empire and the world at large,[3] he brings out the fact that Christianity began in the reign of the first Emperor, and draws a sort of parallel between the dawn of a new era of peace under Augustus—'the Saviour,' as the pagans called him—and a similar new beginning under the Saviour Jesus.[4]

A fourth indication is the practice of Paul—frequently adverted to by Luke—of insisting on the rights which the law of the State accorded to him as a Roman citizen.[5]

A fifth indication is the series of notices we get of the friendly relations that had existed between leading Christian personages and men belonging to the governing classes, culminating even in the conversion of some of the latter. Jesus had performed a cure for one of Herodes' courtiers.[6] Members of the Sanhedrin, like Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathæa, had been his disciples.[7] The Asiarchs and the Governor of Melita had been on friendly terms with Paul.[8] The church at Antiochia had included a foster-brother of Herodes among its members.[9] The proconsul of Cyprus and Dionysius the Athenian Areopagite had 'believed' as a result of the preaching of Paul.[10] Paul had contemplated the conversion of the Roman procurator Festus and King Agrippa and

[1] 1 Cl. vi. 4. [2] 1 Cl. xxxvii. 1–4 (quoted below, p. 187).
[3] Lc i. 5, ii. 1f, iii. 1f; Ac xi. 28, xii. 1, 19ff, xviii. 2: cf. Holtzm. *RS* 34f.
[4] Lc ii. 1, 14 (ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη): cf. Harnack *ME* i. 259f. On Luke as the first Apologist and forerunner of Meliton of Sardis, cf. Overbeck 102; Holtzm. *RS* 32–36; Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 538f. On the title 'Saviour,' cf. Deissmann *LVO* 311.
[5] Ac xvi. 37, xxi. 39, xxii. 25–29, xxv. 10–12.
[6] J iv. 46ff.
[7] J iii. 1, vii. 50, xii. 42 (many rulers believe on him), xix. 38f; Lc xxiii. 50ff.
[8] Ac xix. 31, xxviii. 7f. [9] Ac xiii. 1.
[10] Ac xiii. 12 (see above, pp. 114f), xvii. 34.

all their train to Christianity.[1] But these cases belonged, after all, to the story of bygone days, and they are only indirect evidence for the sentiments and practice of the period we are studying. Direct evidence for this period there is none, beyond the bare fact that two men, viz. Manius Acilius Glabrio and Titus Flavius Clemens (the Emperor's cousin), who were condemned to death by Domitianus in 95 A.D., in all probability for being Christians, had both held the office of consul, the former in 91 A.D., the latter in the year of his death. That they had been converted to Christianity before holding office is perfectly possible, and in the case of Flavius even likely, but not certain.[2] It is further extremely likely that the Clemens who, as representative of the Roman church, wrote a letter to the Corinthian church, belonged to the imperial household and was perhaps a freedman of the Emperor's cousin.[3] It has also been suggested that "his Excellency Theophilus," the Christian to whom Luke dedicated his writings, was an imperial official of some kind.[4]

Prayer for Rulers as Divinely-Appointed Officials.—That it was perfectly possible to pray for kings and rulers without thereby implying any approval of their acts is clear from the allusions we get to Christians offering prayers for their persecutors. Polycarpus in fact mentions prayers for kings and rulers in immediate connection with those for persecutors and haters of Christians and enemies of the Cross.[5] But the powerful precedent set at an earlier day by Paul gave the average Christian prayer for the imperial government a much more favourable content. The author of the Pastoral Epistles, whom many would place in this period, requires prayers and thankgsivings to be offered for kings and governors, "in order that we may lead a tranquil and quiet life."[6] The Pauline doctrine of the Divine appointment of political rulers, however, appears in an undisguised and explicit form in the great liturgical prayer with which Clemens of Rome brings his letter to a close. "Thou, Master, hast given them the authority of royalty

[1] Ac xxvi. 27–29.

[2] Flavius' wife Domitilla was banished. Many other men of rank suffered —some execution, some confiscation of property—about the same time on similar charges. The Christianity of Flavius is practically certain; that of Acilus Glabrio very probable, though not quite so well attested. Cf. Suetonius, *Domit.*, x. 2, xv. 1; Dio Cassius lxvii. 14; Eus. *HE* III. xvii., xviii. 5; Doulcet 33–35, 40–46; Neumann *SK* 7, 17 n; Ramsay *CRE* 260–263, 268–274; Hardy 86–89; *DCB* i. 553; Bigelmair 148–151; Harnack *ME* ii. 46; Gwatkin *ECH* i. 95 n; Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 535–537.

[3] *DCB* i. 556a; Harnack *ME* ii. 46. See also above, p. 114 n 13.

[4] Moffatt in *DCG* ii. 727a.

[5] Pol. xii. 3, quoted on p. 178 n 2.

[6] 1 T ii. 1–3.

by means of Thy magnificent and inexplicable power, in order that we, knowing the glory and honour that have been given them by Thee, may be submissive to them, in nothing withstanding Thy Will. Give them, Lord, health, peace, concord, stability, in order that they may administer without offence the government that has been given them by Thee. For Thou, heavenly Master, King of the ages, givest to the sons of men glory and honour and authority over those that are upon the earth: do Thou, Lord, direct their counsel according to what is good and well-pleasing in Thy sight, in order that they, administering piously in peace and gentleness the authority given them by Thee, may find favour with Thee." [1]

Contrast and Synthesis of the Two Extreme Views.—It seems a far cry from the sentiments expressed in the prayer of Clemens to the Apocalyptist's pictures of the Roman Empire as a Satanic Beast or a blasphemous and murderous Harlot. And yet the two are almost contemporary representations—both coming from leading and influential Christians. The discrepancy indicates in a striking way what widely divergent tendencies and elements lay within the Christian view of the State.[2] We shall be fairly safe in saying that no Christian mind of that day attempted a synthesis of these contraries, or even felt the need of doing so. At the same time, there is no need to assume that the dualism was fundamentally irreconcilable. Both extremes had certain features in common. It came naturally to the Christian—as it did to the Jew—to regard all existing things, especially those beyond one's own control, as constituted or permitted or caused in some way by

[1] 1 Cl. lxi. 1f. The words stated in the Fourth Gospel (xix. 11) to have been addressed by Jesus to Pilatus: *οὐκ εἶχες ἐξουσίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ οὐδεμίαν εἰ μὴ ἦν δεδομένον σοι ἄνωθεν*, commits the author to a belief in some sort of Divine appointment of governors; but there is no allusion to the authority being either given or used for beneficent ends as in the Clementine prayer. We have seen that the Apocalypse viewed the Beast's power to persecute as "given" to him—presumably by the permissive decree of God (Ap xiii. 7, 15); and it would be hard to say whether this idea or that of Paul in R xiii. 1–7 forms the closer parallel to the words addressed to Pilatus by Jesus in J xix. 11. On Christian prayers for the government in general, and on the Clementine prayer in particular, see Mangold 232–235; Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn I. i. 103–105 (where several references are transcribed in full); Doulcet 181–184; Holtzm. *RS* 30f; Carlyle 128 ("St Clement of Rome, in the great liturgical prayer which forms a concluding part of his letter, does not go beyond St Paul's conception of the sanctity of government"); Dobschütz 210, 292f; Weinel *Th.* 637f. See above, p. 111 n 1.

[2] Schmidt, in his brief allusions to the Christian attitude to the State, ignores the temper represented by the Apocalypse (145f, 181–187, 305ff). For a useful summary of the Pauline and apocalyptic views, see Robertson *RD* 105–111. Cf. also Holtzm. *RS* 23–25; Harnack *KS* 133f; Troeltsch 155f.

the Providence of God. If it brought happiness, it was received gratefully as a Divine blessing: if it brought pain or sorrow, it was submitted to resignedly as a Divine chastisement. Thus, even according to the Apocalyptist, "it was given" to the persecuting governor to persecute [1] —he was in some sense allowed or authorized by God to do it—for the achievement of some good end, such as the chastisement or discipline of the Church. On the other hand, when this great imperial government conferred on its subjects the benefits of law and order and security of life and property, then too it could be regarded as the agent of Divine love and justice. Again, prayer for rulers is common—or at least possible—to both extremes. When the rulers persecuted, the prayers were for their pardon and conversion; when they protected the innocent and repressed crime, the prayers were for their health, strength, and stability. Further, both extremes would have agreed in complying in practice with all government commands that did not involve disobedience to Christian faith and teaching, and in refusing compliance with such as did.[2] And finally, both extremes believed that the Empire would in the near future be brought to an end and all evil-doers punished through the Parousia of Jesus and the Last Judgment.

The main difference between them lay in this. The Apocalyptist ignored the beneficent work of the government, and looked only at its official idolatry, its cruel persecutions, and its various other abuses: these things stamped it as a Satanic institution. The loyal Christian in peaceful times ignored the persecution and the personal crimes of governors, and looked only at the wonderful 'Pax Romana' and the general system of law and order which he was glad to enjoy: hence he could think and speak of the imperial rule as a Divinely ordained blessing.

Neither party as yet seems to have given much thought to the further problem, whether or how far a Christian could rightly co-operate as an official with the government, and how far the functions of an official—involving not only continual contact with idolatry, but also continual participation in acts of violence and cruelty (such as scourging and crucifixion)—could be combined with a faithful obedience to Christian ethical teaching. The silence of our records must not be taken as implying a verdict one way or another on this point. Except in the case of Flavius Clemens and possibly one or

[1] See p. 181 n 1.

[2] Weinel *SUS* 17: "Eine unbedingte Grenze für den Gehorsam aber mussten doch auch diese Friedensmänner gelten lassen," u.s.w.

two others, the question had not yet arisen: for the comparatively humble station and the unpopularity of the great mass of Christians —not to mention the ubiquity and prominence of the intolerable Kaiserkult—were alone sufficient virtually to debar them from official life.

# CHAPTER V

## WAR

The Christian Love of Peace.—Peace held a very high place in the Christian scale of values. Ignatius exclaims: "Nothing is better than peace, by which all war of those in heaven and those on earth is abolished."[1] With the question of the maintenance of peace and harmony within the Church we are not here immediately concerned, though it is worth noticing how inseparable a characteristic or accompaniment of Christianity peace was considered to be,[2] and what serious and strenuous efforts were made to prevent it being disturbed or broken by dissension or strife.[3] Christians also desired and endeavoured to be at peace with the outside world. They naturally wished to be kept safe from the assaults of their enemies.[4] Their love for peace, however, went beyond a mere concern for their own tranquillity. In the liturgical prayer at the end of the epistle of Clemens of Rome occurs a petition for world-wide peace among men generally. "Give concord and peace to us and to all who inhabit the earth, as Thou gavest to our fathers . . . we being obedient to Thine almighty and most excellent Name and to our rulers and governors upon the earth."[5] Then he prays specially for the rulers: "Give

[1] Ig. *E* xiii. 2. Mention is made elsewhere of a "heavenly army" (Lc ii. 13) and of war (Ap xii. 7f) and peace (Lc xix. 38) in heaven. Clemens enlarges on the peace with which the natural world and the living creatures fulfil their functions (1 Cl. xx. 1, 9–11; cf. lvi. 12).

[2] E.g. Lc ii. 14 (cf. Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 650b); Ac x. 36; J xiv. 27, xvi. 33; B xxi. 9. Note also the repeated use of the word in greetings and farewells.

[3] Mt xviii. 15–17; *D* xiv. 2, xv. 3; B xix. 12 (οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους συναγαγών· similarly *D* iv. 3); 1 Cl. saepe; Ig. *Ph.* x. 1, *T* int. In 1 Cl. iii. 2, xlvi. 5, Jac iv. 1, the word πόλεμος is used of dissension within the Church.

[4] Lc i. 71, 74, 79; 1 Cl. lvi. 9, lx. 3. They knew, however, that, except by unfaithfulness to Christ, a certain amount of conflict with the world was inevitable (Mt x. 34ff = Lc xii. 51ff).

[5] 1 Cl. lx. 4.

them, Lord, health, peace, concord, stability, in order that they may administer without offence the government that has been given them by Thee. . . . Do Thou, Lord, direct their counsel . . . in order that they, administering piously in peace and gentleness the authority given them by Thee, may find favour with Thee." [1] Reflection is cast on the incessant wars of men in the 'Vision of Isaiah.' The prophet ascends to the firmament, " and there I saw Sammael and his hosts, and there was great fighting therein, and the angels of Satan were envying one another. And as above, so on the earth also ; for the likeness of that which is in the firmament is here on the earth. And I said unto the angel (who was with me) : ' (What is this war and) what is this envying ? ' And he said unto me : ' So has it been since the world was made until now, and this war (will continue) till He whom thou shalt see shall come and destroy him.' " [2]

While thus in general terms peace was praised and strife and contention deprecated as unchristian, and while also much in a practical way was done by Christians in cultivating habits of peace both among themselves and also in their relations with the world outside, yet the Christian mind stopped short of pronouncing an unqualified condemnation of war. The verdict of disapproval was subject to limitation in three directions.

The Wars of Hebrew History.—As has already been pointed out, the Hebrew Scriptures, taken over and held sacred by the Church, were regarded as sanctifying and exempting from human criticism all that was not actually censured by the biblical authors themselves. Christians thus read and thought of the wars of the Old Testament without any notion of a conflict between the ethical standard of past times and that of their own. Luke recalls the patriotic allusions made by both Stephen and Paul to the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites.[3] Clemens tells in detail the story of Rahab and the spies, making the scarlet thread she bound in her window a type of the Lord's redeeming blood.[4] ' Barnabas ' finds a type of the cross in the hands of Moses extended above the battle between Israel and Amalek, and a type of Jesus himself in Joshua

[1] 1 Cl. lxi. 1f.

[2] *VI* ap. *AI* vii. 9–12 (the bracketed words are found only in the Latin version). Cf. x. 29–31, where Christ, descending through the heavens, comes to the firmament where the ruler of this world dwells, but is not recognized, for " they were envying one another and fighting ; for here there is a power of evil, and envying about trifles." When he passes the angels of the air, " one was plundering and doing violence to another."

[3] Ac vii. 45, xiii. 19.

[4] 1 Cl. xii : cf. the laudatory allusion to her in Jac ii. 25.

whom Moses ordered to record God's determination of eternal war against the same national foes of Israel.[1] It must not, of course, be assumed that whatever Christians revered or left uncensured because it was scriptural, they would be prepared to practise themselves. The ancient Hebrew wars were simply kept in a different compartment of the mind from the principles of daily Christian life, and at first the former in all probability exercised absolutely no influence on the latter.[2] At the same time, one must note that, when participation in war became a Christian problem, the fact that the Old Testament wars were traditionally justified had some effect in preventing a unanimous decision against such participation.[3]

The Messianic Wars.[4]—The Messianic wars—already partly accomplished in the Roman conquest of Judæa and the fall of Jerusalem—formed a second department in which the Christian mind contemplated war without any suggestion of moral disapprobation attaching to it. Luke and 'Matthew,' in their versions of the apocalyptic discourses of Jesus, represent the Jewish war and the siege and destruction of Jerusalem as part of the punishment to be meted out to the nation as a result of their rejection of Christ.[5] 'Barnabas' says that the Temple of the Jews was destroyed by their enemies because they went to war.[6] In the 'Sibylline Oracles' the destruction of the Temple is represented as a punishment for the murders and ungodliness of which the Jews were guilty.[7]

But the Jewish war of 70 A.D. had not exhausted the military element in Christian Messianism. Jerusalem indeed had fallen, but the Lord was not yet come; and the latter event, no less than the former, was due to be heralded by various wars. "Ye will hear of wars and rumours of wars: see (to it); be not amazed: for (this) must happen, but the end is not yet. For nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and there will be famines and earthquakes in divers places. All these things are the beginning of birth-pangs."[8] This theme of Messianic warfare appears in a multitude of different manifestations in the pages of the Apocalypse. The opening of the first, second, and fourth

[1] B xii. 2, 8f.
[2] See above, p. 118 n 2.
[3] Harnack *MC* 11, quoted below, p. 187 n 1.
[4] Cf. Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 649b–653a.
[5] Mt xxiv. 1f, 6–8, 15–22; Lc xvii. 31–37, xix. 41–44, xxi. 5f, 9–11, 20–24. Cf. Mt xxiii. 34–36‖.
[6] B xvi. 4.
[7] *Sib. Orac.* iv. 115–118, 125–127.
[8] Mt xxiv. 6–8 = Lc xxi. 9–11. According to the 'Vision of Isaiah' (*AI* vii. 12), the war continues incessantly from the Creation to the Parousia.

seals usher in disastrous wars.[1] Christ is represented as a conqueror,[2] having a sharp two-edged sword issuing from his mouth : [3] he threatens to make war with it upon the Nicolaitans,[4] and to slay Jezebel's children.[5] A tremendous conflict is about to come, in which Christ will conquer the Beast and the kings of the earth with terrific slaughter.[6] After Christ's millennial reign, there will be further wars against Gog and Magog.[7] Luke represents Jesus in the parable of the Pounds as describing the king on his return summoning into his presence for execution those who did not wish him to reign over them.[8] The idea of war as an element in God's punitive justice appears in other less distinctively apocalyptic passages in the literature of our period. Thus Clemens speaks of God as the champion and defender of those who serve Him,[9] and quotes the Isaianic threat : " If ye are unwilling and will not hear me, the sword shall devour you." [10]

The idea of a victorious war to be waged by Christ against his enemies was an element in Christian belief taken over directly from Jewish apocalyptic. With the Jews such a belief might at any time take practical form in the proclamation of a holy war against the foes of God's chosen people. When transplanted to Christian soil, the risk of an attempt to anticipate by force of arms the Messiah's final triumph virtually disappeared. It was not till long after the present period that a holy war was proclaimed in Christendom. The Christian took no part as an earthly warrior in fighting for Messiah's victory. The warrior-Christ would win his victories with armies of angels.[11] Nevertheless, this belief

[1] Ap vi. 1–8. [2] Ap iii. 21, v. 5, vi. 2 : cf. J xvi. 33.
[3] Ap i. 16, ii. 12, xix. 15, 21. [4] Ap ii. 16.
[5] Ap ii. 23.
[6] Ap xiv. 16–20, xvi. 13f, 16, xix. 11–21. Cf. 4th Ezra xiii. for the Jewish view.
[7] Ap xx. 7–10. [8] Lc xix. 27.
[9] 1 Cl. xlv. 7 (ὑπέρμαχος καὶ ὑπερασπιστής). [10] 1 Cl. viii. 4 ; Isa i. 20.
[11] The whole question is fully discussed by Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 652f and by Harnack in *MC* 8–12. I transcribe a few sentences from the latter : " Die Heerscharen aber, welche ihn " (Christ) " dann begleiten und unter seiner Führung streiten werden, sind nicht Menschen, sondern Engel. . . . Infolge davon wurde die Stimmung der Gläubigen von hier aus keine kriegerische oder vielmehr eine kriegerische im passiven Sinn. Der Jude zog in der letzten Not wirklich das Schwert und griff dem Messias vor ; er hatte ja auch ein Land, eine heilige Stadt und einen Tempel zu verteidigen. Der Christ aber war angewiesen, auf seinen Christus-victor zu warten. Wohl füllte sich seine Phantasie, wie die Johannes-Apokalypse zeigt, auch mit kriegerischen Bildern des Hasses und der Rache ; aber er muss immer Geduld haben und sehnsüchtig auf den Moment ausblicken, in welchem er Zuschauer des grossen Kampfs und Siegs sein wird " (9f). He then utters a warning against overestimating the importance of the eschatological point of view, and proceeds : " Man darf auch die psychologische Tatsache nicht vergessen, dass die Welt der Phantasie

in a warrior-Christ who would conquer his enemies played its part, like the reverent acceptance of the Old Testament wars, in preventing a whole-hearted rejection of warfare as an impermissible element in Christian conduct.[1]

War as an Illustration of Christian Life.—The third department of thought in which warfare was contemplated without any feeling of moral revulsion was the comparison of the Christian life itself to warfare. It is Luke who preserves for us the one explicitly military parable of Jesus, that of the two kings preparing for war.[2] We have already seen what large use Paul had made of the idea of the Christian as a soldier.[3] We find a few instances of the same type of thought in Clemens and Ignatius. Clemens says to the Corinthians : " Let us render service, then, brothers, as strenuously as we can under His faultless orders. Let us consider those who serve our governors, in what an orderly, obedient, and submissive way they carry out their instructions. For all are not prefects or chiliarchs or centurions or captains of fifty and so on ; but each one in his own rank performs what is ordered by the Emperor and the governors. The great cannot exist without the lower, nor the lower without the great. There is a sort of intermixing in all things, and in that (lies) usefulness." [4] Ignatius

und die Welt des wirklichen Lebens getrennt sind, und dass unter Umständen ein sehr ruhiger und sehr friedfertiger Mensch zeitweise sich ausschweifenden Phantasien hinzugeben vermag, ohne dass dieselben im Grunde seine innere Haltung beeinflussen. Die Geschichte bezeugt, dass der kriegerische Jesus Christus redivivus der Apokalyptik die Christen niemals in den drei ersten Jahrhunderten zu kriegerischen Revolutionären gemacht hat" (10; so also on 43). He points out the peaceful and gentle features in the Apocalypse, e.g. the mortally wounded lamb. On 44, however, he suggests that in the earliest times, when the Church had not yet emancipated herself from apocalyptic and from the Jewish political spirit, there might have been some danger of a Christian revolt; and he regards Mt xxvi. 52 and J xviii. 36 as not entirely intelligible except on some such supposition. Cf. Moffatt *l.c.* : " There was a danger of this " (a militant interpretation of Chiliasm), " but the danger was never real in the early centuries."

[1] Harnack *MC* 11f : " Aber eine generelle Verwerfung des Kriegs konnte deshalb nicht erfolgen, weil Gott selbst nach der Anschauung der ältesten Christen Kriege bewirkt und leitet. Er hat es früher getan durch Josua und David; er hat es in der Gegenwart getan durch die Niederwerfung des jüdischen Volks und die Zerstörung Jerusalems, und er wird es in Zukunft tun durch den wiederkehrenden Christus. Wie kann man also Kriege in jedem Sinn und generell verwerfen, wenn Gott selbst sie hervorruft und leitet ? Augenscheinlich gibt es notwendige und gerechte Kriege ! und ein solcher Krieg wird der Krieg am Ende der Tage sein. . . . Somit hat die Apokalyptik an ihrem Teil dazu beigetragen, dass die Christen sich nicht völlig gegen den Krieg abgesperrt haben."

[2] Lc xiv. 31–33 : we may perhaps compare Lc xvi. 16 = Mt xi. 12f.

[3] See above, pp. 118f.

[4] 1 Cl. xxxvii. 1–4 ; cf. xxi. 4 (*μὴ λειποτακτεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ*), xxviii. 2 (*τινα τῶν αὐτομολούντων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*).

writes: "Please Him whom ye serve, and from whom ye receive wages. Let no one of you be found (to be) a deserter. Let your baptism abide as (your) weapons, faith as a helmet, love as a spear, patience as armour. (Let) your works (be) your deposits, in order that ye may receive the recompense due to you."[1] It will be seen at once that, while Ignatius does not do more than use military metaphors, Clemens goes a good deal further. In two respects his allusion to military life is a novelty. On the one hand, he draws from his illustration the lesson of subordination of Christians to Church-leaders; and on the other hand, he unquestionably exhibits a real admiration for the Roman army as such. This latter sentiment is no doubt connected with his conception of the imperial rulers as having been invested with their authority by God for the maintenance of good government.[2]

The Christian Attitude to War and Soldiers in Real Life.—Side by side with these words of admiration for the Roman army we may put two or three other *appreciative allusions* made to soldiers in the Christian literature of the time. The Gospels recorded how some soldiers had come to John for baptism,[3] how Jesus had worked a cure for a centurion and commended him for his faith,[4] how another centurion had expressed admiration for Jesus at the crucifixion:[5] Luke in Acts told of the prayerful and charitable centurion of Cæsarea, Cornelius, and the "pious soldier"

[1] Ig. *P* vi. 2; cf. *S* i. 2 (ἵνα ἄρῃ σύσσημον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως).

[2] On Ignatius, Harnack *MC* 19f. On Clemens, Guignebert 191 n 4 ("nous sommes bien plutôt en présence d'une constatation que d'une approbation; il n'y a rien à tirer de ce texte relativement aux sentiments vrais de Saint Clem. Rom."); Harnack *MC* 18f, 52f ("Mit Wohlgefallen und Stolz blickt hier der Sprecher der römischen Gemeinde auf das römische Heer. Kann ihm ein Heer in jeder Hinsicht die castra diaboli gewesen sein, dessen Disziplin und Gehorsam er so rühmt? Ich glaube nicht," u.s.w.); Weinel *SUS* 26 ("Wenn in diesem Zusammenhang der Römer Clemens von 'unserem' Heer und 'unseren' Offizieren spricht, so ist das ganz einzigartig und verrät wohl eine populäre Vorliebe für das Militär, der sich selbst dieser Christ nicht ganz entziehen kann. Aber mehr ist es nicht"), *Th.* 638. Cf. Moffatt's admirable discussion in *DAC* ii. 653–660: he remarks (657b): "These illustrations from St. Paul onwards merely indicate the martial environment of the new religion within the Roman world of the first three centuries; they no more prove that the church encouraged or even approved of war than the less frequent allusions to the games and the theatre prove that these were sanctioned by the conscience of the primitive Christians. Besides, the use of military illustrations is not confined to Christian writers by any means. The newer advocates and exponents of moral philosophy, and in especial of Cynicism and Stoicism, frequently employ metaphors culled from the Roman army to adorn their semi-religious convictions."

[3] Lc iii. 14.

[4] Mt viii. 5–10; Lc vii. 2–10.

[5] Mt xxvii. 54; Lc xxiii. 47.

who waited on him,[1] and recorded how Paul had experienced much justice and kindness at the hands of the military.[2]

On the other hand, there are not wanting several references to *the heartless character of the average soldier.* It was by the hands of soldiers that all the abominations recorded in the Passion-stories had been inflicted upon the Lord.[3] In almost every case of persecution or oppression they were the instruments of the suffering inflicted on the righteous.[4] When Paul was shipwrecked, the soldiers had proposed to kill the prisoners to prevent them escaping.[5] Ignatius was escorted to Rome by a band of soldiers—" ten leopards," he calls them—who became worse the more kindly they were treated.[6]

We have practically no direct evidence whereby to test the state of Christian feeling at this time on the question as to *how far, if at all, it was regarded as legitimate for a Christian to be a soldier.* We can only say (1) that no Christian writing up to the end of our period contains any explicit statement to the effect that it was wrong for a Christian to be a soldier : (2) that these writings, besides containing complimentary allusions to various military men, record how one or two such men were actually admitted to the Christian Church by baptism without being asked (as far as we know) to resign their military calling : [7] (3) that, after the conversion of the Philippian gaoler, there is no undoubted reference

[1] Ac x. 1f, 7.

[2] Ac xxi. 31—xxiii, xxvii. 3, 43, xxviii. 16, 31. Cf. Harnack *MC* 52 : " Die Geschichten im Neuen Testament vom Hauptmann zu Kapernaum, vom Hauptmann unter dem Kreuze, vom Hauptmann zu Cäsarea sind nicht erzählt, um den Soldatenstand zu loben oder auch nur seine Duldung nahe zu legen. Dass es Soldaten gewesen sind, ist in allen diesen Fällen von untergeordneter Bedeutung für den Erzähler."

[3] E.g. Mt xxvii. 27ff ; Lc xxii. 63f, xxiii. 11, 36 ; J xix. 1f, 32ff.

[4] E.g. the deaths of John the Baptist (Mt xiv. 1–12 ; Lc ix. 7–9) and Jacob the son of Zebedæus, and the imprisonment of Peter (Ac xii.).

[5] Ac xxvii. 42f.

[6] Ig. *R* v. 1. Cf. Harnack *ME* ii. 52 (" the conduct of soldiers during peace (their extortion, their licence, their police duties) was as opposed to Christian ethics as their wild debauchery and sports (*e.g.*, the ' Mimus ') at the Pagan festivals ") ; De Jong 4f.

[7] See above, pp. 114f (proconsul of Cyprus), 120f. Cf. Lc iii. 14 (baptism of soldiers by John) ; Harnack *MC* 53 (" Die Annahme liegt daher nahe, dass er " (Luke) " seinen heidenchristlichen Lesern sagen wollte, dass ein christlicher Soldat seinen Christenstand dadurch beweist, dass er sich von Raub und Erpressung fernhält. Damit wäre unter dieser Bedingung die Duldung des Kriegerstandes ausgesprochen. Man darf vermuten, dass Lukas so verstanden sein wollte. Die Einwendung aber, dass nicht Jesus selbst, sondern sein Vorläufer hier spricht, ist schwerlich erheblich "). It is unreasonable to treat this laissez-faire attitude on the part of early Christians and New Testament writers towards the military calling (as, e.g., Prof. B.-Baker does—*ICW* 16f) as if it represented the considered judgment of the Church

to any Christian soldier for a hundred and twenty years : [1] (4) that probably no one at this time was compelled to be a soldier against his will : and (5) that the teaching of Jesus and Christian ethical teaching generally conflicted diametrically with the normal duties of the soldier.[2] We shall probably not be far from the truth in concluding that for the majority of Christians nothing had occurred to bring the military problem before their minds ; [3] hence the few cases of soldiers being converted raised little difficulty. No Christian, on the other hand, would voluntarily become a soldier after conversion : [4] he would be deterred from doing so, not only by fear of contamination from idolatry, but also by a natural reluctance—and doubtless in many cases by a conscientious objection—to using arms.

on what was recognized later on to be a difficult and acute problem. It was rather the attitude of those who had not yet realized that there was a problem to be solved. It is inadequate as an index even to the convictions and practice of the apostolic age, and still more so as a basis for modern Christian ethics.

[1] For supposed cases of Christian soldiers in the time of Hadrianus (117–138 A.D.), see below, pp. 276f n 4. The next evidence is the ' Thundering ' Legion, 174 A.D.

[2] The pertinent passages in the Synoptic Gospels have already been quoted and discussed : see above, pp. 55–57. To these we may now add a passage in the Fourth Gospel, viz. J xviii. 36. Cf. Harnack *ME* ii. 52 (" The position of a soldier would seem to be still more incompatible with Christianity than the higher offices of state, for Christianity prohibited on principle both war and bloodshed "), *MC* 11 (" wir werden sehen, dass die christliche Ethik den Christen den Krieg überhaupt verboten hat "). Bigelmair, in his discussion of the point (164–166), touches on most of the pertinent considerations. He considers the abolition of war as one of the ideals foreshadowed in the Sermon on the Mount, but as unattainable even in the present, and much more so in those days. " Der Einzelne," he says, " ist im Kampfe dafür ohnehin meist machtlos." From this he concludes that the apostolic dictum, " Let every one remain in the condition in which he was called," was regarded as applying to soldiers, and that that is why we find Christian soldiers in the earliest times. If this were valid reasoning, it would not be difficult to argue that theft, adultery, prostitution, and murder might have been regarded as legitimate for Christians ; for of each of them it is true—as it is of war—that it cannot be completely abolished as long as the world is imperfect. If, as Bigelmair and many others assume, the fact that a certain calling cannot yet be abolished because the world is imperfect is sufficient to justify a Christian in pursuing it, why forbid theft or highway-robbery ? This, of course, was Falstaff's argument, when persuading Prince Henry to come on a purse-taking expedition : " Why, Hal, 'tis my vocation, Hal ; 'tis no sin for a man to labour in his vocation." It is practically certain that the convictions of the early Christian Church on the legitimacy of bearing arms were not nearly so one-sided as B.-Baker and Bigelmair represent, and that, in so far as soldiers were allowed to remain in the Church, it was due to the tolerant immaturity of Christian minds, and not to any properly thought-out solution of the problem.

[3] Weinel *Th.* 639f.

[4] This is Harnack's conclusion (*MC* 48).

# CHAPTER VI

## THE SEXES AND THE FAMILY [1]

THE VIEW TAKEN OF WOMEN.—The writings of Luke are remarkable for the interest the author takes in women and the prominent place he assigns to them in the story of Jesus' life and in that of the earlier apostolic age. A large number of female characters appear in his pages:—the mothers of Jesus and John the Baptist, the widow of Nain, the penitent prostitute, the women who contributed to Jesus' support, the sisters of Bethania, the 'daughter of Abraham' whom Jesus cured in the synagogue, the widow who put the mites into the treasury, the women who lamented Jesus on his way to Golgotha, Dorcas, Mariam the mother of Mark and her maid Rhodē, Lydia of Philippi, the ventriloquist girl whom Paul cured, the women-converts of Thessalonica and Berhœa, Damaris, Priscilla, and the daughters of Philip. Hardly less valuable testimony is borne by the other two evangelists of our period. 'Matthew,' like Luke, gives an account of Jesus' mother, and apparently attempts to rebut Jewish charges against the Christians, founded on suspicions as to her character, by including in his genealogy of Jesus four women—Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Bathsheba—whose conduct as recorded in Scripture was not above criticism, but who had nevertheless obtained places in Israel's royal pedigree.[2] The Fourth Gospel speaks with some fulness of Jesus' mother, of the woman of Samaria, of the sisters of Bethania, and of Mariam of Magdala.

THE ESTEEM FOR CELIBACY.—Along with this enhanced respect for the dignity and worth of women, there grew up gradually in Christianity an idea of the special sanctity of complete abstention from sexual intercourse. This leaning to celibacy may have been due, in part at least (as with Paul), to considerations of expediency, in view of the near approach of the Parousia, but perhaps owed its

[1] Weinel *Th.* 641–644.

[2] Mt i. 3, 5f: cf. J. Weiss ap. Montefiore *SG* ii. 453: "If the Jews, in spite of those stumbling-blocks, do not cease to honour the sacred history of their nation, they have no reason for bringing a reproach against the new religion on the ground of a suspicion which the Evangelist is about to prove unfounded."

origin more directly to the contagion of Oriental, Essene, or Neo-pythagorean notions as to the impurity of matter.[1] It appears to have been strong among the Jewish Christians of Palestine. 'Matthew' is the only evangelist who records the Lord's words about "those who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven."[2] The Gnostic Ebionites were originally strict celibates, though in course of time they modified their views and came to regard marriage as highly honourable.[3] Luke tells us that he had met at Cæsarea four virgin-prophetesses, the daughters of Philip the evangelist.[4] Two virgin-daughters of the other Philip, one of the Twelve, lived to a great age with their father in Hierapolis.[5] The Apocalypse includes a vision of the Lamb standing on Mount Zion with the hundred and forty-four thousand redeemed: "these," says the author, "are they who have not defiled themselves with women, for they are virgins."[6] There certainly seems to have been in the churches a fairly numerous set of people who aspired to absolute continence as the acme of Christian perfection. Thus Clemens writes to the Corinthians: "Let not him that is chaste in the flesh boast, knowing (as he does) that it is Someone else who supplies him with his self-control."[7] Ignatius writes to Polycarpus: "If anyone is able to abide in chastity for the honour of the Lord's flesh, let him keep without boasting. If he boasts, he is lost; and if he is known more than the bishop, he is corrupted."[8] Polycarpus himself, with rather less definiteness, writes to the Philippians: "Let the younger men be blameless in all things, concerned for chastity above all, and curbing themselves from every evil. For it is a good thing to be cut off from the lusts that are in the world, because every lust wars against the spirit. . . . Let the virgins walk in blameless and chaste conscience."[9]

THE RECOGNITION OF MARRIAGE AND HOME-LIFE.—At the same

[1] Windelband 212f, 230. For the reverence felt among pagans for virginity, see Lecky i. 105–109.

[2] Mt xix. 10–12.

[3] W. Beveridge in *ERE* v. 142b.

[4] Ac xxi. 8f.

[5] Polycrates of Ephesus ap. Eus. *HE* III. xxxi. 3.

[6] Ap xiv. 4. It would be interesting to know how the author would have related the sentiment he has here admitted to his pages to the idea of the marriage of the Lamb and of the New Jerusalem as his bride (Ap xix. 7, 9, xxi. 2, 9f, xxii. 17).

[7] 1 Cl. xxxviii. 2.

[8] Ig. *P* v. 2. The last clause reads *καὶ ἐὰν γνωσθῇ πλέον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἔφθαρται.* Funk translates "et si se majorem episcopo censeat, interiit," and says in a note that the words "qui uxorem duxit" are to be understood after *ἐπισκόπου.* Lightfoot translates "If it be known beyond the bishop, he is polluted" (*AF* II. ii. 349, 573).

[9] Pol. v. 3.

time the Church generally regarded marriage as an honourable and Divinely ordained institution. "'And God made man,'" says Clemens, "'male and female he made them.' Having then finished all these things, he praised and blessed them, and said: 'Increase and multiply.'" [1] The Fourth Gospel tells how Jesus attended the marriage-feast of a friend,[2] and how the Baptist compared Jesus and himself to a bridegroom and his friend.[3] The Apocalypse, as already mentioned, speaks symbolically of the marriage of the Lamb and of the New Jerusalem as his bride.[4] Ignatius lays it down that "it is becoming for men who wed and women who are wedded to form the union with the consent of the bishop, that the marriage may be according to the Lord and not according to lust. Let all things be done for the honour of God." [5]

Marriage being thus sanctioned and sanctified in the Church, family-life received recognition and honour along with it. Jesus for a time at least at the beginning of his ministry had remained with his mother and brothers.[6] Lazarus had lived with his two sisters at Bethania.[7] The 'household'—as we have already noticed—comes to be regarded as a sort of spiritual unit.[8]

The Subordination of Domestic to Religious Obligations.—Sacred as was the family tie, the claims of the new faith were yet more sacred; and, in the not-unlikely case of a conflict between them, family duties were to be considered as of relatively minor importance. The Gospels recorded some very uncompromising utterances of Jesus to this effect.[9] The Lord himself had been misunderstood by his mother and brothers, and had had to declare his independence of them.[10] But except for these references to the life and teaching of Jesus, and for a few allusions made by Clemens to some other historical instances of the disruption of family ties,[11] we do not hear much of the difficulty as occurring in this period. While we cannot suppose that it did not exist, we may perhaps conjecture that with the more extended adoption of the method of evangelizing by households, it tended to become less acute as years went on.

[1] 1 Cl. xxxiii. 5f.
[2] J ii. 1–10.
[3] J iii. 29.
[4] Ap xix. 7, 9, xxi. 2, 9f, xxii. 17.
[5] Ig. *P* v. 2.
[6] J ii. 1f, 12.
[7] J xi.
[8] Lc xix. 9; Ac xi. 14, xvi. 31, xviii. 8; J iv. 53; 1 Cl. xii. 5 (Rahab asks the spies, "Save me and my father's house").
[9] Mt viii. 21f, x. 35–37, xxiii. 9; Lc ix. 59–61, xii. 51–53, xiv. 25f, xxi. 16.
[10] Mt xii. 46–50; Lc viii. 19–21; J ii. 4, vii. 3–9.
[11] 1 Cl. x. 2f (Abraham leaves his συγγενείαν), xxxi. 4 (Jacob flees δι' ἀδελφόν), xxxv. 8 (an accusation—quoted from Ps l. 20—of unbrotherly behaviour).

Regulation of Sexual Relations and Family Life.—All intercourse save that between man and wife was of course severely discountenanced. The deep and constant concern felt by leaders for the sexual purity of Christian people comes out in the abundant denunciations and warnings they utter against lust in general,[1] adultery,[2] fornication,[3] sodomy,[4] and filthy speech.[5]

Of the duties of husbands and wives, much good counsel is given as to mutual love, and to the wifely virtues of gentleness, chastity, humility, blamelessness, etc.[6] Divorce followed by re-marriage is forbidden as adulterous in the Gospel of Luke ;[7] but in ' Matthew ' this is modified by a tacit permission of divorce (and re-marriage) in case of the wife's unchastity.[8]

In regard to the obligations of parents, the destruction of infant life either before or after birth is forbidden.[9] Some beautiful touches of parental love and of the value set on it occur in the Gospels.[10] We find traces of a new interest in and respect for childhood.[11] Parents are exhorted to educate their children in the fear of God.[12] Children must be taught the lessons of humility and pure love;[13] nor is the duty of providing for a parent's needs in old age forgotten.[14]

[1] *D* iii. 3, v. 1 ; Jd 4, 16, 18, 23 ; 1 Cl. xxviii. 1, xxx. 1, lxii. 2, lxiv. ; B ii. 2, x. 8 ; 1 J ii. 16 ; Ig. *E* xvi. 1f ; Pol. v. 2f, vii. 1.

[2] Mt v. 28, 32, xix. 9, 18; Lc xvi. 18, xviii. 20; *D* ii. 2, iii. 3, v. 1 ; Ap ii. 22 ; 1 Cl. xxx. 1, xxxv. 8 ; B x. 7, xix. 4, xx. 1 ; J iv. 17f ; Jac ii. 11, (? iv. 4).

[3] *D* ii. 2, iii. 3, v. 1 ; Jd 11 ; *TH* ap. *AI* iii. 28 ; Ap. ii. 14, 20f, ix. 21, xxi. 8, xxii. 15 ; B xix. 4 ; Pol. v. 3. Note, however, that Rahab the πόρνη is praised (1 Cl. xii. ; Jac ii. 25).

[4] *D* ii. 2, (? v. 2) ; Jd 7f ; Ap xxii. 15 ; B x. 6f, xix. 4, (? xx. 2) ; Pol. v. 3.

[5] *D* iii. 3, v. 1 ; B xix. 4.

[6] 1 Cl. i. 3, vi. 3, xxi. 6f ; Ig. *P* v. 1 ; Pol. iv. 2.

[7] Lc. xvi. 18. [8] Mt v. 31f, xix. 9.

[9] *D* ii. 2 (=B xix. 5), v. 2. On the practices of abortion and infanticide in the pagan world, see Lecky ii. 20ff, 24ff ; Bigg *CE* 107–111 ; Westermarck i. 405–417. Cf. Wisdom of Solomon xii. 5.

[10] Lc i. 17, vii. 12f, viii. 41ff||, ix. 38ff||, xi. 7, 11–13|| ; J iv. 46–53.

[11] See the birth-stories in Mt and Lc ; and cf. Lc i. 80, ii. 40–52, xviii. 15–17 ; Mt xviii. 1–6, xix. 13–15 ; Ac xxi. 5 ; B vi. 11 (God through forgiveness ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς ἄλλον τύπον, ὡς παιδίων ἔχειν τὴν ψυχήν).

[12] *D* iv. 9=B xix. 5 ; 1 Cl. xxi. 6, 8 ; Pol. iv. 2.

[13] Lc ii. 51 ; 1 Cl. xxi. 8.

[14] J xix. 26f ; cf. 1 T v. 4, 8, 16.

# CHAPTER VII

## PROPERTY

THE DUTY OF WORK AND THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY.—The means of providing for the needs of the body are recognized as being at bottom the direct gift of God. So the Christian is taught to pray daily: "Give us to-day our bread for the morrow," [1] and to say in the Eucharistic prayer: "Thou, almighty Master, . . . hast given men food and drink to enjoy that they may thank Thee." [2] So too was he bidden by the Lord not to worry anxiously about food and clothing, but to put his trust in the bounty of God.[3] It was, however, taken for granted by the early Church that no one was entitled to receive God's gift of sustenance unless he worked for it. This ruling was as far as possible enforced in the Church itself. "Let everyone that comes in the name of the Lord be received. . . . If he is a craftsman and wishes to settle among you, let him work and eat. But if he has no craft, make arrangements on your own discretion to see that a Christian does not live among you in idleness. But if he will not act accordingly, he is trading on Christ: beware of such men." [4] 'Barnabas' warns his readers not to be like those "who do not know how to furnish themselves with food by means of labour and sweat, but in (their) lawlessness seize what belongs to others, and, (as if) walking in innocence, watch and look around (to see) whom they may despoil in their greed, as these birds alone" (i.e. the eagle, etc.), "do not furnish themselves with food, but sitting idle seek how they may devour the flesh of others, and are a pest in their wickedness." [5] The Jewish Christians of Palestine—as their very name, Ebionites, suggests—probably lived very simply; [6] but even they seem to have supported themselves to a great extent by manual labour.[7] The Christians ad-

[1] Mt vi. 11; Lc xi. 3; *D* viii. 2. Cf. also the Gospel accounts of the miraculous feeding of crowds by Jesus (Mt xiv. 13ff, xv. 32ff; Lc ix. 10ff).
[2] *D* x. 3. [3] Mt vi. 25–34; Lc xii. 22–31. [4] *D* xii.
[5] B x. 4. [6] See below, p. 197.
[7] In *GH* 8 (5f) the man with the withered hand says to Jesus: Caementarius eram, manibus victum quaeritans; precor te, Jesu, ut mihi restituas sanitatem, ne turpiter mendicem cibos. The grandchildren of Judas, the Lord's brother, cultivated a farm of thirty-nine plethra, ἐξ ὧν καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀναφέρειν καὶ αὐτοὺς αὐτουργοῦντας διατρέφεσθαι (Heges. ap. Eus. *HE* III. xx. 2).

dressed in the 'Didache' have their wine-vats and threshing-floors, oxen and sheep, money and raiment; they bake bread, and open jars of wine and oil; they possess enough of all these things to be able to spare the firstfruits for charitable distribution.[1] "The good workman," says Clemens, "receives the bread of his labour with frankness; the sluggish and idle does not look his employer in the face."[2] 'Jacob' champions the right of the reapers to their wages.[3] Christians buy and sell and engage in trade.[4] All this—not to mention the numerous condemnations passed on theft and coveting[5]—clearly implies a recognition of the right of personal property.

The View taken of Wealth and Poverty.—Even in the ordinary quest for a livelihood, in the effort to provide for the needs of the body, there lurks a certain danger, viz. the ease with which it is associated with a neglect of spiritual things.[6] 'Jacob' singles out traders as needing to be specially warned against a boastful neglect of Providence.[7] A keen pursuit of business interests, a love of money, covetousness, and theft, all lie fairly close to one another, and the last three rank as vices and sins. "Love of money," says Polycarpus, "is the beginning of all evils: knowing therefore that we brought nothing into the world, and that we are able to take nothing out of it, let us equip ourselves with the weapons of righteousness and teach ourselves first to walk in the commandment of the Lord."[8] A general prejudice against the very possession of wealth, and the tone of warning and even of denunciation, makes itself heard when Christians express themselves on the subject.[9] 'Jacob' reminds the rich brother of the

[1] *D* xiii. 3–7.

[2] 1 Cl. xxxiv. 1. In the Gospels Jesus makes several allusions to the remuneration of hired labour, e.g. Mt xx. 1–16 (the labourers hired to work in a vineyard), J iv. 36 (the wage-earning reaper taken as an illustration of the Christian apostle), x. 12f (the hireling who leaves the sheep to the wolf).

[3] Jac v. 4 (the aggrieved labourers are probably to be taken as Christians).

[4] For the practice of Jesus and the apostles, see above, pp. 61, 64, and cf. Lc v. 2–11; J xii. 5 (=Mt xxvi. 9). For the practice of the apostles and early Christians, see J xxi. 2ff; Ac x. 6, xviii. 3; Ap xiii. 17; Jac iv. 13–15 (*ἐμπορευσόμεθα καὶ κερδήσομεν*).

[5] Besides the Gospels, see *D* ii. 1, 6, v. 1; B x. 4, xix. 6, xx. 1; *TH* ap. *AI* iii. 25, 28; 1 Cl. xxxv. 5, 8; Ap ix. 21; Pol. ii. 2.

[6] See J vi. 26f, and the accounts in all the Gospels of Jesus dismissing the traders from the Temple courts (Mt xxi. 12f; Lc xix. 45f; J ii. 14ff).

[7] Jac iv. 13–15.

[8] Pol. iv. 1; cf. ii. 2, iv. 3, v. 2, vi. 1, xi. 1f. For other warnings against *φιλαργυρία* see Lc xvi. 14f; *D* iii. 5, xi. 12, xv. 1: cf. Jd 11, 16.

[9] For the teaching of Jesus himself, reference may be made to pp. 61ff above. Among the evangelists, Luke evidently took a specially unfavourable

transience of the wealthy, and urges him to lowliness : [1] he warns his readers against paying special court to wealthy visitors at their worship : [2] he stigmatizes the rich as overbearing persecutors and blasphemers, who deprive their reapers of the wages due to them.[3] But this condemnation of wealth was not unqualified. It was known that there had been rich men among the adherents of Jesus.[4] Even Luke, the ' socialist-evangelist,' dedicated his two historical works to ' his excellency Theophilus,' who was evidently a man of rank.[5] We have already seen that Christianity had probably found its way in this period into at least two families of consular rank ; [6] and the evidence of the Catacombs suggests that at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century there was an appreciable number of Christians of wealth and high social standing in the Roman church.[7] Clemens alludes to the existence of rich Christians at Corinthus.[8] ' Jacob ' mentions " the wealthy brother " (? at Alexandria).[9] One of the Pastoral Epistles speaks of " those who are rich in this world('s goods)." [10] Despite these qualifications, wealth still retained in Christian eyes something of a stigma, and poverty on the other hand was regarded as the more befitting condition for a Christian. The simple life led by John the Baptist in the desert [11] and the poverty of the Lord himself and of his immediate disciples [12] combined to make poverty one of the elements in the Christian ideal. The Ebionites, as we have already noticed, derived their very name from the small measure of their material goods. The Christians also, as a whole, were no doubt drawn in the main from

view of wealth. He alone tells us the parables of the Rich Fool (xii. 16–21) and of the Rich Man and Lazarus (xvi. 19–31) ; he alone adds to the beatitudes a woe uttered against the rich (vi. 24f ; cf. i. 53 πλουτοῦντας ἐξαπέστειλεν [sc. ὁ Θεὸς] κένους, and 1 Cl. lix. 3 [sc. Θεὸν] τὸν πλουτίζοντα καὶ πτωχίζοντα). On this aspect of Luke's work, see Holtzm. *GA* 39–44, *Th.* i. 525–530 ; Plummer xxvf ; Mathews 141f ; Rogge 10–18 ; Peabody (iv.) 69f (" It is quite within the truth to speak of Luke as the ' socialist-evangelist ' ") ; Moffatt *INT* 263 n ; Troeltsch 28 n 17 ; Stanton, *Gospels as Historical Documents*, ii. 233–237 ; Weinel *Th.* 440. Other passages are *D* v. 2 = B xx. 2 (πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί) ; Ap iii. 17f (warning to the church at Laodicea), vi. 15 (οἱ πλούσιοι among the grandees who have to hide in caves). Cf. also the denunciations of the Apocalypse against the wealth and luxury of Rome (see above, p. 167f, and cf. Weinel *l.c.*).

[1] Jac i. 9–11.
[2] Jac ii. 1–5.
[3] Jac ii. 6f, v. 1–6. On Jacob's teaching on the subject of wealth and poverty, cf. Rogge 83–86, Holtzm. *GA* 58, and Weinel *Th.* 439f.
[4] Mt xxvii. 57 ; J xix. 38ff.
[5] Moffatt in *DCG* ii. 727a.
[6] See above, p. 180.
[7] Uhlhorn *C* 222.
[8] 1 Cl. xiii. 1, xxxviii. 2.
[9] Jac i. 9f : ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ταπεινὸς . . . ὁ δὲ πλούσιος. It is more than doubtful whether the wealthy men attacked in Jac v. 1–6 were Christians.
[10] 1 T vi. 17.
[11] Mt iii. 4, xi. 8, 18 ; Lc vii. 25, 33.
[12] Lc xii. 33 ; Ac iii. 6.

the poorer classes.[1] The poor were believed to be the special objects of God's favour,[2] and the special recipients of the Christian gospel of the Kingdom.[3]

Almsgiving.—Apart from the more obvious items of expenditure, almsgiving to the poor takes a foremost place in the ideal Christian budget—especially in that of the wealthy Christian.[4] It was regarded from two points of view. In the first place, it was the best contribution the Church of that day could make towards solving the social problem, towards meeting the material needs of those in want. It is true that the early Christians appear to have been hardly conscious of a social problem as such; and the very simplicity of the steps they took to grapple with poverty shows that they were making no deliberate attempt to remould the economic framework of society. Such efforts as they made in this direction were strictly subordinate to the central religious interest.[5] At the same time, several passages betray a consciousness of the injustice suffered by the poorer classes,[6] and almsgiving was no doubt felt in a dim way to be a means of removing some at least of that injustice.[7]

In the second place, almsgiving tended to become more and more important on its subjective side, as the practice of a virtue or the performance of a duty; and we can discern in this period the seeds of the idea which later became so prominent, namely, that almsgiving as a meritorious act is of itself a means of earning Divine favour.[8] What was dangerous in this idea was not the belief that

[1] Troeltsch 26–29; Deissmann *LVO* 6f, 12f, etc. Cf. 1 Cl. ii. 1: *τοῖς ἐφοδίοις τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀρκούμενοι.*

[2] 1 Cl. xv. 6, lii. 2; Lc i. 52f.

[3] Lc ii. 8ff (angels appear to shepherds), iv. 18 (cf. B xiv. 9), vi. 20f (cf. Mt v. 3), vii. 22‖; Ap ii. 9; Jac ii. 5.

[4] Besides the Gospels, see Ac xx. 35; *D* i. 5f, iv. 5–8 (. . . *συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι*), xiii. 4, xv. 4; *GH* 11 (6); 1 Cl. ii. 1, xxxviii. 2; B iii. 3, 5, xix. 9–11; 1 J iii. 17; Pol. vi. 1; Jac i. 27, ii. 13, 15f, iii. 17. It was noticed that the errorist teachers were slack in their attentions to the needs of the poor (Ig. *S* vi. 2).

[5] See this point worked out at length by Troeltsch 15–33.

[6] Lc xviii. 2ff (parable of the unjust judge and the widow), xx. 47 (*οἱ κατεσθίουσιν τὰς οἰκίας τῶν χηρῶν*); *D* v. 2 = B xx. 2 (*οὐ κολλώμενοι . . . κρίσει δικαίᾳ, . . . οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, . . . ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, . . . πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί*); 1 Cl. viii. 4 (*ἐκζητήσατε κρίσιν, . . . κρίνατε ὀρφανῷ καὶ δικαιώσατε χήρᾳ*); Jac v. 4–6. In *GH* 11 (6), Jesus says to the rich young man: 'Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum; et ecce multi fratres tui, filii Abrahae, amicti sunt stercore, morientes prae fame, et domus tua plena est multis bonis, et non egreditur omnino aliquid ex ea ad eos.' On the economic condition of the population of the Empire during these early centuries, cf. Uhlhorn *Ch.* 99–119.

[7] See some valuable remarks on early Christian almsgiving by Bartlet in *P* 96–98.

[8] Ac x. 4, 31; *D* iv. 6; B xix. 10; 1 Cl. xiii. 2; Pol. x. 2 (quoting from Tobit *ἐλεημοσύνη ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται*): cf. Tobit iv. 7–11, xii. 8f.

God rewards almsgiving (that was the belief of Jesus himself),[1] but that the quantitative element in the act rendered it so fatally easy to perform it mechanically and ostentatiously, to the detriment of its moral quality.

While many of the allusions to almsgiving as a Christian duty are perfectly general, it is nevertheless the case that, whenever the recipients of alms are specified, they are always poor fellow-Christians. The Christian was not expected to give alms indiscriminately. The 'Didache' quotes from an unknown source the counsel: "Let thine alms sweat in thine hands, until thou knowest to whom thou givest."[2] The 'Didache' is here differentiating, not against the pagan, but against the recipient who is in no real need. Begging under false pretences, however, would be a more likely thing for a pagan than for a Christian to do. It is probable that, while in theory the obligation to give alms was as wide as the extent of the need and of the means, in actual practice almsgiving was carried on almost entirely within the limits of the Christian community.[3]

## CHAPTER VIII

## SLAVERY, IDOLATRY, ETC.

Slavery.[4]—There is very little to distinguish the teaching of this, from that of the preceding, period on the subject of slavery. Taking first the use of the word 'slave' in a metaphorical sense, we find numerous instances in which it is used to represent the relation in which Christians stand towards God or Christ.[5] It is clear, however, that this metaphorical usage was not a universal favourite. The Johannine author has it only twice,[6] and records how Jesus definitely superseded this designation for his adherents in favour of the higher

[1] Mt vi. 2–4.

[2] *D* i. 6.

[3] This impression is confirmed by Uhlhorn's extensive survey of pre-Constantinian Christian charity (*Ch.* 120–202), e.g. "The object aimed at and actually attained, was, that no member of the Church should suffer want" (125).

[4] Weinel *Th.* 64of.

[5] Besides the Gospels, we may refer to Ac ii. 18, iv. 29, xvi. 17, xx. 19; Ap i. 1, ii. 20, vii. 3, xix. 2, 5, 10, xxii. 3, 6, 9; 1 Cl. xxvi. 1, lx. 2; Pol. ii. 1, vi. 3; Jac i. 1. Also used of the great ones of old, Ap x. 7, xi. 18, xv. 3; 1 Cl. xlv. 7.

[6] J xiii. 16, xv. 20.

title of 'friends.'[1] He uses it in an altogether different way of those who are addicted and so enslaved to sin.[2] Further, the word is never used metaphorically of the relations of Christians to one another or to outsiders.[3] In regard to the actual institution, besides being mentioned a few times in a purely casual and non-committal way,[4] it is spoken of in a manner that indicates a consciousness of its being evil.[5] A few precepts are given, touching the duties of Christian masters and slaves. Nothing is heard of any general demand for emancipation, though it seems clear that there was a tendency for some Christian slaves to agitate for it and for some churches to negotiate emancipation at their own expense. "Do not give orders with bitterness to thy slave or slave-girl, who hope in the same God (as thyself), lest they cease to fear the God who is over (you) both. For He cometh not to call (people) according to (their) personal rank, but He comes to those whom His Spirit has prepared."[6] "Do not despise slaves or slave-girls: but neither let them be puffed up, but let them the more serve as slaves for the glory of God, in order that they may obtain a better freedom from God. Let them not desire to be emancipated at the public cost, lest they be found slaves of lust."[7] "Ye who are slaves be subject to your masters as to an image of God in reverence and fear."[8] Christians had sometimes to endure a state of slavery as a result either of persecution[9] or of a generous self-sacrifice on their own part for the sake of releasing or supporting others.[10]

IDOLATRY.—Idolatry was of course an outstanding and ubiquitous feature of pagan life,[11] and one which formed almost from the beginning a ground of endless disagreement and separation between Christians and non-Christians. It was not, however, until the time of the Apologists that it became a central topic in Christian literature; and in the meantime I repeat the arrangement adopted in the last Part, and gather together in this closing paragraph such allusions to the practice as occur. It was essentially the practice

[1] J xv. 15. [2] J viii. 31–36: cf. Ig. *P* iv. 3.
[3] Pol. v. 2: deacons to act ὡς Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διάκονοι καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων.
[4] Lc vii. 2 (the centurion's slave ἦν αὐτῷ ἔντιμος), xxii. 50; Ap vi. 15, xiii. 16, xix. 18; 1 Cl. xxxi. 4; J iv. 51, etc.
[5] 1 Cl. iv. 9.
[6] *D* iv. 10=B xix. 7.
[7] Ig. *P* iv. 3: cf. Uhlhorn *Ch.* 193.
[8] *D* iv. 11=B xix. 7.
[9] So Ignatius (*R* iv. 3): ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δοῦλος.
[10] 1 Cl. lv. 2: ἐπιστάμεθα πολλοὺς ἐν ἡμῖν παραδεδωκότας ἑαυτοὺς εἰς δεσμά, ὅπως ἑτέρους λυτρώσονται· πολλοὶ ἑαυτοὺς παρέδωκαν εἰς δουλείαν, καὶ λαβόντες τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν ἑτέρους ἐψώμισαν.
[11] Ac xvii. 16 (θεωροῦντος κατείδωλον οὖσαν τὴν πόλιν); B ix. 6 (πάντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν εἰδώλων).

of those " who know not the Lord's judgment." [1] It was associated in the minds of Christians with their own sinful and pre-Christian state.[2] The Jews had been in the main free from it; but the incident of the Golden Calf furnished occasion for many a solemn warning.[3] According to 'Barnabas,' however, the whole of the materialistic cult carried on by the Jews was open to objection on the score of its close resemblance to heathen worship.[4] Paul had told the Athenians that, being the offspring of God, they " ought not to think that the Divine Being is like gold or silver or stone, the product of the art and invention of men." [5] The objects of the heathen worship were variously described as demons, dead gods, and lifeless images.[6] The author of the Apocalypse excludes idolaters from the Holy City and assigns them a place in the burning sulphurous lake, along with murderers, fornicators, and so on.[7] Christians are therefore solemnly warned to abstain, not only from idolatry itself,[8] but also from practices which, like magic, etc., lead to it,[9] or which, like the love of money [10] and the eating of food sacrificed to idols,[11] were considered equivalent to it.

PUBLIC SHOWS.—I have found only one or two allusions in the literature of the period to the public games, and they are metaphorical.[12]

[1] Pol. xi. 2 : Si quis non se abstinuerit ab avaritia, ab idololatria coinquinabitur et tanquam inter gentes judicabitur qui ignorant judicium Domini. Cf. Ac xvii. 16, 23 (*ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε*).

[2] B xvi. 7 : cf. Ap ii. 14, 20, ix. 20f.

[3] Ac vii. 40–43 ; 1 Cl. liii. 2ff ; B iv. 7f, xiv. 3.

[4] B xvi. 2 : *σχεδὸν γὰρ ὡς τὰ ἔθνη ἀφιέρωσαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ.*

[5] Ac xvii. 29.

[6] *D* vi. 3 (*ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε· λατρεία γάρ ἐστι θεῶν νεκρῶν*) ; B xvi. 7 (the heart of the unconverted an *οἶκος δαιμονίων*) ; Ap ix. 20.

[7] Ap xxi. 8, xxii. 15 : cf. Pol. xi. 2 (quoted above, n 1).

[8] *D* v. 1 = B xx. 1 ; 1 J v. 21. The last passage probably refers to all false ideas of God (particularly perhaps the conceptions of the Gnostic teachers) and not only the actual objects of pagan worship (Brooke 154).

[9] *D* iii. 4.

[10] Pol. xi. 2 (quoted above, n 1).

[11] Ac xv. 20, 29, xxi. 25 ; *D* vi. 3 ; Ap ii. 14, 20.

[12] Jac i. 12 ; Ap ii. 10, iii. 11 : for the Pastoral Epistles, see above, p. 136 n 3.

# PART IV.—THE PERIOD OF THE EARLIER APOLOGISTS, 110–180 A.D.

## LITERARY INTRODUCTION

THE period upon which we are now entering is that during which the Church, having by this time come fairly prominently into public notice, definitely and seriously undertook to justify her position in the eyes of society and the State. Its outstanding mark is the appearance of the Apologists. Naturally the later we come in Church-history, the bulkier becomes the mass of extant Christian writings: and as we are now to survey a period nearly twice as long as either of the two preceding, the volume of literature is very much larger than before. The following is an enumeration—as complete as I have been able to make it—of the original sources for our period.

Taking first the writings—apologetic and otherwise—of the Apologists as the more important and representative class,[1] we have the Apologies addressed to Hadrianus at Athens apparently about 125–126 A.D. by *Quadratus* and *Aristeides*;[2] the 'Disputation between Jason and Papiscus concerning Christ' composed about 140 A.D. by *Ariston of Pella*;[3] the *Epistle to Diognetus*, who was

[1] The literary questions concerning the Apologists of the second century are very fully treated by Harnack in *A* (*TU* I. 1 and 2).

[2] Only a fragment of Quadratus' Apology is extant (Eus. *HE* IV. iii.; Routh i. 75; Funk *PA* 376): that of Aristeides has come to us in Greek, Armenian, and Syriac versions, and has been ably edited in *TS* I. 1 by J. R. Harris and J. A. Robinson. It is a matter of some difficulty to determine which of the different versions gives the more original readings (*TS* I. 1. 74–80), though Bardenhewer (46) says that the Syriac version has been accepted as reliable. There is some uncertainty on the question of date, it being possible that both Apologies—particularly that of Aristeides—were presented, not to Hadrianus, but to Antoninus Pius, and that Quadratus was the bishop of Athens of that name (*TS* I. 1. 7–19, 75 n 2; Harnack *A* 100–114). Ramsay dates Aristeides' Apology about 129 A.D., and considers that it was occasioned by Hadrianus' Edict (*CRE* 341). On the teaching of Aristeides, see Harnack *HD* ii. 179.

[3] Routh i. 95–97; Harnack *A* 115–130, *C* i. 268f; Krüger 104f; Bardenhewer 48f. It seems likely from a notice in the *Chronicon Paschale* that Ariston addressed an Apology for Christianity to Hadrianus in 134 A.D. (*DCB* i. 161a), but nothing has remained of it. See below, p. 259 n 3.

possibly the tutor of the youthful Marcus Aurelius ;[1] the writings of *Justinus the Martyr*, viz. the two 'Apologies,' regarded by some as one and probably presented about 153 A.D.,[2] the 'Dialogue with Tryphon the Jew,'[3] the fragments of the treatise 'concerning the Resurrection,'[4] and other fragments ;[5] the *Pseudo-Justinian* treatise 'Concerning the Sole Sovereignty (of God)' ;[6] the violent 'Address to the Hellenes' composed by *Tatianus*, the Assyrian disciple of Justinus,[7] with certain fragments from the same author ;[8] the lost works of *Miltiades*, viz. two books 'to the Hellenes' and an Apology for the Christian philosophy addressed 'to the worldly rulers' ;[9] the five books in dialogue form 'to the Hellenes' and the 'address to Antoninus' (i.e. Marcus Aurelius) 'concerning the Faith' written about 172 A.D. by *Apollinaris* or *Apolinarius*, bishop of Hierapolis ;[10] the apology addressed about 176 or 177 A.D. to

[1] Wide limits of date seem assignable to this writing : see Harnack *C* i. 513–515 (third century, or, at earliest, end of second) ; Funk *PA* cxvi ("vixante saeculum II. medium, fortasse saeculo III.") : but about the middle of the second century is a safe provisional date (Krüger 136f ; Lightfoot *AF* (1 vol.) 488 ; Bardenhewer 68 ; Gwatkin *ECH* i. 176). It has been conjectured that Aristeides may have been the author ; on this point, and on the personality of Diognetus, see *opp. citt.* : cf. also Harnack *A* 161–163. The original ending is missing, the two chapters now concluding the epistle being derived from some other author (probably Hippolytus). The text is given in Otto's edition of Justinus II. 158–211 ; Lightfoot *AF* (1 vol.) 490–500 ; and Funk *PA* 390–410.

[2] Harnack *A* 171–175, 187–190 : cf. the excellent edition by Blunt in the *Cambridge Patristic Texts*, xliv–lii.

[3] Dated by Harnack (*C* i. 284) about 155–160 A.D.

[4] Its genuineness seems probable, though it has been contested : see Harnack *C* i. 508ff ; Krüger 111.

[5] Printed by Otto II. 250–265 ; Migne *PG* vi. 1591–1600 ; ET in *ANCL* ii. 355–361. Discussion as to genuineness in Harnack *C* i. 510f.

[6] There seems only a bare possibility that it may come from Justinus, but in any case it may well have been written during the present period (cf. Harnack *C* i. 512, *A* 154f).

[7] Harnack (*A* 196–232, *C* i. 284) dates it not later than 155 A.D., though others put it later : cf. Krüger 118 ; *DCB* iv. 784a ; Bardenhewer 58. The text is printed in Migne *PG* vi. 803–888 and in *TU* IV. I. 1–43.

[8] *TU* IV. I. 48–55 ; Migne *PG* vi. 1601f ; ET in *ANCL* iii. 46–48. I omit the *Diatessaron*, as this work consists entirely of a mosaic of passages taken from the four Gospels and one or two other narrative sources ; and, while its arrangement reveals something of Tatianus' mind, it throws virtually no light on the subject we are studying (*DCB* iv. 801ff). A lost treatise of Tatianus, *Perfection according to the Saviour*, has recently been unearthed by J. Rendel Harris (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, Jan. 1924, 15–51).

[9] Eus. *HE* v. xvii. 5 : cf. Krüger 121f. His date is about 160–170 A.D. (Harnack *C* i. 361f, 380, *A* 278–282).

[10] Eus. *HE* IV. xxvii. and v. v. 1–4. The latter passage refers to an unnamed work of Apollinaris, probably the Apology. Unlike the other fragments preserved of this author's works, it is of high importance for our subject : see Routh i. 159–162 ; Harnack *A* 232–239, *C* i. 358, 360f, 380 ; Krüger 122f.

Marcus Aurelius by *Meliton*, bishop of Sardis;[1] and lastly the 'Supplication for the Christians' addressed about 177–180 A.D. (perhaps in Rome)[2] to Marcus Aurelius and his colleague L. Verus by *Athenagoras*, a Christian philosopher of Athens,[3] and the same author's lecture 'on the Resurrection,' addressed to an audience of Christians and sympathizers.[4]

Connected by similarity of subject-matter with the Apologies is a small group of *pagan documents* bearing mainly upon the imperial attitude towards the Christians. These are the *correspondence of Plinius* the Younger as Governor of Bithynia with Trajanus about 112 A.D.,[5] *Hadrianus' Rescript* to Minucius Fundanus[6] and his letter to Servianus,[7] and the *Letter of Antoninus* to the Hellenic cities.[8] With these writings we may group the 'True Discourse,' an attack on the Christians written by the Platonist *Celsus* about 177–180 A.D.[9]

Of kindred interest are the '*Acts*' *of the Martyrs* who suffered in this period. Of these the following may be specified: under Trajanus, Phocas of Pontus;[10] under Hadrianus, Thalelæus of

[1] Fragments are preserved in Eus. *HE* iv. xxvi. 5–11, and in the *Chronicon Paschale*: see Routh i. 115–118. The other fragments of Meliton (Routh i. 115, 119ff) are of no interest to us. On Meliton, cf. *DCB* iii. 894ff; Neumann *SK* 28 n 3; Holtzm. *RS* 34–36; Harnack *A* 240–278, *C* i. 358–360, 380f; Krüger 123–128.

[2] Athenag. *Legat.* 16 init.

[3] Πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν. The text is in Migne *PG* vi. 889–972 and *TU* iv. 2. 1–47. Cf. Harnack *A* 175–189, *C* i. 317ff.

[4] Text in Migne *PG* vi. 973–1024 and *TU* iv. 2. 48–79 (see esp. Athenag. *Res.* 23 fin., 24 init.). For the date, Harnack *C* i. 318.

[5] Plin. *Epp.* x. 96f: also printed in Gwatkin *S* 26–31.

[6] Just. *1 Ap.* lxviii.; Eus. *HE* iv. ix. Its date would be about 123–125 A.D. Its genuineness has been attacked, but apparently on insufficient grounds: see Overbeck 134–148; *DCB* ii. 837; Lightfoot *AF* ii. i. 477f; Harnack *C* i. 256–258 n; Ramsay *CRE* 320–322; Bigelmair 44 n (where the pertinent literature is referred to); Blunt 135f.

[7] In Vopiscus, *Firmus, Saturninus*, etc., viii. (*Hist. Aug.* ed. Peter ii. 225f). The date is 134 A.D. (Harnack *C* i. 412 n 3).

[8] Mentioned by Meliton ap. Eus. *HE* iv. xxvi. 10. The *Letter of Antoninus to the Koinon of Asia* preserved in a manuscript of Justinus (Blunt 131ff) and (as if from M. Aurelius) in Eus. *HE* iv. xiii. is generally regarded as a Christian forgery, though Harnack (*TU* xiii. 4 [1895]) has attempted to prove that the substance of it is genuine, only a few sentences being Christian interpolations. Interesting as the point is, the settlement of it is of little importance for our present purpose, since the *Letter* or *Edict*, even if substantially genuine, adds practically nothing to our knowledge of the Christian attitude to heathenism. The pertinent literature on the point is enumerated by Bigelmair 46 n 3. Lightfoot (*AF* ii. i. 481–485) regards it as an apologetic forgery elicited by persecution late in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

[9] The work of Celsus is known to us only from Origenes' great reply to it: see *DCB* i. 435f; Patrick 3–83; Harnack *C* i. 315.

[10] Conybeare (89–121) gives a version of the Acts of Phocas translated from the Armenian, and argues that, apart from legendary elements inserted later, the Acts were written not later than 150 A.D. (94; cf. 98f) and rest upon an

Lebanon ;[1] under Antoninus, Polycarpus of Smyrna ;[2] under Marcus Aurelius, Justinus and his companions at Rome,[3] Carpus, Papylus, and Agathonice at Pergamum,[4] and the martyrs of Lugdunum in Gaul.[5]

We turn now to a miscellaneous group of Christian productions intended for the most part for Christian readers. These productions are—the (so-called *second*) *Epistle of Peter*,[6] the *Apocalypse of Peter*,[7] the *Preaching of Peter*,[8] a few lines interpolated in the *Sibylline Oracles* [9] and in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*,[10] the extant writings of *Papias*, bishop of Hierapolis,[11] and of the *Elders* quoted by Irenæus,[12] the homily known (wrongly) as the *second Epistle of Clemens* of Rome,[13] the 'Shepherd' of *Hermas* [14] (long

historical foundation. Harnack, however, says (*C* i. 317 n 3) : "Conybeare . . . hat mich nicht davon überzeugt, dass sein armenischer Text eine echte alte Urkunde enthalte."

[1] Conybeare (239–255) gives a version from the Armenian, and argues that the Acts contain genuine elements.

[2] The *Martyrium Polycarpi* is usually printed with editions of the Apostolic Fathers, e.g. Funk *PA* 314–345 ; also in Gebhardt 1–12. The date of the martyrdom was Feb. 23, 155 A.D., and the *Martyrium* was written shortly afterwards (Harnack *C* i. 380).

[3] Greek text in Otto II. 266–279, Migne *PG* vi. 1565–1572, and Gebhardt 18–21. Ruinart (105–107) has only the Latin. The date is between 163 and 167 A.D. (Harnack *C* i. 282–284: cf. Harnack *A* 193–195; *DCB* iii. 564f; Blunt x.).

[4] Harnack in *TU* III. 4. 435–465 and Gebhardt 13–17. The date is somewhere between 161 and 169 A.D. (Harnack *C* i. 362f).

[5] Eus. *HE* v. i.–iv.; Routh i. 287, 295–324; Gebhardt 28–43. The date is about 178 A.D. (Harnack *C* i. 316).

[6] Dating from somewhere about 130–150 A.D. (Moffatt *INT* 367).

[7] Fragments in Robinson and James 89–96 ; Preuschen 84–88, 188–192 : ET in the former work 48–80, *ANCL* additl. vol. (1897) 145–147, and James 505–524. Harnack dates it about 120–140 A.D. (*C* i. 471).

[8] Fragments in Hilgenfeld 56–58; *TS* I. 1. 87–90; Preuschen 88–91, 192–195; James 16–19. Date about 100–130 A.D. (Harnack *C* i. 473f).

[9] Lanchester in Charles *APOT* ii. 373f.

[10] Charles *APOT* ii. 291, 296ff. These additions were made at different periods from about 150 A.D. onwards (Charles in *DB* iv. 722f) and contain very little that bears on our subject.

[11] Fragments in Routh i. 7–16 ; Lightfoot *AF* (1 vol.) 515–535 ; Funk *PA* 346–375 ; and Preuschen 91–99, 195–202. Opinions differ as to the date of his work, which was entitled λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις and was in five books. Bartlet argues for the reign of Trajanus about 115 A.D. (in *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th edn., xx. 737, and in *DCG* ii. 311), but most scholars incline to a somewhat later date. One fragment (xi.) implies a time not earlier than the accession of Hadrianus. Salmon (in *DCB* iv. 186) and Bardenhewer (43) suggest 130 A.D. ; Harnack (*C* i. 357) 140–160 A.D.

[12] Routh i. 47–59 ; Lightfoot *AF* (1 vol.) 539–562 ; Funk *PA* 378–389 ; Preuschen 99–107, 202–209. Some of the statements attributed by Irenæus to an Elder or Elders may be quotations from Papias : the others seem to date for the most part from about 150 A.D. (Harnack *C* i. 333–340).

[13] Printed with the Apostolic Fathers. Its date is about the middle of the second century (Harnack *C* i. 445–450 ; Bardenhewer 29 ; Funk *PA* liif).

[14] There is some difficulty over the date, certain considerations pointing to

revered as of almost canonical authority), *Agrippa Castor's* refutation of Basileides,[1] the Epistles of *Dionysius, bishop of Corinth*,[2] and the 'Memoirs' of the anti-gnostic writer *Hegesippus*.[3]

We next take a group of Gospel fragments, viz. the *three alternative endings to the Gospel of Mark*, i.e. the so-called Shorter and Longer endings, and the ending preserved in Codex W (Detroit, Michigan),[4] the *Gospel of Peter*,[5] the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*[6] (in which the *Oxyrhynchus Logia of Jesus* are probably to be included),[7] and the *Traditions of Matthias*.[8] *The Apocryphal Gospels of Thomas*,[9] *Philip*,[10] *Jacob* (*the Protevangelion*),[11] and *the Naassenes*,[12] also probably belong to this period, but contain virtually nothing that is of importance for our subject. The same may be said of the brief Gospel-fragment which is contained in the *Fayyum Papyrus* and which may belong to some Gospel otherwise known to us.[13]

The mention of Apocryphal Gospels suggests the *Apocryphal Acts of Apostles*. The general obscurity that surrounds the questions of the date and authorship of these writings, together with the nature of the subject-matter, renders them next to useless for the purpose of the present inquiry. Those that fall within our

about 100 A.D., others (notably the testimony of the Muratorian Fragment) to about 140 A.D. The latter seems on the whole the more likely date for the completion of the work, though probably the period of composition lasted a number of years (Harnack *C* i. 266f; Funk *PA* cxxxf; Krüger 44f; Bardenhewer 40).

[1] Fragment in Eus. *HE* IV. vii. 6–8; Routh i. 87. Date—probably the reign of Hadrianus (Harnack *C* i. 290; Bardenhewer 116).

[2] Fragments in Eus. *HE* II. xxv. 8, IV. xxiii.; Routh i. 179–184: date ±170 A.D. (cf. Harnack *C* i. 313).

[3] Fragments in Routh i. 207–219; Preuschen 107–113, 210–216. For his date—174–189 A.D.—see Harnack *C* i. 311f.

[4] Souter *NT* (p. viii, and note to Mc xvi.), *TC* 31.

[5] Robinson and James 83–88; Preuschen 15–20, 145–150: ET in Robinson and James 16–30, *ANCL* additl. vol. (1897) 7f, and James 13f, 90–94, 507–510.

[6] Hilgenfeld 43f; Preuschen 2f, 135f; James 10–12.

[7] Written on two sheets of papyrus, discovered and edited by Grenfell and Hunt. The first to be discovered was separately published in 1897, and then duly appeared in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, i. (1898) 1–3; the second in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, iv. (1904) 1–22. Text also in Preuschen 22–26, German trans. *ibid.* 151f. The date of composition probably falls within the first half of the second century; and the Logia in all probability belong to the lost Gospel according to the Egyptians (Harnack *C* ii. 178; Bardenhewer 92). A more recent editor, the late Mr. H. G. E. White (*The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus*, 1920, xlix.–lxvii.), argues that they belong to the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Cf. James 25–28.

[8] Hilgenfeld 49f; Preuschen 13–15, 144f; James 12f.

[9] Preuschen 21, 150; James 14–16.

[10] Preuschen 15, 145; James 12.

[11] *ANCL* xvi. 1–15; James 38–49.

[12] Preuschen 12f, 143f.

[13] Harnack *C* i. 590 n; Preuschen 21f, 151; James 25.

present period, viz. the *Acts of John*, the *Acts of Andrew*, the *Acts of Paul*, and the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, furnish a few illustrative points of interest.[1]

In regard to the *Gnostic and other heretical teachers and sects* of this period, viz. Elkesai, Basileides and Isidorus, Saturninus, Cerdon, Carpocrates, Epiphanes, Julius Cassianus, Valentinus, Marcus, Heracleon, Ptolemæus, Marcion, Apelles, Florinus, the Cainites, Ophites, Sethians, Peratai, Naassenes, and Alogoi, I have availed myself of the authority of the best modern works of reference; and, in view of the relatively small importance of this sectional teaching for our subject, I have personally verified references to post-Constantinian Christian literature only to a limited extent. In connection with the Valentinian teaching of this period, reference may be made to the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* and the *Eclogae Propheticae*, now found in one manuscript in place of the eighth book of the 'Stromateis' of Clemens of Alexandria. It is probable that these were collections made by Clemens from the works of earlier Gnostic authors in preparation for the eighth book of the 'Stromateis,' or for some other work.[2]

In conclusion we must put on record our indebtedness to *Eusebius*, not only for the fragments of authors of this period which he has preserved, but also for various historical notices and details which he furnishes.

[1] The text of these Acts is to be found in the great edition of R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet in 3 vols., Leipzig, 1891–1903; translations in B. Pick's *Apocryphal Acts*, Chicago, 1909, and in James 228–438. For the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, cf. Conybeare 49–88; Harnack *C* i. 493–506; Ramsay *CRE* 375–428; C. H. Turner, *Studies in Early Church History*, 180–188. For the dates of the Acts here mentioned, see Harnack *C* i. 380, 493, 505, 543ff, ii. 173–175; Krüger 88–95, 366–371, 375; Bardenhewer 88f, 98–106. The so-called *Acts of Peter and Paul* are assigned by Harnack (*C* ii. 176f) to the fourth century. The *Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans* is a colourless cento of Pauline phrases, and is of uncertain date (? before the Muratorian Canon, or of fourth century). It is of no significance for our purpose (see Lightfoot, *Coloss. and Philemon*, 287–289; Harnack *C* i. 702. Harnack has more recently argued for its Marcionite origin and second century date [see *Theol. Litzg.* 1924. 14. 302f]).

[2] The text is in Stählin's edition of Clemens (in the series *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, etc.), iii. 105–155. A translation of the *Eclogae* is to be found in *ANCL* xxiv. 117–135: cf. Harnack *C* ii. 171; Krüger 74; Bardenhewer 77, 130f.

# CHAPTER I

## THE WORLD AND THE CHURCH

THE EVIL STATE OF THE WORLD.—Of the state of the human race beyond the limits of the Christian Church, the writers of this period take on the whole a very black view. A large number of evil characteristics are held to apply to 'the world' or to 'this age': thus, error,[1] darkness,[2] blindness,[3] drunkenness,[4] deceit,[5] evil,[6] iniquity,[7] defilement,[8] corruption,[9] futility,[10] baseness,[11] godlessness,[12] impiety,[13] unbelief,[14] and blasphemy.[15] The present age and the coming age are two enemies: the former speaks of the evil things we have named, the latter bids farewell to these.[16] "All the nations," says Justinus, "will be seen to be under a curse, worshipping idols as they do, and corrupting boys, and practising other evils."[17] "The construction of the world," says Tatianus, "is excellent; but the (organized) conduct (of the men) in it is wicked."[18]

Christians, when speaking of *their own state before they embraced Christianity*, always describe it in the darkest terms. "He allowed us until recently to be borne along as we wished by our inordinate desires, being led away by pleasures and lusts."[19] "We, who formerly delighted in fornications, now embrace temperance only

[1] Arist. 16 (111); 2 P ii. 18; *Diog.* x. 7 (*τότε τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς πλάνης καταγνώσῃ*); Just. *Dial.* 13 (48), 109 (386) (*τῆς κακίας ἐν ᾗ* [sc. *τὰ ἔθνη*] *πλανώμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο*).

[2] Arist. 16 (112); 2 P i. 19; Herm. *Vis.* iv. iii. 2 (*τὸ μὲν μέλαν οὗτος ὁ κόσμος ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ κατοικεῖτε*).

[3] *Ox. Log.* 3 (22).

[4] *Ox. Log.* 3 (22) (*εὗρον πάντας μεθύοντας*); Arist. 16 (112).

[5] 2 Cl. vi. 4; Herm. *S* vi. iii. 3; *Diog.* x. 7 (see above, n 1).

[6] *Sib. Orac.* v. 74 (? Christian); Just. *Dial.* 109 (386) (see above, n 1); Herm. *M* xi. 8, *S* vi. i. 4.

[7] Mc *W*; Arist. 11 (107); *M. Pol.* ix. 2 (*τὸν ὄχλον τὸν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἀνόμων ἐθνῶν*), xvi. 1.

[8] Arist. *l.c.* (*καταμιαίνοντες γῆν τε καὶ ἀέρα ταῖς δειναῖς αὐτῶν πράξεσιν*); 2 P ii. 20. "No one," said Basileides, "is clear of defilement" (*ῥύπου*) (*DCB* i. 275a).

[9] 2 P i. 4, ii. 19; 2 Cl. vi. 4.

[10] Herm. *M* ix. 4 (*πάντων τῶν ματαιωμάτων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*), xi. 8, *S* v. iii. 6.

[11] *Act. Thec.* 25: *ὁ καιρὸς αἰσχρός.*

[12] Just. *1 Ap.* liii. 6; *M. Pol.* ix. 2. Cf. Athenag. *Res.* 25 (290).

[13] Arist. 11 (107); 2 P ii. 5f, iii. 7.

[14] Mc *W*; 2 Cl. xvii. 5.

[15] 2 Cl. xiii. 2: *διὰ παντὸς τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.*

[16] 2 Cl. vi. 3f: cf. Herm. *S* iii. 2.

[17] Just. *Dial.* 95 (344).

[18] Tat 19 (86) (see below, p. 248 n 1).

[19] *Diog.* ix. 1.

. . . we, who loved money and possessions more than anything else, now bring even what we have into a common stock and impart to everyone who is in need." [1] "We have lived amid wicked customs and evil behaviour." [2] The immense spiritual and moral uplift experienced through conversion naturally enhanced the Christian's sense of the lowness of that from which he had risen.

While, as will be seen presently, the Christian mind was by no means unconscious of the clamant need of the world for help, it was rather the guilt than the *suffering of mankind* that seems to have moved them. Christian writers of this age do not as a rule think of physical pain in this life as radically connected with sin or as constituting a special part of their problem. The subject was one that interested the Gnostics rather than the orthodox thinkers.[3]

THEORIES OF HUMAN NATURE.—The authors of the period agree in dignifying man as made in the image of God, as the being for whom the world was made and to whom it is subject, as endowed with reason and free power of choice, and so able to incur the rewards and punishments destined respectively for good and evil. The doctrine of *free will* was emphatically asserted as over against Stoic determinism.[4] Justinus thus describes the conditions of man's sinfulness: "He" (i.e. God) "set forth among every race of men that which is always and universally righteous and every (act of) righteousness: and every race knows that adultery is wrong and fornication and homicide and all other such things; and though they all do them, yet they do not escape from the knowledge that they are acting wrongly whenever they do them, except as many as, being afflicted by an unclean spirit and corrupted by education and wicked customs and evil institutions, have lost their natural ideas, or rather have quenched them and hold them in bondage." [5]

[1] Just. *1 Ap.* xiv. 2.

[2] Just. *1 Ap.* lxi. 10. Cf. Just. *Dial.* 116 (414) (ἐν πορνείαις καὶ ἀπλῶς πάσῃ ῥυπαρᾷ πράξει ὑπάρχοντες, . . . τὰ ῥυπαρὰ πάντα ἃ ἡμφιέσμεθα κακὰ ἀπεδυσάμεθα, κτλ.), 121 (434); Presb. ap. Iren. IV. xxvii. 2 (ii. 241) (incontinentias nostras, quas operati sumus, priusquam Christus in nobis manifestaretur); 2 P i. 9, ii. 18–22; 2 Cl. i. 5–8, ii. 4–7; *M. Pol.* xvii. 2 fin.

[3] Basileides taught that all suffering presupposed sin, and that in this life men paid the penalty of sins committed in a pre-existent state (*DCB* i. 275a; *ERE* ii. 432a). "Valentinus describes in the strain of an ancient prophet the woes that afflict mankind. 'I durst not affirm,' he concludes, 'that God is the author of all this'" (Bigg *CPA* 28f).

[4] Herm. *M* XII. iv. 2f; *Diog.* x. 2; Just. *1 Ap.* x. 2, xxviii. 3, xliii. 8, *2 Ap.* vii. 3–7; Tat. 8f, 11; Athenag. *Legat.* 25. The Gnostics, however, for the most part, seem to have denied the freedom of the will (Harnack *HD* i. 260 n).

[5] Just. *Dial.* 93 (338). In Just. *fr.* 5 (11), the freedom of the will seems to be attributed to man only prior to the Fall, after which corruption became

Somewhat similar ideas are expressed by Tatianus, who handles the subject at length: the sin and mortality of man and the transformation of angels into demons were alike the result of free choice: demons misled men by inculcating the unjust doctrine of fate.[1]

It will be seen that these writers, while maintaining the freedom of the human will, push the explanation of man's sin a step farther back, and locate it in the malice of *Satan and the demons*. "This age of lawlessness and disbelief is under Satan, who does not permit those who are unclean because of the spirits to grasp the truth of God."[2] It was in connection with this thought of the demons that the theory which attributed human evils to *angelic mismanagement* took shape. "To some of them" (i.e. the angels), says Papias, "He" (i.e. God) "gave the control even of the administration of the earth, and ordered (them) to rule well. But it so happened that the arrangements they made came to nothing."[3] Justinus, in the 'Dialogue,' quotes the well-known passage in Deuteronomy about God fixing the boundaries of the nations according to the number of His angels;[4] but in the 'Apology' he gives a fuller account of the matter. "God, having made the whole world and subjected earthly things to men, . . . handed over the care of men and things under heaven to angels, whom He appointed over them. But the angels, transgressing this appointment, were overcome by intercourse with women, and begat children, who are the so-called demons; and besides, they afterwards enslaved the human race to themselves, partly by magical writings, partly by fears and penalties which they inflicted, partly by inculcation of sacrifices and incense-offerings and libations, which they had come to need after they had got enslaved to lustful passions; and they sowed among men murders, wars, adulteries, excesses, and every wickedness."[5] "We know," he continues later, "that the evil angels appointed laws similar to their own wickedness, in which men who have become like them rejoice; and right reason, when it comes, shows that not all opinions nor all decisions are good, but some bad and some good."[6] The same view in the main

inherent in human nature. While its genuineness cannot be definitely denied, its striking resemblance to the teaching of Athanasius in *De Incarnatione Verbi* creates strong presumption in favour of a later date (Harnack *C* i. 510).

[1] Tat. 7–12. [2] Mc *W*.

[3] Pap. 4: Ἐνίοις δὲ αὐτῶν, δηλαδὴ τῶν πάλαι θείων ἀγγέλων, καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν γῆν διακοσμήσεως ἔδωκεν ἄρχειν, καὶ καλῶς ἄρχειν παρηγγύησε . . . Εἰς οὐδὲν δὲ συνέβη τελευτῆσαι τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν. The words δηλαδὴ . . . ἀγγέλων are probably those of the quoter of Papias.

[4] Just. *Dial.* 131 (466): cf. Deut xxxii. 8f (LXX).

[5] Just. *2 Ap.* v. 2–4. [6] Just. *2 Ap.* ix. 4.

is elaborated by Athenagoras. He makes more, however, of the chief spirit hostile to God, calling him "the prince of matter"; and he says definitely that some of the angels did not misuse their freedom, but "continued in those things for which God had made and appointed them."[1] He insists further that the influence of evil angels does not prejudice the doctrine of the rational nature of man.[2] Inasmuch as *distinctions of nationality* were on this theory carried back to a distribution of the human race among angels, who became the agents and representatives of the Evil One, those distinctions appear in Christian eyes as fruitful only in disorder and sin.[3] One of the planks in the Christian platform undoubtedly was the abolition of all distinctions in the moral law resting on differences of race, and the unification of all humanity in obedience to one law.[4]

One important qualification of the verdict of 'guilty' so sweepingly passed upon unchristian and pre-Christian man appears in the guarded admissions made by Justinus as to the activity of the '*spermatic Logos*' of God among the heathen. The Logos that was incarnate in Christ existed as a 'seed of reason' in every man, and by virtue thereof some of the ancients (like Socrates, Heracleitus, and Abraham) were worthy of being called Christians.[5] Justinus, however, cannot be said to have worked out the implications of his theory: he thinks of the manifestations of the spermatic Logos in connection rather with speculative truth than with moral excellence, and rather with the great ones of the past than with any of his pagan contemporaries.[6] A very partial concession in favour of the gentiles is made by Hermas, who distinguishes between them and 'the sinners': but the gentiles derive little benefit from the distinction, for, whereas the sinners will be burnt for their sins, the gentiles will be burnt because they did not know Him who created them.[7]

Characteristics of the Christian Gospel.—Whatever the spermatic Logos might do for unchristian man, it never occurs to Justinus or any other writer to suppose that salvation is to be

[1] Similar view of good angel-guardians in Herm. *Vis.* III. iv. 1.
[2] Athenag. *Legat.* 24f. On the whole subject of the Christian belief in demons in pre-Constantinian times, see Harnack *ME* i. 125–146.
[3] Just. *1 Ap.* xiv. 3, quoted below, p. 233 n 2.
[4] Tat. 28; Cels. ap. Orig. *Cels.* viii. 72. See below, p. 248.
[5] Just. *1 Ap.* xliv. 10, xlvi. 1–3, *2 Ap.* viii. 1, x. 2–8, xiii. 2–6: see below, p. 244 n 1.
[6] But cf. *1 Ap.* xlvi. 4: *οἱ δὲ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες καὶ βιοῦντες Χριστιανοὶ καὶ ἄφοβοι καὶ ἀτάραχοι ὑπάρχουσι.*
[7] Herm. *S* IV. 4.

had apart from the full Christian faith. Justinus himself points out that to possess a seed of the Word is an altogether different thing from possessing the Word itself which is Christ.[1] It was laid down in the most emphatic manner that *the acceptance of Christianity was the one and only means of being saved.* "He who believes and is baptized will be saved; but he who does not believe will be condemned."[2] "He had mercy upon us and in pity saved us, seeing in us much error and destruction, and (seeing us) possess no hope of salvation except that which is from Him. For He called us when we were not and wished us to pass from nullity to being."[3] No one can approach God or enter His Kingdom except through His Son.[4] Justinus tells a man who had rejected the Christian faith that it would have been better for him if he had not been born.[5]

Again, not only was Christianity the sole means of salvation, it was also a *new* means. "This people is a new people."[6] God has made a new covenant with them, and they worship Him in a new fashion.[7] Diognetus is exhorted to throw off his prejudices and listen as a new man to a new doctrine.[8] Justinus takes the words of Psalm xlv. 10f as addressed to the Church, and says that they teach us to forget our old ancestral customs.[9]

The *universalism* of Christianity was the natural corollary of its claim to be the exclusive means of salvation. It was intended by God for the benefit of the whole human race. To put its doctrines into a form suitable for a world-wide religion was the peculiar task and privilege of the Apologists.[10] Whatever their qualifications for fulfilling that task might be, there can be no doubt of their grasp of the universal scope of the faith they defended. Christ, says Aristeides, "by his life-giving gospel, by his comforting goodness, has made the whole world a prisoner to himself."[11] The writings of Justinus abound in statements and arguments to the same effect. "Jesus Christ," he says, ". . . taught us these things for the conversion and restoration of the human race."[12] As Jacob toiled for Laban's speckled cattle, so did Christ slave on behalf of the variegated and multiform men

[1] Just. *2 Ap.* x. 3, xiii. 6. [2] Mc xvi. 16. [3] 2 Cl. i. 7f.
[4] Herm. *S* ix. xii. 5–8; *Diog.* ix. 2–6.
[5] Just. *fr.* 11 (9). [6] Arist. 16 (50).
[7] *Praedic. Petr.* 5 (90) (quoted in part below, p. 215 n): cf. Herm. *S* ix. xii. 3.
[8] *Diog.* ii. 1; cf. i, καινὸν τοῦτο γένος ἢ ἐπιτήδευμα.
[9] Just. *Dial.* 63 (224). Marcion and the Gnostics generally laid stress on the newness, uniqueness, and absoluteness of the Gospel (Harnack *HD* i. 253, 271).
[10] Harnack *HD* ii. 224. [11] Arist. (Armenian, 29).
[12] Just. *1 Ap.* xxiii. 2, *Dial.* 11 (40–44), 83 (300).

of every race.[1] He loved to quote at length the universalistic prophecies of the Old Testament, and to maintain that they were all direct forecasts of Christianity. "In thy seed will all the nations of the earth be blessed."[2] "A ruler will not be lacking to Judah . . . till he comes for whom it is reserved . . . and he will be the expectation of the nations."[3] "Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance and the ends of the earth for thy possession."[4] "All the tribes of the earth will be blessed in him: all the nations will call him happy."[5] "Out of Zion will go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem; and he will judge between nations and rebuke much people," and so on.[6] "All flesh will see the salvation of God."[7] "I have set thee as a light of nations, to be for their salvation to the uttermost part of the earth."[8] The ready acceptance of Christ by the nations is also brought out in other quotations: "I became visible to those that asked me not; I was found by those who did not seek me; I said, 'Behold, (here) I am,' to a nation that did not call my Name."[9] The Jews had not recognized Christ; but the gentiles, though they had never heard of him until the apostles came and told them, yet gladly gave up their idols and dedicated themselves to God.[10] "And many nations will go and say, 'Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord . . . and they will enlighten us as to His way and we shall walk in His paths.' . . ."[11]

The *ethical implications* of the acceptance of Christianity had by this time been long and firmly established. There is, however, one factor which lends a special interest to the statements and appeals of the writers of this period, namely, the need that now began to make itself felt of safeguarding the practical purity of Christian life at a time when the Christian profession was becoming for many a matter of birth and domestic influence rather than the

[1] Just. *Dial.* 134 (478) (see below, p. 230 n 4); cf. 95 (344, 346).
[2] Just. *Dial.* 120f (428, 432): Gen xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14.
[3] Just. *1 Ap.* xxxii. 1, 4, *Dial.* 52 (176, 178), 120 (428, 430); cf. 11 (44): Gen xlix. 10.
[4] Just. *1 Ap.* xl. 15, *Dial.* 122 (440): Ps ii. 8.
[5] Just. *Dial.* 34 (114): Ps lxxii. 17. [6] Just. *1 Ap.* xxxix. 1f: Isa ii. 3f.
[7] Just. *Dial.* 50 (172): Isa xl. 5 (LXX).
[8] Just. *Dial.* 121 (436): Isa xlix. 6. Similar prophecies quoted in *1 Ap.* l. 4, *Dial.* 11 (42, 44), 12 (44), 13 (48, 50), 14 (52), 26 (88). For the extension of Divine favours to the gentiles, see *Test. XII Patr., Benj.* xi. 2f (Charles *APOT* ii. 360).
[9] Just. *1 Ap.* xlix. 2: Isa lxv. 1. [10] Just. *1 Ap.* xlix. 5.
[11] Just. *Dial.* 109 (388); Isa ii. 3: cf. 24 (84) (δεῦτε, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, κτλ.), 31 (104), 115 (408) (καὶ προστεθήσονται ἔθνη πολλὰ πρὸς Κύριον ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ). On the question of the universal hope, see below, pp. 226f.

result of an independent personal decision. In face of the seductive tendency towards a gradual slackening of moral rigour, teachers of the Church felt constrained to impress the practical duties of the faith with much emphasis and reiteration. The 'Shepherd' of Hermas and the so-called 'second Epistle of Clemens' abound in inculcations of 'righteousness' and in other forms of the ethical appeal. Just as the state of man before conversion is always assumed to be sinful and wicked, so his state after conversion must be righteous and free from sin.[1] Christian writers did not hesitate to use the hope of reward and the fear of punishment as main incentives to righteous living.[2] The content of this ethical demand does not need to be analysed here: the Christian life is described generally as "the way of righteousness,"[3] and as the observance of the Divine commands.[4]

THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD.—The period we are considering witnessed a remarkable growth in the unification and self-consciousness of the Church. Whether or not the word ἐκκλησία was actually used (and there was a slight, though natural, tendency to avoid it in works addressed to non-Christians), a lively sense of the spiritual unity of all Christians manifested itself everywhere. Neither Aristeides nor the writer to Diognetus uses the word itself; but the former represents the Christians as a 'race,' parallel to the two other great divisions of humanity—polytheists and Jews—and deriving their descent from Jesus Christ,[5] while the latter

[1] 2 P ii. 20; Mc *W*; Herm. *S* IX. xvi. 2; *Diog.* x. 4; Just. *1 Ap.* xiv.; Plin. *Epist.* x. 96 (seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: . . . nihil aliud inveni quam superstitionem pravam immodicam). The movement connected with the name of Montanus exhibited, among other characteristics, a special stress on moral rectitude: "die strengste Lebensführung wurde gefordert" (Neumann *SK* 59). The Gnostics, apart from the antinomian sects, laid stress on the ethical side of Christianity (cf. the remarkable fragment of Basileides in Cl. *Strom.* IV. xii. 86: ἓν μέρος ἐκ τοῦ λεγομένου θελήματος τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπειλήφαμεν, τὸ ἠγαπηκέναι ἅπαντα, . . . ἕτερον δὲ τὸ μηδενὸς ἐπιθυμεῖν, καὶ τρίτον τὸ μισεῖν μηδὲ ἕν. The moral rigour of the Marcionites was recognized even by the orthodox). On the ethical interests of the early Christians, see Harnack *ME* i. 205f ("The entire labour of the Christian mission might be described as a *moral* enterprise, as the awakening and strengthening of the moral sense"), 213f; Weinel *SUS* 58f. It has, however, to be observed that Hermas explicitly adopts that distinction between the perfect and the permissible standards of conduct adumbrated by Paul (see above, p. 79 n 9), the Gospel of 'Matthew,' and the *Didache* (see above, p. 148 n 2 fin.): see Hermas *M* IV. iv. 2, *S* V. iii. 2f, and below, p. 469 n 1.

[2] 2 P iii. 11–13; Herm. *S* IX. xvi. 2 etc.; Just. *1 Ap.* xvi. 8–13, *2 Ap.* ix. 1.

[3] 2 P ii. 21.

[4] 2 P ii. 21, iii. 2; Arist. 15 (111); 2 Cl. iii. 4f, v. 6; Just. *1 Ap.* x. 4 (τὸ δ' ἐξακολουθῆσαι οἷς φίλον αὐτῷ).

[5] Arist. 2 (100f). The Armenian (28) and Syriac (36) versions of Aristeides

has been described as the only Ante-Nicene writer, in whom the Pauline idea of the Church as a spiritual society appears in its purity.[1] While Aristeides boldly declares that the beauty in the world is there because of the Christians and that the world stands by reason of their intercessions,[2] the writer to Diognetus represents them as being to the world what the soul is to the body: "The soul extends over all the limbs of the body, and Christians over all cities of the world. The soul dwells in the body, but it is not of the body; and Christians dwell in the world, but they are not of the world. . . . The soul is shut up in the body, but it holds the body together; and the Christians are confined indeed in the world as in a prison, but (it is) they (who) hold the world together."[3] Justinus appears to use the word ἐκκλησία but twice. Firstly, he argues that the words of Isaiah liii. 2[4] teach "that the wicked became obedient to him and served his bidding and that all have become as one child. One can see the same sort of thing in the body: though many members are counted, the whole are called, and (in fact) are, one body. And a people and an assembly (ἐκκλησία) consisting of many men are called and addressed by one appellation as being a single thing";[5] secondly, after comparing Leah to the Jewish people, he adds: "But Rachel is our Church."[6] Like Aristeides, he thinks of the Christians as forming a special race.[7] The moral and spiritual unity of Christendom was very real to him, though he knows of no organization by which the Church was externally unified.[8] As the passages quoted from Aristeides and the Epistle to Diognetus will have suggested, it was rather with the Church as an abstract or spiritual unity than as an external organization, that the Christian thought of the day busied itself. Papias and others applied the stories of Creation and Eden in a spiritual sense to Christ and his Church.[9] The writer of the 'second Epistle of Clemens' calls the Church "the primitive, the spiritual, created before sun and moon. . . . The living Church is the body

give a *four*fold division of mankind—Barbarians, Hellenes, Jews, and Christians: but the threefold division is probably original: cf. *Praedic. Petr.* 5 (90) (τὰ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἰουδαίων παλαιά, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ καινῶς αὐτὸν τρίτῳ γένει σεβόμενοι Χριστιανοί). Cf. Arist. 15 (110); *TS* 1. 1. 88, 90; Harnack *A* 113, *ME* i. 240ff; Weinel *SUS* 60f.

[1] Scullard 15f, quoting Cruttwell.

[2] Arist. 16 (Syriac, 50f). The idea of Christians sustaining the world possibly appeared in *Praedic. Petr.* (see *TS* 1. 1. 97), and we shall notice it elsewhere.

[3] *Diog.* vi. 1–3, 7.

[4] LXX: ἀνηγγείλαμεν ὡς παιδίον ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ.

[5] Just. *Dial.* 42 (140, 142).

[6] Just. *Dial.* 134 (476).

[7] Just. *Dial.* 116 (416): ἀρχιερατικὸν τὸ ἀληθινὸν γένος ἐσμὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

[8] Purves 52f.

[9] Pap. *fr.* vii.

of Christ: for the Scripture says, 'God made man male and female'; the male is Christ, the female is the Church . . . the flesh is the Church, the Spirit is Christ."[1] Hermas says that God "created existing things . . . and caused them to increase and grow for the sake of His holy Church,"[2] that "by His own wisdom and providence, He created His holy Church, which also He blessed."[3] In one of his visions, the Church is represented as an aged woman, "because she was created first of all things, for this reason she is aged; and for her sake the world was put together."[4] The Church figures furthermore as a tower being built by the six angels of God who were first created and to whom the Lord has entrusted His whole creation, etc.:[5] the building of the tower is still going on and will soon be completed.[6] In yet another vision, she appears as "a maiden adorned as if issuing from the bridal-chamber,"[7] a comparison which recalls the Pauline figure of the Church as the Bride of Christ.[8] The Gnostic Valentinus made 'Man' and 'Church' two of the thirty 'æons,' which formed the framework of his cosmological system, and apparently taught that Jesus Christ was their offspring.[9]

It was in obedience to a perfectly natural law that a need should be felt and efforts should be made to give this sentiment of Christian unity some form of concrete expression. Hermas was convinced that the Church needed to be purged of her unworthy members and so become finally "one body, one thought, one mind, one faith, one love."[10] It was a thirst for some form of external unity that prompted Montanus to attempt "a completely new organization of Christendom, beginning with the Church in Asia, to be brought about by its being detached from the bonds of the communities and collected into one region"[11] in Phrygia. But the saner instinct of the great bulk of Christian people was content to feel its way gradually to some more practicable form of union. The occurrence

[1] 2 Cl. xiv. 1–4.
[2] Herm. *Vis.* I. i. 6.
[3] Herm. *Vis.* I. iii. 4. For the phrase "His holy Church," cf. *Vis.* IV. i. 3.
[4] Herm. *Vis.* II. iv. 1.
[5] Herm. *Vis.* III. iv. 1.
[6] Herm. *Vis.* III. iv. 2, viii. 9.
[7] Herm. *Vis.* IV. ii. 1ff.
[8] Hermas frequently refers to the Christians as "the elect" (*Vis.* I. iii. 4, II. i. 3, ii. 5, iv. 2, III. v. 1, viii. 3, ix. 10, IV. ii. 5, iii. 5) and as "a people" (*S* v. v. 2f, vi. 2, IX. xviii. 4). For other expressions and allusions, cf. *Vis.* II. ii. 6, iv. 3, III. ix. 7; *S* VIII. i. 1, vi. 4, IX. i. 1f.
[9] *DCB* iv. 1089a, 1090a, 1092a. On these early Christian speculations, as to Christ and the Church as two correlatives, see Harnack *HD* i. 153. He points out that the Apologists made no use of the combination, and that the Gnostics, with their æon 'Church,' brought it into discredit.
[10] Herm. *S* IX. xviii. 2–4.
[11] Harnack *HD* ii. 96.

of phrases like "the Catholic Church" [1] and the "Great Church" [2] are signs of a movement towards the formation of a Christian republic with a unifying organization of its own. Practical tendencies in the same direction were in the meantime at work. One of these was the steady growth of the episcopate in power and responsibility. During the later years of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, it became the custom for the bishops of a particular province or region to meet together in council for the settlement of important questions.[3] In the adoption of this arrangement lay the germ of a further centralization of authority. At the same time, the Church of Rome was being gradually invested with a sort of honorary or informal precedence. Thus a state was being formed within the State; but it was still in the early stages of its growth. The imperial government did not yet detect in Christendom the presence of a unified and organized rival power destined ere long to compete with it on equal terms.[4]

PROPAGANDA.—Belief in the world-wide scope of God's purpose in Christ and the operation of the sovereign law of Love combined to produce in Christian hearts a deep and disinterested *concern* for the help and betterment of the pagan world. Their religion awoke in them a strong sense of responsibility for their unconverted fellow-men. It was probably in the 'Gospel according to the Egyptians' that the following words were put into Jesus' mouth: "I stood in the midst of the world, and in flesh was I seen of them; and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them; and my soul grieves over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart and see not their poverty." [5] Aristeides says that the Christians have found the truth on behalf of all the nations of the earth.[6] Justinus tells the Romans that "the heavenly Father wishes for the repentance of the sinner rather than his punishment," [7] that they are his brothers though they are

[1] *M. Pol.* int., viii. 1 (*πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας*), xvi. 2, xix. 2. The only earlier case of the use of this phrase is in Ig. *S* viii. 2 (see above, p. 149).

[2] Celsus (ap. Orig. *Cels.* v. 59) speaks of the general body of Christians as *τῶν ἀπὸ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας*, apparently a phrase borrowed from the Christians themselves.

[3] Anonymous Anti-montanist ap. Eus. *HE* v. xvi. 10; Polycrates ap. Eus. *HE* v. xxiv. 8: cf. also Eus. *HE* v. xxiii. 2; Hefele 77ff.

[4] Lecky i. 440; Neumann *SK* 62–66, 86; Ramsay *CRE* 361–374; Hardy 156–166; Harnack *ME* i. 257f, *KS* 129, 132, 136–139; Hobhouse 70ff.

[5] *Ox. Log.* 3 (22). But in regard to the last words see H. G. E. White, *Sayings of Jesus*, 32, 35.

[6] Arist. 15 (110).

[7] Just. *1 Ap.* xv. 8. Cf. the language of Paul in *Act. Thec.* 17.

ignorant of it and repudiate it, that he had written his 'Apology' for their sakes,[1] that he and his fellow-Christians were anxious to free them from their unjust prejudice,[2] that he hoped his book would become known to all, "in order that, if they could, they might be changed," and concluded it with the prayer that men everywhere might be counted worthy of the truth.[3] "It is no little reward," says the author of the 'second Epistle of Clemens,' "to turn to salvation a soul that is wandering and being lost."[4] "I hope," says Hermas, "that all who have formerly sinned, if they hear these things, will freely repent, recovering life."[5] The writer to Diognetus, à propos of his representation of the Christians as the soul of the world, says: "The soul loves the flesh and limbs that hate (it); and Christians love those who hate (them). The soul is shut up in the body, but it holds the body together; and Christians are held in the world as in a prison, but they themselves hold the world together. . . . In such an important station has God set them, and it is not lawful for them to decline (it)."[6]

This sense of concern and responsibility found its practical expression in a vast *missionary enterprise*, which aimed at nothing less than the conversion of the whole human race.[7] The authority and sanction of this enterprise was a matter of history. Christian writers often told how after his resurrection Jesus had commanded his apostles to go into all the world and preach the gospel to all men,[8] and how in obedience to him and in fulfilment of prophecy they had done so.[9] The continuation of this duty, so it was maintained, had devolved upon those who had succeeded the apostles,[10] and had been so energetically performed[11] that by the middle of

[1] Just. *2 Ap.* i. 1; cf. *1 Ap.* x. 5 (καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἡγούμεθα εἶναι τὸ μὴ εὐεργεσθαι ταῦτα μανθάνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προτρέπεσθαι ἐπὶ ταῦτα) and *Dial.* 96 (348) (οἷς ἡμεῖς ἅπασι [i.e. to Jewish and gentile enemies and persecutors] λέγομεν ὅτι ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν ἐστε· ἐπίγνωτε μᾶλλον τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ).

[2] Just. *2 Ap.* iv. 4. [3] Just. *2 Ap.* xv. 2, 4. [4] 2 Cl. xv. 1.

[5] Herm. *S* x. ii. 3. [6] *Diog.* vi. 6f, 10.

[7] "The Gnostics and the Marcionites, as a rule, confined their operations to those who were already Christians" (Harnack *ME* i. 94).

[8] Mc xvi. 15 and the Shorter Ending; Arist. (Armenian, 29); *Praedic. Petr.* 7 (90).

[9] Mc xvi. 20; Arist. 2 (Syriac, 37), 15 (Greek, 110); Herm. *S* ix. xxv. 2; Just. *1 Ap.* xxxi. 7, xxxix. 3, xlii. 4, xlv. 5, l. 12, *Dial.* 42 (140), 64 (230).

[10] Herm. *S* x. ii. 3, iv. 1; Just. *1 Ap.* xlv. 5 ( . . . τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ, ὃν ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλὴμ οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ ἐξελθόντες πανταχοῦ ἐκήρυξαν, καὶ, καίπερ θανάτου ὁρισθέντος κατὰ τῶν διδασκόντων ἢ ὅλως ὁμολογούντων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡμεῖς πανταχοῦ ἀσπαζόμεθα καὶ διδάσκομεν).

[11] Speaking of the sub-apostolic age (about 100 A.D. sqq), Eusebius says (*HE* iii. xxxvii. 2f): "Most of the disciples of that time, . . . starting out upon long journeys, performed the work of evangelists, being eager to preach Christ to those who had not heard the word of faith, and to hand over (to them) the writing of the Divine Gospels. And when they had laid only the

the second century it could be said that there was not a single race of men on earth among whom converts to the Christian faith could not be found.[1]

In a certain sense every apologetic utterance formed part of the propaganda work of the Church. But the main purpose of the Apologies was defensive, and they represent only a special form of the effort to state the Christian case. The *proselytizing activities* of the Church had a much wider range. Christians, for instance, professed to be always ready to impart knowledge to those who wished or asked for it.[2] While it was recognized that the special mystery of the Christian religion could not be taught or apprehended by purely human means,[3] yet all who wished to hear were admitted to the Christian meetings for instruction.[4] An open invitation was given to all—especially to the sinful, ignorant, and unhappy—to come and be received into the Kingdom of God.[5] We get a glimpse of Justinus in his old age living at Rome above a certain Martinus of the Timothine Bath, and instructing there not only Christian friends, but probably also sympathetic pagans and would-be converts.[6] "We try," he says, "to persuade those who hate us unjustly, so that they, living according to the fair precepts of Christ, may share our good hope of receiving the same (reward

foundations of the faith in certain foreign places, . . . they went on to other lands and nations," etc.

[1] Just. *Dial.* 117 (420) (οὐδὲ ἓν γὰρ ὅλως ἐστί τι γένος ἀνθρώπων, εἴτε βαρβάρων, εἴτε Ἑλλήνων, εἴτε ἁπλῶς ᾠτινιοῦν ὀνόματι προσαγορευομένων, ἢ ἀμαξοβίων ἢ ἀοίκων καλουμένων, ἢ ἐν σκηναῖς κτηνοτρόφων οἰκούντων, ἐν οἷς μὴ διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Ἰησοῦ εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίαι τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ Ποιητῇ τῶν ὅλων γίνονται). Cf. Arist. (Armenian, 29); Herm. *S* VIII. iii. 2; Just. *1 Ap.* xxxi. 7, xl. 7, liii. 3, *Dial.* 91 (332), 106 (378), 117 (416ff), 121 (434); *Diog.* vi. 2 (Χριστιανοὶ κατὰ τὰς τοῦ κόσμου πόλεις). Plinius' letter (x. 96) to Trajanus refers to the extensive spread of Christianity in Bithynia (prope iam desolata templa . . . sacra sollemnia diu intermissa) and the writer's alarm 'maxime propter periclitantium numerum.'

[2] Just. *1 Ap.* vi. 2 (παντὶ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν, ἀφθόνως παραδιδόντες), *Dial.* 64 (226), 142 (498).

[3] *Diog.* iv. 6.

[4] Tat. 32 (124). Yet certain Christian celebrations and teachings were kept secret; see below, p. 232 n 2.

[5] Herm. *M* XII. iv. 6 (ἐπιστράφητε ὑμεῖς οἱ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς πορευόμενοι τοῦ διαβόλου, ταῖς δυσκόλοις καὶ πικραῖς καὶ ἀγρίαις καὶ ἀσελγέσι, καὶ μὴ φοβήθητε τὸν διάβολον, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμις οὐκ ἔστιν καθ' ὑμῶν); Cels. ap. Orig. *Cels.* iii. 59 (ἐπακούσωμεν δὲ τίνας ποτὲ οὗτοι καλοῦσιν· ὅστις, φασίν, ἁμαρτωλός, ὅστις ἀσύνετος, ὅστις νήπιος, καὶ ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ὅστις κακοδαίμων, τοῦτον ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ δέξεται). That Christian simple-mindedness sometimes resulted in altogether unworthy people gaining admission to the Church and fattening on the charity of their fellow-members is clear from the amusing description of the Greek writer Lucianus (περὶ τῆς Περεγρίνου τελευτῆς, 11ff).

[6] *M. Just.* iii. 3: ἐγὼ ἐπάνω μένω τινὸς Μαρτίνου τοῦ Τιμοθίνου βαλανείου . . . καὶ εἴ τις ἐβούλετο ἀφικνεῖσθαι παρ' ἐμοί, ἐκοινώνουν αὐτῷ τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγων. The context seems to suggest that Justinus made some converts.

as ourselves) from the God who rules over all."[1] Athenagoras, in delivering his lecture 'on the Resurrection,' seems to have had pagans as well as Christians among his audience,[2] and was probably in the habit of lecturing publicly on Christianity as a philosopher.[3] We learn from Celsus how uneducated Christians of humble rank, such as fullers or workers in wool or leather, managed to get an influence over women and young people, and, while not daring to give an explanation of themselves to the parents and teachers of their adherents, seduced the latter away from the faith of their families and so prejudiced domestic peace and happiness.[4]

*The practical witness of Christian morality* probably did as much as any definitely missionary work to conciliate the favour and win the allegiance of pagans; and the Church was fully conscious both of her great power and of her high responsibility in this connection. Aristeides puts forward the plea, "The things that are said and done by the Christians are great and wonderful": [5] the writer to Diognetus claims that the kind of conduct they display is "confessedly marvellous." [6] Justinus speaks of many pagans having been won over by the force of the Christian example.[7] The Christian was normally sensitive about the effect his conduct produced on outsiders. "If a neighbour of one of the elect sins," say the 'Traditions of Matthias,' "the elect (one) has sinned: for if he had so conducted himself as the Word bids, his neighbour also would have been so ashamed of his manner of life as to cease sinning." [8]

This proselytizing power of the Christian example was exhibited most clearly *under conditions of persecution*. The endurance of suffering aroused the sympathy, as well as the astonishment, of the onlookers. Some were moved to pity and grief; [9] others admired and congratulated.[10] At the prayers of Polycarpus in the face of death, many were amazed, and repented that they had come to witness his martyrdom.[11] When Thecla was led to the stake and

[1] Just. *1 Ap.* xiv. 3 (quoted below, p. 232 n 2). On the missionary function of Christian teachers like Justinus and Tatianus, see Harnack *ME* i. 362f.

[2] Athenag. *Res.* 1 (186ff), 23 (282) (ὑποδεῖξαι τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν ἃ χρὴ . . . φρονεῖν, κτλ.), 24 (284) (τούτων τε οὖν ἕνεκεν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγκληθησομένων).

[3] Cf. *DCB* i. 205.

[4] Cels. ap. Orig. *Cels.* iii. 55.

[5] Arist. 16 (111).

[6] *Diog.* v. 4.

[7] Just. *1 Ap.* xvi. 2–4, quoted below, p. 234 n 3. Cf. Harnack *ME* i. 366, 368, 385.

[8] *Trad. Matth.* 4 (14).

[9] *M. Pol.* ii. 2: ὡς καὶ τοὺς περιεστῶτας ἐλεεῖν καὶ ὀδύρεσθαι.

[10] *M. Pol.* xii. 1 (ὥστε . . . τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἐκστῆναι); *Diog.* x. 7 (τότε τοὺς κολαζομένους . . . ἀγαπήσεις καὶ θαυμάσεις), 8.

[11] *M. Pol.* vii. 3.

exposed to the beasts, the governor, so it was said, wept, and the women and children protested and invoked the penalty of destruction on themselves and their city.[1] When Agathonice leaped on to the pyre, the bystanders exclaimed: "What a dreadful judgment! what unjust orders!"[2] The executioner of Paul, as well as the bystanders, was said to have glorified God for giving the apostle such glory.[3] Polycarpus after his death was everywhere talked about by the pagans.[4] That martyrdoms were the means of winning over many to Christianity there can be no doubt.[5] The Apologists proudly ask non-Christians to observe that the more the Christians are persecuted, the more their numbers increase.[6]

How far the Christians of our period actually claimed to work *miracles* in proof of the truth and value of their message is uncertain.[7] They believed that Christ had promised that the work of the apostles should be attested by miraculous signs, and that it had actually been so attested.[8] It seems clear that Christians of this period often did undertake to cast out evil spirits by using the name of Jesus or by reciting narratives concerning him.[9]

[1] *Act. Thec.* 22, 27f, 32, 34f.

[2] *Carp.* 45: δεινὴ κρίσις καὶ ἄδικα προστάγματα.

[3] *M. Paul.* 5.

[4] *M. Pol.* xix. 1.

[5] Uhlhorn *C* 210; Ziegler 162 ("das Blut der Märtyrer war wie so oft der Same für die Ausbreitung der jungen Lehre"); Harnack *ME* i. 367.

[6] *Diog.* vi. 9, vii. 8; Just. *Dial.* 110 (392) (ἀλλ' ὅσῳπερ ἂν τοιαῦτά τινα γίνηται, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἄλλοι πλείονες πιστοὶ καὶ θεοσεβεῖς διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ γίνονται).

[7] Eusebius (*HE* III. xxxvii. 3) says of the Christian missionaries of the subapostolic age: "A great many marvellous powers of the Divine Spirit still worked at that time through them, so that, at the first hearing, whole multitudes eagerly received in their souls the right attitude towards the Creator of all."

[8] Mc xvi. 17–20; Pap. *fr.* ii. 9; Arist. (Armenian, 29) (comitantibus prodigiis). Quadratus appeals, in proof of the truth of Christianity, to the fact that some men raised from the dead by Christ had lived until his own times (Eus. *HE* IV. iii. 2; cf. Pap. *fr.* xi.).

[9] Orig. *Cels.* i. 6. Cf. Harnack *ME* i. 131f ("It was as exorcisers that Christians went out into the great world, and *exorcism formed one very powerful method of their mission and propaganda.* . . . In Paul's epistles, in Pliny's letter, and in the Didachê, they" (i.e. the exorcisers) "are never mentioned. But from Justin downwards, Christian literature is crowded with allusions to exorcisms, and every large church at any rate had exorcists").

## CHAPTER II

### ESCHATOLOGY

Departures from the Orthodox View.—It went without saying that, in the great struggle between good and evil, good was bound to win. That God should go out defeated from His own world was a suggestion which the Christian mind was psychologically incapable of entertaining. Christendom is God's cause; that is as much as to say that it is going to triumph. "A city built on the top of a high mountain and firmly established can neither fall nor be hid."[1] But while all Christians were at one in sharing this confidence, opinions began to be seriously divided as to the form which the triumph would assume. A hundred years had now elapsed since Jesus had been taken up to heaven; the Parousia, formerly expected from day to day, had not occurred; and Christians began to question, to complain, and to wonder whether they had not been in some way deceived all along. "Where is the promise of his coming?" asked some: "for since our fathers fell asleep, all things remain as (they have been) since the beginning of creation."[2] So far as the Gnostics were concerned, this non-fulfilment of early Christian hopes was not felt to be a difficulty: it was met by the abandonment, or at least by the boldest rationalization, of the old eschatological views. With the Gnostics, the whole course of history—not the Last Things only—constituted the great world-drama: their expectations of the future were generally faint and insignificant.[3] Many of the Gnostics said that the resurrection had already taken place: Valentinus, for instance, kept the formula 'the resurrection of the flesh,' but interpreted it of the spiritual ascent that takes place in this life.[4] Carpocrates taught that only the soul was saved, and denied the resurrection of

[1] *Ox. Log.* 6 (23).

[2] 2 P iii. 4. 2 Cl. quotes, as pertinent to certain of his contemporaries, the same προφητικὸς λόγος as was quoted by 1 Cl. (xxiii. 3) in which a rebuke is uttered against οἱ λέγοντες· Ταῦτα πάλαι ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας προσδεχόμενοι οὐδὲν τούτων ἑωράκαμεν (2 Cl. xi. 2). See above, pp. 152f.

[3] Harnack *HD* i. 261. For the extraordinary speculations of Basileides, see *DCB* i. 273. For the eschatology of Marcion, cf. Harnack *HD* i. 261 n, 276f, *Marcion*, 176–179.

[4] Harnack *HD* i. 261. For the Naassenes' view of the resurrection, cf. frag. 6 of their Gospel given by Preuschen (13).

the body altogether.[1] But unorthodox views on the subject of the resurrection do not appear to have been confined to the Gnostics. Some of the ordinary Christians apparently found a way out of some at least of their eschatological difficulties by rejecting the idea of a resurrection of the flesh, though this solution was severely frowned upon by the Church generally.[2]

The Position of the Majority.—The great bulk of Christian people and with them the Apologists adhered firmly to the traditional eschatology,[3] though with long postponement the old hopes must have lost much of their original freshness and vigour.[4] Various attempts were made to answer the querulous, and to explain the long delay. The author of the 'second Epistle of Peter' sharply rebukes those who complained, as "mockers, who walk according to their own lusts": [5] he explains the postponement of the coming destruction of the world by saying that "one day with the Lord is like a thousand years, and a thousand years like one day," and that He is deferring the end in order to give an opportunity of repentance to all.[6] The author of the 'second Epistle of Clemens' tries to meet the case somewhat more mildly by quoting a not very convincing prophetical analogy from tree-life and by reminding his readers of the faithfulness of Him who promised.[7] Justinus says that God will keep Christ in heaven until the demons are subdued and the number is completed of those whom He foreknows will become good and virtuous and for whose sakes He has not yet carried out His determination.[8]

Christian writers reaffirmed with much emphasis and confidence the leading doctrines of Christian prophecy. This age and the coming age were contrasted in the sharpest fashion,[9] the transition

[1] *DCB* i. 408a.

[2] Just *Dial.* 80 (290), *Res.* 1 (214); Cels. ap. Orig. *Cels.* v. 14 (*ποία γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ποθήσειεν ἔτι σῶμα σεσηπός; ὁπότε μηδ' ὑμῶν τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα καὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐνίοις κοινόν ἐστι, καὶ τὸ σφόδρα μιαρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπόπτυστον ἅμα καὶ ἀδύνατον ἀποφαίνειν· κτλ.*); Athenag. *Res.* 1 (186ff).

[3] Harnack *HD* ii. 224f.

[4] Cf. Neumann *SK* 56f: "Und in der That tritt seit der Mitte des zweiten Jahrhunderts die Erwartung der Erscheinung des Herrn zurück . . . Man zweifelt gewiss nicht an seiner dereinstigen Wiederkehr, aber der Zeitpunkt ist ungewiss und liegt vielleicht in weiter Ferne." u.s.w.

[5] 2 P iii. 3. Bigg (*PJ* 292) regards the persons referred to as "false teachers" who "were Jews by birth and Christians by name"; but the allusions in 1 Cl. xxiii. and 2 Cl. xi. seem to indicate that the same form of heterodoxy was to be found among the rank and file of the Church.

[6] 2 P iii. 5–9: cf. Ps xc. 4.

[7] 2 Cl. xi.

[8] Just. *1 Ap.* xlv. 1; cf. *2 Ap.* vii. 1; Tat. 26 (861) (*ἑστῶτα δὲ τὸν αἰῶνα, μέχρις ἂν αὐτὸν ὁ ποιήσας εἶναι θελήσῃ*).

[9] 2 Cl. vi. 3ff; Herm. *Vis.* 1. i. 8, iv. iii. 3–5, *S* iv. 2–4.

from one to the other being marked by the Parousia of Christ and other accompanying manifestations. The crisis was regarded as imminent,[1] though it was not expected that all would necessarily live to see it.[2] Certain occurrences and facts, such as the continuation of persecution, the bravery of Christians in facing it, and the increase of their numbers in spite of it, were regarded as signs indicating the near approach of Christ.[3] Christians and pagans alike were told that Christ would soon come in glory on the clouds of heaven.[4] Justinus supported the announcement by numerous references to and quotations from Scripture.[5] Other phenomena would ensue. The visible universe would be dissolved in fire :[6] there would be a resurrection of the dead—of the body or flesh, as most seem to have insisted [7]—and a judgment upon all men according to their merits.[8]

Rewards and Punishments.—An analysis of the Christian beliefs as to the lot to be meted out at the judgment to the good and the bad respectively, hardly forms a part of our present task. Beyond the use of a certain number of technical terms—salvation, eternal life, and so on, on the one hand, and punishment, condemnation, death, destruction, eternal fire, and so on, on the other —there is little indication that the usually accepted views had attained any measure of detail or definiteness.[9] There are, however,

[1] Recent or current events were described as occurring ' in the last days ' or ' times ' (2 P iii. 3 ; 2 Cl. xiv. 2 ; Herm. *S* ix. xii. 3 ; *Carp.* 5 ; *Sib. Orac.* v. 74 [*ὑστατίῳ καιρῷ*]). Cf. also, on the immediacy of the end, Mc *W* ; 2 P ii. 1, 3, iii. 10, 14 ; 2 Cl. v. 5, vi. 6, xix. 3f ; Herm. *Vis.* iii. viii. 9, *S* v. v. 3, viii. ix. 4, ix. xix. 2, xx. 4, xxi. 4, xxvi. 6, xxxii. 1, x. iv. 4 ; Just. *1 Ap.* xl. 18, *Dial.* 28 (94) (*βραχὺς οὗτος ὑμῖν περιλείπεται προσηλύσεως χρόνος*).

[2] The author of 2 P (i. 13f) represents Peter as anticipating his early death. According to the Elders quoted by Irenæus (v. v. 1 (ii. 331)), the righteous dead were transported to paradise to await there the final consummation.

[3] *Diog.* vii. 7–9 (*ταῦτα τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ δείγματα*) ; Just. *Dial.* 110 (388, 390).

[4] *Sib. Orac.* v. 256–259 ; Presb. ap. Iren. iv. xxvii. 2 (ii. 242) ; 2 P iii. 12 ; *Diog.* vii. 6.

[5] Just. *1 Ap.* l. 1ff, li. 8—lii. 5, liv. 2, *Dial.* 14 (54), 31 (102ff), 40 (136), 52 (174ff), 110 (388ff), 120 (430) : so also Aristeides 15 (110) (*οὗ τὸ κλέος τῆς παρουσίας ἐκ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένης εὐαγγελικῆς ἁγίας γραφῆς ἔξεστί σοι γνῶναι*).

[6] 2 P iii. 10–12 ; *Apoc. Petr.* 5 (88) ; 2 Cl. xvi. 3 : cf. Just. *2 Ap.* vii. 1 ; Tat. 12 (56), 25 (104).

[7] On the resurrection, Arist. 15 (111) ; 2 Cl. ix. 1–5 ; Just. *1 Ap.* xviii. 6–xix. 6, *Dial.* 80 (286–292), *Res.* passim; Tat. 6 (26–30), 13 (60), 25 (104); *M. Pol.* xiv. 2 ; Athenag. *Legat.* 31 (164), 36 (180, 182), *Res.* passim.

[8] The following are some of the numerous passages : Presb. ap. Iren. iv. xxvii. 2 (ii. 242) ; 2 Cl. xvii. 4, xx. 4 ; Just. *1 Ap.* xii. 1f, *fr.* 10 (12) ; Ps-Just. *Mon.* 3f (136ff) ; Athenag. *Legat.* 12 (54, 56), *Res.* 14 (242ff) (he regarded very young children as exempt from the judgment), 18 (260ff), 25 (290).

[9] The *Apocalypse of Peter* is the first piece of Christian literature that ventures upon a detailed and pictorial description of the tortures of the damned.

two points in connection with this department of Christian thought which deserve to be briefly noticed.

One is the wide use that is made during this period of *promises of reward and threats of punishment in the preaching and propaganda-work of the Church.* As regards her own internal state, the Church found herself in danger of losing the pristine purity of her morals; and hence we find in our authors repeated references to the coming determination of the Christian's eternal lot according to his conduct in this life.[1] But besides that, she was now coming into more prominent notice and closer contact with the hostile pagan world; and the result was that she felt compelled to put a keener edge on her eschatological weapon, and to make more frequent use of it both for attack and for defence.[2] We find Aristeides, for instance, concluding his Apology to the Emperor thus: "It is for your advantage to worship God the Creator and to hearken to His incorruptible words, in order that, having escaped judgment and punishment, ye may be appointed heirs of indestructible life."[3] Justinus again and again tells the pagans he is addressing that evil-doers will be punished endlessly in eternal fire, and that they themselves will be treated the same way if they continue to persecute.[4] "We try to persuade those that hate us unjustly," he says, "so that they, living according to the fair precepts of Christ, may share our good hope of receiving the same (reward as ourselves) from God who rules over all."[5] Tatianus tells the Greeks that Democritus "will be handed over in the day of consummation as food for eternal fire. And ye also, if ye do not stop laughing, will receive the same punishments as the sorcerers."[6] "Laugh (now if ye will), but ye will weep hereafter."[7] Polycarpus says to the Proconsul: "Thou threatenest a fire that burns for a time and after a little is put out; for thou knowest not the fire of the coming

[1] See 2 Cl. and Herm., almost passim. I omit detailed references, as the point does not strictly come within the scope of our subject.

[2] On the Christian use of eschatology as a means of propaganda, cf. Lecky i. 388–390, ii. 3, 8.

[3] Arist. 17 (112); cf. 16 (111).

[4] Just. *1 Ap.* viii. 4, xii. 1–3, xvii. 4—xx. 2 (esp. xix. 8), xxi. 6, xxviii. 1, xlv. 6 (Ye can do nothing more than kill us, *ὅπερ ἡμῖν μὲν οὐδεμίαν βλάβην φέρει, ὑμῖν δὲ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδίκως ἐχθραίνουσι καὶ μὴ μετατιθεμένοις κόλασιν διὰ πυρὸς αἰωνίαν ἐργάζεται*), *2 Ap.* ii. 2, ix. 1.

[5] Just. *1 Ap.* xiv. 3 (quoted below on p. 233 n 2); cf. *Dial.* 35 fin. (122) (*Διὸ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐχθραινόντων ἡμῖν εὐχόμεθα, ἵνα, μεταγνόντες σὺν ἡμῖν, μὴ βλασφημῆτε τὸν . . . Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἀλλὰ πιστεύσαντες εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πάλιν γενησομένῃ ἐνδόξῳ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ σωθῆτε, καὶ μὴ καταδικασθῆτε εἰς τὸ πῦρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*).

[6] Tat. 17 (74, 76); cf. 18 (80).

[7] Tat. 32 (124).

judgment and of eternal punishment that is kept for the impious."[1]

What served to make the eschatological appeal all the more compelling was the thought, often insisted upon, that *the time during which repentance was possible was strictly limited.*[2] Where exactly the limit would be drawn does not appear to have been thoroughly thought out or generally agreed upon. Was it the last day, or the moment of death, or (for Christians) the occasion of baptism, or some later time? In regard to Christians, no doubt the original idea was that, after the great inaugural purification of baptism, no further serious sin was likely to be committed and therefore no call to repentance would be necessary. But experience must soon have dispelled this idealistic expectation. Hermas seems to believe that Christians had one more chance of repentance, that is, during the lapse of a short interval after his receiving and promulgating his visions, but not thereafter: for the pagans, however, the chance of repentance stood open until the last day.[3] The author of the 'second Epistle of Clemens,' who writes for Christians, frequently issues the call to repentance, and intimates that there will be no opportunity for it after death.[4] The imaginary proximity of the last day checked speculation as to the question of repentance after death on the part of those pagans who died before Christ's second Coming. The day of Judgment was usually represented as the terminus ad quem for non-Christians.[5] God, it was said, was deliberately postponing the day, in order to allow time for all to hear and repent.[6] When once Christ came, repentance and tears would be useless, for he would not hear those who offered them.[7]

Christian thinkers of this age were not exercised over the

[1] *M. Pol.* xi. 2. Cf. *Act. Joh.* 36 (quoted below, p. 248); *M. Paul.* 4 (Paul says to two of Nero's officials, ἄνδρες οἱ ὄντες ἐν τῇ ἀγνωσίᾳ καὶ τῇ πλάνῃ ταύτῃ, μεταβάλησθε καὶ σωθῆτε ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ ἐρχομένου ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην· κτλ.).

[2] 2 Cl. viii. 2, ix. 7, xvi. 1. See above, p. 224 n 1.

[3] Herm. *Vis.* II. ii. 5 (ὥμοσεν γὰρ ὁ δεσπότης κατὰ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν ὡρισμένης τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ["i.e. hoc ipsum breve temporis spatium, quo Hermas admonitiones acceptas cum Christianis communicabit (cf. Vis. III, 8, 11)" (Funk *PA* 427a)] ἔτι ἁμάρτησις γένηται, μὴ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς σωτηρίαν· ἡ γὰρ μετάνοια τοῖς δικαίοις ἔχει τέλος· πεπλήρωνται αἱ ἡμέραι μετανοίας πᾶσιν τοῖς ἁγίοις· καὶ τοῖς δὲ ἔθνεσιν μετάνοιά ἐστιν ἕως ἐσχάτης ἡμέρας). Cf. *Vis.* III. v. 5, ix. 5.

[4] 2 Cl. viii. 2f.

[5] Herm. *Vis.* II. ii. 5 (quoted in note 3); Just. *1 Ap.* xl. 7, *Dial.* 118 init. (422).

[6] 2 P iii. 9; Just. *1 Ap.* xxviii. 2, *Dial.* 39 (132): cf. *Praedic. Petr.* 6–8 (90f); *Diog.* ix. 1.

[7] Just. *Dial.* 28 (94): ἐὰν φθάσῃ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐλθεῖν, μάτην μετανοήσετε, μάτην κλαύσετε· οὐ γὰρ εἰσακούσεται ὑμῶν,

problem as to *whether all mankind would ultimately share in the Christian redemption.* On the whole, the expectation must have been that many would not do so. The salvation of all men was indeed the wish both of God [1] and of the Christian.[2] Christians all believed in the ultimate and complete triumph of Christ: "every knee will bow to the Lord, and every tongue confess Him." [3] They believed it possible "that the Hellenes and barbarians, who inhabited Asia, Europe, and Libya, unto the ends (of the earth), would agree to come under one law." [4] But these sentiments, whether taken singly or in combination, do not amount to what we call 'the universal hope.' The triumph of Christ might be manifested in the punishment, as well as in the conversion, of the vanquished. Belief in the eternal fire pervades wellnigh the whole Christian literature of the time, and we find no hint of any hope that it was after all to be bereft of its appropriate victims. The threat that sinners will suffer in it virtually amounts to a prediction.[5]

Before leaving the subject of future rewards, we may take note of the fact that *the conception of the Kingdom of God or Christ* is now almost entirely an eschatological idea. It stands for the happy life that Christians will lead after the resurrection.[6] The idea of Christians 'reigning' in the next life [7] is strictly correlative to it. The fact that the Kingdom is so often definitely placed in the future almost compels us to adopt the same interpretation in the case of several passages which taken by themselves might conceivably be held to speak of it as present.[8] At the same time, in the general fluidity of Christian thought, room was found, especially in circles where the eschatological hope counted for less, and the

[1] 2 P iii. 9; Just. *1 Ap.* xv. 8, *Res.* 8 (238).

[2] Herm. *S* x. ii. 3; Just. *2 Ap.* xv. 4.

[3] Just. *1 Ap.* lii. 6; cf. xli. and the universalistic prophecies quoted above, pp. 212f.

[4] Cels. ap. Orig. *Cels.* viii. 72.

[5] E.g. 2 P ii. 3–10. It was left to the Gnostics to speculate on the conditions that seemed to incapacitate so many for the acceptance of the Gospel: most of the Gnostic leaders had views on the subject: cf. *DCB* i. 274a, iv. 85a, 587b, 1092a, 1099b.

[6] Arist. 16 (111); Presb. ap. Iren. IV. xxvii. 2f (ii. 242f); 2 P i. 11; 2 Cl. v. 5, vi. 9, ix. 6, xi. 7, xii. 6; Herm. *S* IX. xii. 3–8, xiii. 2, (xiv. 1–3), xvi. 2–4, xx. 2f, xxix. 2, xxxi. 2; *Diog.* x. 2; Just. *1 Ap.* xi. 1, xv. 2, xvi. 9, *Dial.* 116 (414), *fr.* 4 (5); *M. Pol.* xx. 2, xxii. 1. Some of these passages are more explicit than others; but even with the less explicit, the suggestion is of a future heavenly Kingdom in the coming age. Of the chiliast's view of the Kingdom, we shall speak presently.

[7] *Ox. Log.* 2 (23) (no. 1 in H. G. E. White's edition); Just. *1 Ap.* x. 2.

[8] Presb. ap. Iren. IV. xxvii. 1 (ii. 240); *Ox. Log.* 2 (22) (no. 7 in White); *Diog.* ix. 1; Just. *1 Ap.* xv. 16, lxi. 4.

present experience for more, than was generally the case, for the idea of the Kingdom as a present state of blessedness. Among the Lord's sayings preserved, apparently, in the 'Gospel according to the Egyptians,' was included the Lucan logion, "The Kingdom of God is within you." [1] Another reported saying ran, "He who is far from me is far from the Kingdom." [2] Celsus derides the Christians of his day for saying: "Whoever is a child, whoever is . . . an ill-starred wretch, him the Kingdom of God will receive." [3]

CHILIASM.—A large section of the Christian Church continued to cherish beliefs in a restored human society on earth, as a part at least of the blessings of the future age. "According to his promise," says the author of the 'second Epistle of Peter,' "we expect a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." [4] Of the belief in its chiliastic form, the chief representatives of our period are Papias and Justinus. Papias said that "there would be a period of a thousand years after the resurrection from the dead, the Kingdom of Christ existing in bodily form upon this earth": he spoke of the sensual enjoyment of food at the resurrection as a main feature of the Kingdom of Heaven,[5] and quoted an extraordinary prophecy, purporting to come from the lips of Jesus and describing the prolific exuberance of the fruits of the earth and the mutual concord and complete docility of animals in the good days that were to come.[6] Justinus maintained strongly, on the evidence of Scripture, not only that there would be a resurrection of the flesh, but that Jerusalem would be rebuilt in splendour, and that Christians would be gathered together there with patriarchs, prophets, and all other good pre-Christian Jews and proselytes, and would live with Christ in happiness for

[1] *Ox. Log.* 3 (23f) (no. 2 in White).

[2] Preuschen 27: cf. Hilgenfeld 44. In Presb. ap. Iren. IV. xxvii. 3 (ii. 243) and Just. *Dial.* 120 (432), mention is made of the unworthy being cast out of the Kingdom, thus implying that they were already in it.

[3] Cels. ap. Orig. *Cels.* iii. 59 (see above, p. 219 n 5). The conception of the royal dignity of Jesus as a present state inaugurated at the crucifixion or ascension also served to keep alive in a certain way the idea of the Kingdom as already existing: cf. Just. *1 Ap.* xxxii. 2, xl. 13, xli., xlv. 3f, li. 7; *M. Pol.* ix. 3, xvii. 3, xxi.

[4] 2 P iii. 13.

[5] Pap. ii. 12, ix., x.

[6] Pap. i. The details of the picture are no doubt derived mainly from the Jewish apocryphal books (cf. Funk *PA* 346ff, 372: Hieronymus said of Papias, 'dicitur mille annorum iudaicam edidisse δευτέρωσιν.' On the meaning of δευτέρωσις, cf. Schürer i. 113f: it means 'that which is secondary' or 'repeated,' hence traditional or oral teaching (e.g. Mishna) as distinct from the original Scriptures). Weinel (*Th.* 619) points out that prior to about 150 A.D. the Christian Church had taken over all the main Jewish apocalypses, and that it was the Church, and not the Jews, to whom the preservation of them to later times was due.

a thousand years.[1] He said that this was the belief of himself and many others; but he admitted that many genuine Christians thought otherwise, and he distinguished them from the pseudo-Christians who denied the resurrection altogether.[2] An interesting branch of these beliefs in the earthly Kingdom of Christ appears in the teachings of Montanus, who regarded its establishment as imminent.[3]

The Church ultimately rejected Chiliasm, Montanism, and the belief in Christ's earthly Kingdom.[4] At quite an early date chiliastic views came to be sharply censured. Eusebius, for instance, criticizes Papias as a man of small intellect, who took in a literal sense things spoken mystically and so misled Irenæus and several other Church writers.[5] That these views were extremely crude and materialistic no one will deny; but it has to be said that on the score of crudity and materialism there was little to choose between chiliasm and orthodoxy; for the latter clung firmly to its belief in a bodily return of Christ, a bodily resurrection, and a bodily punishment of the wicked. As over against orthodox eschatology with its tendency to refer all future blessings to the other world, chiliasm had the credit and advantage of maintaining, as an element of Christian hope, the prospect of a happier life for man on this earth.[6]

[1] Perhaps the fragment of the 'Elders' preserved by Irenæus (*Demonstr.* 61 (124)), in which the Isaianic prophecy of the fraternization of tame and wild animals (Isa xi. 6ff) is applied to that of the righteous and (converted) unrighteous on Christ's return to rule all, may belong to a picture of Christ's earthly Kingdom.

[2] Just. *Dial.* 31 fin. (104, 106), 80f (286–296), 139 (490): cf. Harnack *HD* i. 167f; Neumann *SK* 56. The punishment of the wicked, however, is not limited to 1000 years, as Plato said (Just. *1 Ap.* viii. 4). In *1 Ap.* xi. Justinus denies that the Christians expect an ἀνθρώπινον βασιλείαν, but this is simply a disclaimer of political sedition, and is not to be taken—as Harnack (*HD* ii. 296) takes it—as a denial of chiliastic hopes.

[3] Neumann *SK* 59; Robertson *RD* 138, 143f, 147.

[4] As regards Montanism, Neumann (*l.c.*) says: "Der Richtung und dem Entwickelungsgange, den das katholische Christenthum verfolgte, lief die Prophetie des Montanismus stracks zuwider."

[5] Eus. *HE* III. xxxix. 11–13.

[6] Cf. Robertson *RD* 124–135. "In their realistic picture of the coming kingdom of Christ, these simple Christians asserted their conviction that in spite of appearances, this world is God's world, and its history is in His hands: their conviction that the Church of Christ is to inherit the earth, that the chequered and unsatisfactory course of its affairs is to culminate in the triumph of the holy Will of God, and that in whatever way, at any rate in some way the temporal will be organically linked on to the eternal" (133). See also Rauschenbusch, *A Theology for the Social Gospel*, 24f, 222, 224.

# CHAPTER III

## GENERAL ATTITUDE TO HEATHEN SOCIETY

General Ethical Principles.—The general principles of Christian ethics were by this time stereotyped. The gradual acceptance of certain early Christian writings as canonical, and the growing recognition of a body of traditional teaching—ethical and otherwise—as apostolic and authoritative, rendered the foundations of the Christian ethical system fixed and stable. Having examined those foundations in their proper place, there is no need to accumulate evidence of the acceptance of these foundations by later generations of Christians. We are concerned rather to discover how these later Christians applied their traditional principles to the problems and conditions of their own day. It is, however, worth while to notice at the outset, in regard to the ruling principle of love, not only how the demand for love towards men in general was maintained,[1] but how, with the growing experience of the world's hostility, increased emphasis was laid on the duty of loving pagans and enemies.[2] Another fundamental conception touching the attitude of Christians to pagans comes out with interesting clearness in some of the writings of this time, viz. the idea of Christ and the Christians as serving humanity. Justinus, quoting from the Septuagint of Isaiah, refers to Jesus as "the righteous one, who rendered good service to many";[3] and in another place he describes him as serving mankind, just as Jacob served Laban.[4] The writer to Diognetus goes a step further, and, though not

[1] Arist. 14 (Syriac, 48), 15 (Greek, 111); Herm. *Vis.* III. viii. 5, 7, *M* VIII. 9; *Diog.* x. 6; Just. *Dial.* 93 (338. 340). For the Gnostics, see the fragment from Basileides quoted on p. 214 n 1 and *Eclog. Prophet.* 30 (*τοῦ γνωστικοῦ μόνου . . . ὁ βίος καθαρὸς ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ ἔργου τε καὶ νοήματος καὶ λόγου, οὐδὲ ἐχθρὸν ἔχοντες τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φθόνου καὶ μίσους καὶ βλασφημίας πάσης καὶ διαβολῆς ἐκτὸς ὄντος*). Cf. *Test. XII Patr., Zeb.* vi. 4–viii. 1 (Charles *APOT* ii. 330) on the duty of having mercy upon all.

[2] 2 Cl. xiii. 4; *Diog.* v. 11 (*ἀγαπῶσι πάντας*), vi. 6 (*Χριστιανοὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ἀγαπῶσιν*); Just. *1 Ap.* xiv. 3, xv. 9 (*περὶ δὲ τοῦ στέργειν ἅπαντας ταῦτα ἐδίδαξεν . . . ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, κτλ.*), *Dial.* 96 (348), 133 fin. (474), *Res.* 8 fin. (240); Athenag. *Legat.* 11f (50, 52, 56).

[3] Just. *1 Ap.* li. 4: *εὖ δουλεύοντα πολλοῖς.* Cf. Isa liii. 11 (LXX).

[4] Just. *Dial.* 134 (476, 478): *καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων* (Jews and Christians) *δουλεύει μέχρι νῦν ὁ Χριστός . . . ἐδούλευσε καὶ τὴν μέχρι σταυροῦ δουλείαν ὁ Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκ παντὸς γένους ποικίλων καὶ πολυειδῶν ἀνθρώπων.*

actually using the word, yet expresses clearly the thought, of service on the part, not of Christ, but of the Christians: as the soul loves the body and holds it together, so the Christians love those who hate them and hold the world together, that being the duty which God has assigned to them.[1]

ALOOFNESS.—The view normally taken by Christians of their life in the world was that it resembled a temporary sojourn in a foreign country amid a society that hated them without a cause.[2] This view naturally governed to a very large extent their attitude to their fellow-men. They tended to hold themselves aloof as far as possible from the life of the world around them, to shut themselves up in their own circles, gladly forgoing the enjoyment of such material and social blessings as life in the world was able to confer upon them. "Unless ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the Kingdom of God."[3] "We cannot be friends of the two (ages, viz. this and the next), but we must bid farewell to this and enjoy that. We believe that it is better to hate the things here, because they are little and short-lived and corruptible, but to love the things there—the good, the incorruptible."[4] Hermas disapproves of Christians getting mixed up in the affairs of this age,[5] associating with the heathen, living in their style,[6] and forming friendships with them.[7] The ideal Christians are "those who flee from this world."[8] "All (Christians)," says the writer to Diognetus, "despise the world":[9] like the soul in the body,

[1] *Diog.* vi. 6f, 10.

[2] Herm. *S* i. 1 (Λέγει μοι· Οἶδατε, φησίν, ὅτι ἐπὶ ξένης κατοικεῖτε ὑμεῖς οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ Θεοῦ), 6 (ὡς ἐπὶ ξένης κατοικῶν); *Diog.* v. 5 (πατρίδας οἰκοῦσιν ἰδίας, ἀλλ' ὡς πάροικοι . . . πάνθ' ὑπομένουσιν ὡς ξένοι . . . πᾶσα πατρὶς ξένη), 9. On the world's hatred, cf. 2 Cl. vi. 3; *Diog.* ii. 6, v. 17 (. . . καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἔχθρας εἰπεῖν οἱ μισοῦντες οὐκ ἔχουσιν), vi. 5 (μισεῖ καὶ Χριστιανοὺς ὁ κόσμος μηδὲν ἀδικούμενος, ὅτι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἀντιτάσσονται); Just. *1 Ap.* i. 1, iv. 5, xiv. 3, xv. 9, xx. 3 (τί παρὰ πάντας ἀδίκως μισοῦμεθα;), xxiv. 1, lvii. 1, *2 Ap.* i. 2, viii. 1–3; Tat. 25 (104) (τί βλάπτομεν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες; τί δὲ τοὺς Λόγῳ Θεοῦ κατακολουθοῦντας καθάπερ μιαρωτάτους μεμισήκατε;). Cf. Weinel *SUS* 59f. On Jews' hatred for Christians, cf. *Diog.* v. 17; Just. *Dial.* 35 (122), 96 (346, 348), 108 (386), 133 (474).

[3] *Ox. Log.* 2 (22). Scullard (43) says the early Christian contempt for the good things of this life might have been corrected, if the Christians had paid more attention to Aristoteles.

[4] 2 Cl. vi. 5f; cf. v. 1.

[5] Herm. *M* xii. i. 2.

[6] Herm. *S* viii. ix. 1: . . . οὗτοί εἰσι πιστοὶ μὲν γεγονότες, πλουτήσαντες δὲ καὶ γενόμενοι ἔνδοξοι παρὰ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν . . . καὶ οὐκ ἐκολλήθησαν τοῖς δικαίοις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη συνέζησαν . . . ἐνέμειναν τῇ πίστει, μὴ ἐργαζόμενοι τὰ ἔργα τῆς πίστεως.

[7] Herm. *M* x. i. 4 (ἐμπεφυρμένοι δὲ πραγματείαις καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ φιλίαις ἐθνικαῖς καὶ ἄλλαις πολλαῖς πραγματείαις τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου). Other depreciatory allusions to the affairs of this world occur in *Vis.* i. iii. 1, iii. vi. 5, xi. 3 (ὑμεῖς μαλακισθέντες ἀπὸ τῶν βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων), *M* v. ii. 2, x. i. 5.

[8] Herm. *Vis.* iv. iii. 4. The whole of Herm. *S* i. bears on this point, but it is too long to quote.

[9] *Diog.* i. Lucianus says of the Christians (*Peregr.* 13): Καταφρονοῦσιν οὖν

Christians dwell in the world, though they are not of it.[1] Their most sacred acts of worship and their esoteric teaching were carried on in secret.[2] Justinus quoted, as other Christians had done before him,[3] the old prophecy: "Depart ye, depart ye, depart ye; go ye out from thence, and touch not what is unclean: go ye out from the midst of her: separate yourselves, ye that bear the vessels of the Lord." [4] In the 'Acts of Paul and Thecla,' Paul says: "Happy are those who bid farewell to this world, for they will be well-pleasing to God." [5] Christians might dispute sharply over their own differences, but they one and all exclaimed: "The world has been crucified to me, and I to the world." [6] Against the opposite tendency (to be noticed presently) towards a closer association with the pagan world, a strenuous opposition was maintained: such, indeed, was one of the great motives behind Montanism; and this aspect of Montanism was no new or unfamiliar phenomenon in the Church of the second century.[7]

ASSOCIATION.—Aloofness, however, represented only one aspect of the Christian's attitude to the world around him. While in some matters he felt compelled to stand aloof, yet these matters did not comprise the whole of life; and his responsibility for leavening the world and the waning of his eschatological hopes [8]—not to mention his natural instincts—all moved him to attempt to associate as harmoniously as he could with his fellow-men. "Christians,"

ἁπάντων ἐξ ἴσης καὶ κοινὰ ἡγοῦνται ἄνευ τινὸς ἀκριβοῦς πίστεως τὰ τοιαῦτα (i.e. the doctrine of immortality, brotherhood of Christians, etc.) παραδεξάμενοι.

[1] *Diog.* vi. 3. On the Christian consciousness of sharp distinction from the rest of the world, see Weinel *SUS* 34, 58–63.

[2] Orig. *Cels.* i. 1. The phrase in *Diog.* vi. 4—ἀόρατος δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ θεοσέβεια μένει—may perhaps refer to the spiritual character of the Christian worship, without temples, altars, etc., rather than to its secrecy. Cf. Bigelmair 220: "Zwar sprachen die christlichen Apologeten offen in Schrift und Wort; aber die tiefsten Glaubenswahrheiten konnten sie doch nicht immer enthüllen." u.s.w.

[3] See above, pp. 93, 161.

[4] Just. *Dial.* 13 (48). Tatianus may conceivably have had this Christian exclusiveness in mind, when he wrote: Καθάπερ δὲ τῷ λῃστεύοντι συνδειπνήσας, κἂν μὴ λῃστὴς αὐτὸς ᾖ, ἀλλ' ὅμως διὰ τὸ συνεστιαθῆναι τιμωρίας μεταλαμβάνει· τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ μὴ κακὸς, τῷ δὲ φαύλῳ ἀναμιγεὶς, πρὸς τὸ νομιζόμενον καλὸν συγχρησάμενος, διὰ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν κοινωνίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρίνοντος τοῦτον Θεοῦ κολασθήσεται (Tat. 18 (80)); but the context strongly suggests that he is thinking rather of co-operation with demons in effecting cures than of association with pagans in ordinary life. It is not necessary to alter αὐτόν to αὐτό and to omit τοῦτον, as Maran suggests (Migne *PG* vi. 846 n 68).

[5] *Act. Thec.* 5. [6] Cels. ap. Orig. *Cels.* v. 64f; Neumann *SK* 65.

[7] Uhlhorn *C* 336–344, *Ch.* 203–207; Neumann *SK* 59; Ramsay *CRE* 435, 437; Harnack *HD* ii. 106.

[8] Neumann *SK* 57: "So lange der Glaube das Ende der Zeiten in der unmittelbaren Zukunft erwartete, lebte der Gläubige auch auf Erden nur als Bürger einer anderen Welt. Jetzt aber macht das Gebot sich geltend, im Irdischen sich zurechtzufinden und in der Welt sich einzuleben."

says the writer to Diognetus, "are not distinct from the rest of men in country or language or customs. For neither do they dwell anywhere in (special) cities of their own, nor do they use a different language, nor practise a conspicuous manner of life. . . . But dwelling (as they do) in Hellenic and barbarian cities, as each man has been allotted, and following the customs of the country in dress and food and the rest of life, the manner of conduct they display is wonderful and confessedly beyond belief. They inhabit their own fatherlands, but as sojourners ; they participate in everything as citizens, and endure everything as foreigners. Every foreign country is their fatherland, and every fatherland is a foreign country. . . . They live on the earth, but their citizenship is in heaven." [1] Justinus points out that the unsociability, which usually accompanies differences of race and custom, is definitely laid aside on the acceptance of Christianity.[2] "We are quite at a loss over that," says Tryphon the Jew to him, "(namely), that you say that you are religious and think you surpass others, but depart from them in nothing, nor alter your manner of life from (that of) the gentiles, in that you neither keep feasts nor sabbaths nor observe the circumcision." [3] Hermas, as we have seen,[4] was familiar with a class of Christians, whose religion, as he considered, suffered severely from their earthly possessions, their pagan ties, and their absorption in secular affairs. We have also observed that it was the prevalence of this secularizing tendency that called forth the great counterblast of Montanism.

The Force of the Christian Example.—Christians reminded one another of the responsibility which lay upon them of commending their religion to the heathen world by the silent witness of their own lives.[5] They tried to guard against giving outsiders any occasion to blaspheme. "For the Lord saith: '. . . Woe (to him) through whom my Name is blasphemed.' Whereby is it blasphemed ? By your not doing what I wish. For the gentiles, hearing from our mouth the words of God, admire them as beautiful and great : then they learn that our works are not worthy of the

[1] *Diog.* v. 1f, 4f, 9 ; cf. vi. 3, 4. The *Epistle to Diognetus*, more particularly ch. v., has been criticized (unjustly, in my opinion) as giving us little more than fine rhetoric ; see Harnack *ME* i. 253 n 1 ; Workman 169 n : per contra, Hobhouse 80–82.

[2] Just. *1 Ap.* xiv. 3 : οἱ μισάλληλοι δὲ καὶ ἀλληλοφόνοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οὐχ ὁμοφύλους διὰ τὰ ἔθη καὶ ἑστίας κοινὰς μὴ ποιούμενοι, νῦν μετὰ τὴν ἐπιφανείαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁμοδίαιτοι γινόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐχόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἀδίκως μισοῦντας πείθειν πειρώμενοι, ὅπως οἱ [? delete, or read αὐτοὶ] κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ καλὰς ὑποθημοσύνας βιώσαντες εὐέλπιδες ὦσι σὺν ἡμῖν τῶν αὐτῶν παρὰ τοῦ πάντων δεσπόζοντος Θεοῦ τυχεῖν.

[3] Just. *Dial.* 10 (38).

[4] See above, p. 231.

[5] Bartlet *CC* 181–183.

statements we make, and they turn to blasphemy, saying that it is some erroneous tale. For when they hear from us that God says: 'Ye will get no thanks if ye love (only) those that love you; but ye will get thanks if ye love your enemies and those that hate you,' when they hear this, they admire the excess of goodness. But when they see that we do not love, not only those that hate (us), but even those that love (us), they laugh at us, and the Name is blasphemed." [1] Heracleon, the disciple of Valentinus, made a sensible protest against the idea that the Christian 'confession' was something that could be done only with the lips before a persecuting magistrate: a hypocrite, he argued, could do that, and all were not called upon to make a confession in that form: the real Christian confession was the believer's life and conduct.[2] Justinus quotes the words of Jesus, "Let your good works shine before men, that seeing (them) they may worship your Father in the heavens," and continues, "He has exhorted us to lead all men by patience and gentleness away from the shame and lust of evil things. And this we can prove (to have happened) in the case of many who were (formerly) with you. They changed from (being) violent and tyrannical, conquered either (through) having followed the constancy of (their Christian) neighbours' life, or (through) having noticed the strange patience of (Christian) fellow-travellers when defrauded, or (through) having had experience of (Christians) with whom they had dealings." [3]

THE APOLOGIES.—The Christians' efforts to come to terms with the pagan world could not be confined to mere brotherly association and the influence of the Christian example, however essential these might be. It was found necessary to have recourse to spoken and written arguments in defence of the Christian position. To these the name of Apologies has been given. Many of them were addressed to the Emperors with the object of stopping

[1] 2 Cl. xiii. 2–4: cf. 2 P ii. 2.

[2] Cl. *Strom.* IV. ix. 71f. Cf. Neumann *SK* 42, *DCB* ii. 898b. Heracleon, indeed, says à propos of the words, 'Whoever shall confess me before men,' etc., *τὸ δὲ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῶν σῳζομένων καὶ τῶν ἐθνικῶν δὲ ὁμοίως παρ' οἷς μὲν καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ, παρ' οἷς δὲ καὶ τῇ φωνῇ*, which makes it look as if he thought of the confession by life as one to be made in the presence of Christians only; but he cannot have meant to exclude the idea of Christians letting their light shine before the world at large.

[3] Just. *1 Ap.* xvi. 2, 3 (. . . *διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ πραότητος ἐξ αἰσχύνης καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τῶν κακῶν ἄγειν πάντας προετρέψατο*), 4 (*ὃ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ πολλῶν τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν γεγενημένων ἀποδεῖξαι ἔχομεν· ἐκ βιαίων καὶ τυράννων μετέβαλον, ἡττηθέντες ἢ γειτόνων καρτερίαν βίου παρακολουθήσαντες ἢ συνοδοιπόρων πλεονεκτουμένων ὑπομονὴν ξένην κατανοήσαντες ἢ συμπραγματευομένων πειραθέντες*). Cf. the interesting testimony of Galenus to the morality of the Christians, quoted by Harnack *KS* 140, 160.

persecution, but these were after all only special applications of a general defensive policy, and as such they will be considered later.[1] A good deal of apologetic speaking would be done in the course of personal conversation and debate between Christians and pagans, and sometimes between Christians and Jews. The talks which Justinus had with Tryphon,[2] his public and successful arguments with the Cynic philosopher Crescens,[3] and his habitual discussions on various aspects of the Christian position with all and sundry,[4] were no doubt typical of the policy pursued by a large number of Christian thinkers. But the Apology proper was a written discourse, addressed sometimes to the Government, sometimes to the heathen public generally. It aimed not only at demonstrating the injustice of persecution, but also at conciliating favour and even making converts.[5] The 'Epistle to Diognetus' exhibits this attitude in a peculiar degree: it is also somewhat exceptional in having been written in compliance with a definite request from the addressee himself, a heathen friend of the author. He is addressed with courtesy [6] and commended for the zeal of his inquiries: the author prays that his reply may be helpful and effective, and sketches in glowing terms the progress in Christian character and knowledge upon which he earnestly desires his friend to enter.[7] Justinus tells Tryphon that a man who loves his neighbour always wishes to share with him the benefits he desires for himself.[8] "Being in sympathy with you," he says, "I am striving my hardest that ye

[1] On the Apologies in general, see Schmidt 306ff, 318f; Uhlhorn *C* 265–270, 280–282; Gass 55–60; Doulcet 66–81; Ramsay *CRE* 340–345; Harnack *HD* i. 263f n (he says that the Gnostics, out of their high regard for revelation, regarded apologetic appeals to reason as unnecessary), ii. 169ff, *ME* i. 363–366; Gwatkin *ECH* i. 174ff.

[2] Just. *Dial.* 64 (226) (Διὸ κἂν ὑμεῖς πονηρεύησθε, προσμενῶ πρὸς ὁτιοῦν προβαλεῖσθε καὶ ἀντιλέγετε ἀποκρινόμενος· καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἁπλῶς τοὺς ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων συζητεῖν ἢ πυνθάνεσθαί μου περὶ τούτων βουλομένους πράττω), 142 (496, 498). With Justinus' *Dialogue with Tryphon* we may compare the *Disputation of Jason and Papiscus concerning Christ* (Orig. *Cels.* iv. 52), which was written by Ariston of Pella about 140 A.D. and closed with the conversion of a Jew by his Christian opponent. See above, p. 202 n 3.

[3] Just. *2 Ap.* iii. 4–6 (καὶ γὰρ προθέντα με καὶ ἐρωτήσαντα αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσεις τινὰς τοιαύτας καὶ μαθεῖν καὶ ἐλέγξαι, ὅτι ἀληθῶς μηδὲν ἐπίσταται, εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, κτλ. He offered to conduct these discussions again in the Emperor's presence); Eus. *HE* iv. xvi. 1 ('Ιουστῖνος . . . πλεονάκις ἐν διαλόγοις ἐπ' ἀκροατῶν εὐθύνας αὐτόν).

[4] Just. *Dial.* 64 (226) (see above, n 2); *M. Just.* iii. 3 (see p. 219 n 6).

[5] Uhlhorn *C* 269: "The Apologists aimed not to repel but to attract, and for this purpose they made use of every point of contact with Christianity which they could find in heathenism." The great exception to this statement and to that in the text is Tatianus, who took little trouble to put his appeal in a conciliatory form: see below, pp. 240f.

[6] *Diog.* i.: κράτιστε Διόγνητε.

[7] *Diog.* i., x.

[8] Just. *Dial.* 93 (340).

may understand these strange doctrines of ours, but that, if not, I myself may be guiltless in the day of judgment."[1] In his 'Apology,' addressed to the Roman People, along with their Senate and Emperors,[2] after finishing at a comparatively early point what he considered was an adequate defence of the justice of his plea, he said he wished "to add a few words for the sake of persuading lovers of truth, knowing that it is not impossible to flee from ignorance, when truth is set over against it."[3] The author of the Pseudo-Justinian 'De Monarchia' claimed that his motive in writing was love for men.[4] For the purpose of making their appeal effective, the Apologists did not hesitate to employ forms of literature familiar to the heathen world,[5] and to put forward such arguments as they thought would be most likely to convince. Justinus apologizes to "the children of the truth" for using in support of his doctrine of the resurrection "apparently external and worldly arguments." He excuses himself on the ground, firstly, that nothing is external to God, and secondly, that he is arguing with unbelievers, and so has to use such arguments as appeal to them.[6] Athenagoras similarly distinguishes between arguments concerning the truth, which are suitable for the candid and receptive (? = believers), and those in defence of the truth, which are suitable for unbelievers.[7] Such, then, in general was the task and method of the Apologists: it was their regular policy to make advances in this way to an unsympathetic and hostile society, leaving—within the limits of Christian propriety—no stone unturned in their efforts to convince their opponents that Christianity was not only innocent, but true and authoritative and Divine.

The Treatment of Wrongdoers.—It is not the least among the many titles to honour which the early Christians bear, that they remembered and tried to practise fearlessly and in the most thoroughgoing way those exacting precepts laid down by Jesus as to the patient endurance of wrongs and love for those who inflict

[1] Just. *Dial.* 38 (128).

[2] Just. *1 Ap.* i. 1 (. . . *ἱερᾷ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ δήμῳ παντὶ* Ῥωμαίων), *2 Ap.* i. 1 (*ὦ* Ῥωμαῖοι).

[3] Just. 1 *Ap.* xii. 11; cf. *2 Ap.* i. 1, where he says he is making his representations *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὁμοιοπαθῶν ὄντων καὶ ἀδελφῶν.*

[4] Ps-Just. *Mon.* 1 (128): *φιλανθρώπου δὲ ἢ μᾶλλον φιλοθέου ἔργον ἐστὶν . . . φιλανθρώπῳ χρήσομαι τῇ φωνῇ.*

[5] Neumann *SK* 118.

[6] Just. *Res.* 5 (226). In order to break down pagan unbelief, he proceeds to give an argument drawn *ἐκ τῆς ἀπιστίας, τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν, λέγω δὴ τῶν κοσμικῶν λόγων* (228). Cf. *op. cit.* 10 (246) (*θεωροῦντες γοῦν καὶ τοὺς κοσμικοὺς λόγους, καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς οὐχ εὑρίσκοντες ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχειν τῇ σαρκὶ τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν, κτλ.*).

[7] Athenag. *Res.* 1 (188).

them. Nor is it altogether fair to say that the numerical weakness of the Christians rendered this the only feasible policy, and that the Church showed her true colours as soon as she had the power to do so.[1] The persecutions conducted later by the Church were the result, not only of a numerical increase and the acquisition of material superiority, but of a real declension in the purity of Christian morals. Such declension was indeed already beginning to make itself felt in this period in the rank and file of the Church, but not in such a degree as to affect the public professions and claims of Christian writers. Their teaching on the subject consists mainly of quotations from the Sermon on the Mount and enlargements upon them.[2] Aristeides says of the Christians: "They appeal to those who wrong them and make them friendly to themselves; they are eager to do good to their enemies; they are mild and conciliatory."[3] "They are reviled," says the friend of Diognetus, "and bless: they are insolently treated, and are respectful."[4] "We pray for our enemies," says Justinus, "and try to persuade those that hate us unjustly," etc.[5] "For it is not right to resist: nor has (God) wished us to be imitators of the wicked, but He has exhorted us to lead all men by patience and gentleness away from the shame and lust of evil things."[6] "We have learnt," says Athenagoras, "not only not to hit the striker back, and not to go to law with those who plunder and rob us, but to some, if they buffet (us) on the side of the head, to turn the other side of the head for a blow, and to others, if they take away (our) tunic, to give (our) cloak as well."[7] Hermas frequently utters similar teaching in more general terms.[8] We find also the usual disapproval expressed in regard to anger[9] and evil-speaking,[10] and of course the usual horror of murder or homicide in any form.[11]

[1] Lecky i. 422ff.

[2] Just. *1 Ap.* xv. 9, xvi. 1; Athenag. *Legat.* 11 (50, 52).

[3] Arist. 15 (111); cf. 17 (Syriac, 51).

[4] *Diog.* v. 15.

[5] Just. *1 Ap.* xiv. 3 (see above, p. 233 n 2).

[6] Just. *1 Ap.* xvi. 3 (see above, p. 234 n 3).

[7] Athenag. *Legat.* 1 (8); cf. 11 (50, 52) (quoted below, p. 256), 34 fin. (178).

[8] Herm. *M* v. i., ii. 3, 6, 8, vi. ii. 3, viii. 3, 10 (*μηδενὶ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι, . . . ὕβριν ὑποφέρειν, μακρόθυμον εἶναι, μνησικακίαν μὴ ἔχειν*), ix. 3, xi. 8, xii. iii. 1, *S* viii. vii. 6, ix. xv. 2.

[9] Arist. 8 (104) (he condemns the Hellenic gods as *ὀργίλους καὶ ζηλωτὰς καὶ θυμαντικούς*); Herm. *M* v. i., ii. 4, etc.; Just. *1 Ap.* xvi. 2 (*ὃς δ' ἂν ὀργισθῇ, ἔνοχός ἐστιν εἰς τὸ πῦρ*).

[10] Herm. *M* ii. 2, 3, etc. etc.; Athenag. *Legat.* 11 (52), 34 fin. (178).

[11] Arist. *l.c.* (the gods condemned as *φονεῖς, . . . πατροκτόνους καὶ ἀδελφοκτόνους*); *Apoc. Petr.* 25 (86); Just. *2 Ap.* ii. 16, v. 4; Athenag. *Legat.* 35 (178, 180) (see below, p. 264 n 3).

# CHAPTER IV

## ATTITUDE TO HEATHEN LEARNING, PHILOSOPHY, AND RELIGION[1]

Aversion from Learning among the Christians.—A tendency to depreciate and avoid all heathen thought and learning, particularly the philosophic habit and theories characteristic of Hellenistic civilization, was but a special form of the attitude of hostility and aloofness towards heathenism generally. It sprang from the idea of the inseparable connection between pagan philosophy and the abominations of pagan religion, and was intensified by the connection between the philosophizing tendency and the heresy of the Gnostics. Many Christians, in the eager desire to keep their minds untainted by the corruptions of heathenism, shut their eyes deliberately and avowedly to all considerations of knowledge or reason, and entrenched themselves in a pious obscurantism. Celsus describes many Christians of his day as unwilling either to give or to accept an explanation concerning what they believe, and as saying: "Do not examine, but believe"; "Thy faith will save thee"; "The wisdom of the world is an evil thing, but folly is a good thing";[2] "Let no educated or wise or sensible person come to (us); for these things are reckoned among us (to be) evil: but if (there is) any one unlearned, unintelligent, uneducated, infantile, let him come boldly";[3] "Whoever is a sinner, whoever is devoid of understanding, whoever is a child, and, in a word, whoever is an ill-starred wretch—him the Kingdom of God will receive."[4] The charge, if applied to the whole Church, would doubtless be an exaggeration: but there can be no doubt that many zealous Christians were of an extremely unintellectual type;[5] and such

[1] Cf. Harnack *KS* 134f, 141f.

[2] Cels. ap. Orig. *Cels.* i. 9, 12, 13 (ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Κέλσος ἔθηκεν ὡς λεγόμενον ὑπὸ πολλῶν Χριστιανῶν, "κακὸν μέν γε ἡ ἐν τῷ βίῳ σοφία ἀγαθὸν δ' ἡ μωρία").

[3] *Ib.* iii. 44.

[4] *Ib.* iii. 59 (see above, p. 219 n 5); cf. also iii. 72, 75, vi. 12.

[5] Just. *1 Ap.* lx. 11 (παρ' ἡμῖν οὖν ἔστι ταῦτα [i.e. Christian doctrines] ἀκοῦσαι καὶ μαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας τῶν στοιχείων ἐπισταμένων, ἰδιωτῶν μὲν καὶ βαρβάρων τὸ φθέγμα, σοφῶν δὲ καὶ πιστῶν τὸν νοῦν ὄντων, καὶ πηρῶν καὶ χήρων τινῶν τὰς ὄψεις· ὡς συνεῖναι οὐ σοφίᾳ ἀνθρωπείᾳ ταῦτα γεγονέναι, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει Θεοῦ λέγεσθαι). Similarly Athenag. *Legat.* 11 (52). Origenes testifies the same for a later date (*Cels.* iii. 44).

utterances as those quoted by Celsus probably represented their point of view crudely indeed, but on the whole correctly.

THE APOLOGISTS' CRITICISM OF HELLENIC PHILOSOPHY.—The Apologists, of course, were very far from sharing in whatever Christian antipathy there might have been to knowledge or reason as such. More than this, they generally deal with Hellenic philosophy in a fairly conciliatory spirit. But even so, they were not slow to point out its deficiencies, particularly in connection with views as to the Divine Nature. With the philosophers were naturally grouped the poets; and the poets stood out in the main as narrators of discreditable myths concerning the gods. "The Hellenes," says Aristeides, "professing to be wise, committed worse folly than the Chaldæans, introducing (the idea) that there were many gods, some male, some female, fashioners of all sorts of passions and all sorts of iniquities." [1] "Let thy senseless wise men," he says to the Emperor, "stop talking nonsense against the Lord." [2] "Who knew anything as to what God is," asks the writer to Diognetus, "before (Christ) came? or dost thou accept the empty and frivolous words of those reliable philosophers, some of whom said that God was fire—they call that God to which they themselves are going to come—and some water, and some another of the elements that have been created by God? and yet, if any of these statements is acceptable, every one of the remaining things created could be similarly shown to be God." [3] Justinus feels a real reverence for the great names among the Hellenic philosphers; but he contradicts Plato flatly on the subject of the future judgment,[4] and regards his teaching and that of the Stoics, poets, and historians, as only partially inspired by the spermatic Word, and as thus containing contradictions.[5] The Christian teaching, while agreeing with it in some points, yet dealt with others more fully and 'Divinely' and—unlike any other teaching—with adequate proofs: [6] it is "above all human philosophy." [7] But while he deals thus tenderly with the more dignified philosophers of the past, he pays but scant respect to the Cynics of his own day,[8] remarks tartly that the words of Jesus were brief and concise, "for he was no

[1] Arist. 8 (104); for the Chaldæan philosophers, cf. id. 3 (101).
[2] Arist. 17 (112).
[3] *Diog.* viii. 1–3. On the aggressive attitude of the early Christians towards heathen philosophy and religion, see Bestmann ii. 238–241.
[4] Just. *1 Ap.* viii. 4. [5] Just. *2 Ap.* xiii. 2–6.
[6] Just. *1 Ap.* xx.
[7] Just. *2 Ap.* xv. 3.
[8] Just. *2 Ap.* iii. 1 (*Κρίσκεντος τοῦ φιλοψόφου καὶ φιλοκόμπου*), 6 (*οὐ φιλόσοφος ἀλλὰ φιλόδοξος ἀνὴρ δείκνυται*, κτλ.), 7.

sophist,"[1] and casts reproach on the doctrines of Epicurus and particularly on the sensuality and obscenity of the Hellenic poets.[2] The whole mass of Hellenic myths concerning the gods he roundly denounces as the invention of wicked demons, who thought by this means to forestall acceptance of Christian truths.[3] Athenagoras says the poets and philosophers tried to learn about God from their own guesses, instead of from Him: hence their statements were inconsistent and unreliable, unlike the utterances of the prophets.[4] He draws a contrast between the moral results of philosophy and those of Christianity, and asks whether any professional logician or sophist has learned to love and bless his enemies, as uneducated Christians habitually do.[5]

The most vehement expression, however, which we possess of the contemptuous dislike felt by many Christians for the Hellenic philosophy and heathen culture generally, is to be found in the treatise addressed 'to Hellenes' by the Assyrian apologist Tatianus. This is not so much an apology for Christianity as a diatribe against Hellenism. The author pours the bitterest scorn not only on the myths concerning gods and heroes,[6] and on the vices, foibles, disagreements, and errors of philosophers,[7] but also on the oracles,[8] religious festivals, dramatic performances, athletic and gladiatorial contests,[9] the art, rhetoric, and philosophy,[10] and the very dialects, of the Hellenes.[11] He holds up to ridicule all the main figures in the history of Hellenic philosophy, usually on the ground of some minor personal peculiarity or incident.[12] He maintains that, Moses being more ancient than Homer, the Hellenic philosophy is younger than the Christian.[13] He makes out that the Hellenes were indebted to various barbarian peoples for the chief attainments of their civilization, and bids them cease boasting of their originality.[14] He claims to have acquainted himself thoroughly with Hellenic philosophy and culture,[15] though the trivial grounds he specifies for his rejection of it, e.g. the confusion of the Hellenic dialects[16] and his personal dissatisfaction with Hellenic rhetoric,

[1] Just. *1 Ap.* xiv. 5.
[2] Just. *2 Ap.* xv. 3.
[3] Just. *1 Ap.* xxiii. 3, xxv. 3, liv., lv. 1, lxiv., *Dial.* 69 (246, 248), 70 (250, 252, 254). The myths are also censured in the Pseudo-Justinian *De Monarchia* 5f.
[4] Athenag. *Legat.* 7 (34, 36).
[5] Athenag. *Legat.* 11 (50, 52).
[6] Tat. 21, 32.
[7] E.g. their love of money, pæderastia, etc.: Tat. 19 (84), 25.
[8] Tat. 12 (58), 19 (86, 88).
[9] Tat. 22–24.
[10] Tat. 2 (8, 10), 19 (84), 25f.
[11] Tat. 1 (6), 26 (108).
[12] Tat. 2f, 17 (74), 19, 25.
[13] Tat. 31.
[14] Tat. 1 (4, 6), 26 (104).
[15] Tat. 1 (6), 35 (136), 42 (162).
[16] Tat. 1 (6), 26 (108).

art, inventions, and statuary [1]—as well as the whole style of his Apology—may tempt us to doubt his capacity for thorough philosophic study. He reviles the Cynic philosophers of his own age,[2] and tells the Hellenes generally that they will become fuel for eternal fire, if they do not stop laughing at the Christians.[3] One wonders how Tatianus ever imagined that this sort of argumentation would ever prevail on his pagan readers to listen sympathetically to his various appeals for their favourable regards [4] and for their conversion to his own faith.[5]

The Antipathy to Gnosticism.—Christianity came into conflict with Hellenic philosophy in a peculiar way, in its struggle against Gnosticism. This latter may be described roughly as the premature attempt to systematize Christian experience and truth on the lines of an Hellenic or semi-Hellenic cosmological system. It was in a certain sense the first-fruits of the transplantation of the Gospel to the soil of Hellenic philosophy, and represented in a way a real secularization of the former.[6] The responsible leaders of the Church were not unnaturally suspicious of any close connection between Christian and heathen teaching, and were on their guard against anything that looked like a departure from apostolic tradition.[7] They also wanted to protect the Church against the discredit of antinomianism. Hence the ruling attitude taken up towards the Gnostic errorists was one of severe and censorious exclusiveness.[8] Justinus speaks of the demonic origin of the heresies of Simon, Menander, and Marcion, and deplores the fact

[1] Tat. 35 (138) (. . . χαίρειν εἰπὼν καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων μεγαλαυχίᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηναίων ψυχρολογίᾳ, δόγμασιν ἀσυναρτήτοις); more general grounds are stated in 26.

[2] Tat. 19 (84), 25f. [3] Tat. 17 (76).

[4] Tat. 1 (2), 12 (56, 58), 17 (76) (διόπερ, ὦ Ἕλληνες, κεκραγότος ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου κατακούσατέ μου, μηδὲ ἐπιτωθάζοντες τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀλογιστίαν ἐπὶ τὸν κήρυκα τῆς ἀληθείας μετάγετε), 19 fin. (88), 25 (104), 35 (877) (μὴ γὰρ δυσχεράνητε τὴν ἡμετέραν παίδειαν).

[5] Tat. 19 init. (84) (ὑμεῖς δὲ, τούτων οὐκ ἔχοντες τὴν κατάληψιν, παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν εἰδότων ἐκπαιδεύεσθε), 19 fin. (88), 20 (90).

[6] Overbeck (184) says that Gnosticism "die Verweltlichung der Kirche überhaupt und auf allen Gebieten menschlichen Trachtens in acuter Form darstellt." Cf. Neumann *SK* 41. Marcion was a partial exception: he took little interest in the philosophical side of Christianity: see Harnack *HD* i. 267ff. On the Gnostic estimate of γνῶσις, see *Eclog. Prophet.* 28.

[7] Harnack *HD* i. 252ff. But cf. W. R. Inge in *The Legacy of Greece*, 36: "In rejecting Gnosticism, the Church in fact decided for genuine Hellenism against a corrupted or barbarized development of it."

[8] 2 P ii. (Moffatt *INT* 361–363); 2 Cl. x. 5 (?); Herm. *M* xi., esp. 17 (ἀπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου γὰρ ἔρχεται). The Moscow MS of *M. Pol.* contains the story (found also in Irenæus iii. iii. 4 (ii. 14)) about Polycarpus calling Marcion the firstborn of Satan. Some Christians refused to associate with Ebionites even of the milder type, though Justinus did not agree with this treatment of them (Just. *Dial.* 47 (156, 158)).

that their followers are familiarly known as Christians.[1] Those who denied the resurrection—a typical instance of the operation of Hellenic philosophical influence—Justinus regarded as apostles who were sent out by Satan, " who bore the Saviour's Name," i.e. were called Christians, " but did the works of him who sent them ; and through them blasphemy has followed the Name." [2] Nor did the orthodox party fail to make attempts to deal with the errors of heretics, as they dealt with the misconceptions of pagans, viz. by means of arguments written in the literary style of the time.[3]

Christianity becomes a Philosophy.—The aversion to intellectualism which arose from antagonism to heathen and Gnostic philosophy found its own corrective in the conflict itself. The Christian Apologist discovered that he could not maintain his case unless he was able to meet his antagonists on their own ground. The methods and theories of Hellenic philosophy had taken so deep a hold on the minds of thinking people generally, that no religion had a chance of appealing to them, unless its representatives could meet on equal terms with the professors of that philosophy. The old commandment given to the first Christian missionaries, " Be ye wise as serpents," had come to mean this : that Christianity must itself become a philosophy if it was to make its way in the world.[4] Most of the Apologists were philosophers. Aristeides is described as such in the headings to his Apology.[5] Justinus had belonged to several different philosophic schools before he embraced Christianity : dissatisfied with all of them, he turned to Christianity as the best philosophy that could be found.[6] He continued after his conversion to wear the philosophic cloak as a Christian teacher.[7] He engaged in a dialectical contest with the Cynic philosopher Crescens.[8] Tatianus described himself as one

[1] Just. *1 Ap.* xxvi., lvi., lviii., *2 Ap.* xv. 1. [2] Just. *Res.* 10 (248).

[3] Neumann *SK* 118 : " Nicht nur der Verständigung mit den Heiden, sondern der Behandlung innerer Angelegenheiten des Christentums dienen sodann die Werke, in denen die Kirche sich mit den Ketzern auseinandersetzt ; und auch diese Ketzerbestreitungen . . . gehören der allgemeinen Litteratur an." For the anti-heretical literature of this period, see Krüger 143–146 : cf. Just. *1 Ap.* xxvi. 8.

[4] Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 102 : " It was already clear that churches which dare not face this world's learning are well on the way to lose that world's life."

[5] *TS* i. 1. 7f, 23 (" Aristides the Philosopher is a Christian who has preserved the philosophic manner, and probably the philosophic dress, with a view to future service in the gospel. It seems to have been the practice of not a few of the famous second-century Christians to attract an audience in this way "), 27, 35.

[6] Just. *Dial.* 2f (6ff) ; *M. Just.* ii. 3 ; Purves 74–77.

[7] Just. *Dial.* 1 (2) (τόδε τὸ σχῆμα) ; Eus. *HE* iv. xi. 8.

[8] Just. *2 Ap.* iii. 4f ; Eus. *HE* iv. xvi. 1.

who philosophized after the manner of the barbarians, and spoke of Christianity as "our barbarian philosophy."[1] Meliton used similar language.[2] Athenagoras was an Athenian philosopher.[3] Schools of philosophic thought began to be formed within the Church for the purpose of settling accounts with the philosophers.[4] Of these, the famous Catechetical School of Alexandria—an academy for the scientific treatment of Christian problems, open alike to Christians, catechumens, and seriously interested pagans—had existed for a long time when Pantænus took charge of it about 180 A.D.[5] It was the special task of the Apologists, without unfaithfulness to the apostolic tradition, to formulate "the content of the Gospel in a manner which appealed to the common sense of all the serious thinkers and intelligent men of the age"; they were the first to form the alliance between ecclesiastical Christianity and Hellenic philosophy.[6]

The Hellenic Philosophers as Witnesses to Christian Truth.—The adoption of this policy put a powerful weapon into the hands of the Christian Apologists. They had no difficulty in discovering in the writings of Hellenic thinkers passages that involved logically the rejection of much that was essential to paganism and the acceptance of much that was fundamental to Christianity. The apologetic writings abound in quotations from and references to pagan authors maintaining the oneness of God and His other essential attributes[7] and the futility of worshipping and sacrificing to idols,[8] and supporting belief in the resurrection[9] and in future punishment.[10] A certain positive value in Hellenic wisdom came thus perforce to be recognized; and Justinus' theory of the spermatic Logos is simply an early attempt to square this recognition

[1] Tat. 31 (118) (*τὴν ἡμετέραν φιλοσοφίαν . . .* Moses called *τὸν . . . πάσης βαρβάρου σοφίας ἀρχηγόν*), 32 (124, 128), 35 (138) (*τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς βαρβάρου φιλοσοφίας ἀντεποιησάμην*), 42 (162) (*ὁ κατὰ βαρβάρους φιλοσοφῶν Τατιανός*).

[2] Meliton ap. Eus. *HE* iv. xxvi. 7, where Christianity is called *ἡ . . . καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφία*. The conception of Christianity as the true wisdom was of course traditional in the Church: cf. Just. *1 Ap.* lx. 11 (unlettered Christians *σοφῶν δὲ καὶ πιστῶν τὸν νοῦν ὄντων*), *Praedic. Petr.* 3a (89) (the Hellenes *μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν Θεὸν, ὡς ἡμεῖς κατὰ τὴν γνῶσιν τὴν τελείαν*).

[3] See the particulars about him in *DCB* i. 204.

[4] Harnack *HD* ii. 319ff, esp. 321; Neumann *SK* 101.

[5] Krüger 159–162; Bardenhewer 126f.

[6] Harnack *HD* ii. 170, 177, *ME* i. 224–227, 254f, *KS* 141f.

[7] Arist. 13 (Syriac, 47); Just. *1 Ap.* xx. 4; Athenag. *Legat.* 5–7, 19, 23.

[8] Just. *1 Ap.* xx. 5.

[9] Just. *1 Ap.* xviii. 3–6, *Res.* 6; Athenag. *Legat.* 36 (182).

[10] Just. *1 Ap.* xx. 1, 4. Justinus also tells us (*2 Ap.* xii. 1f) that before his conversion he was convinced as a Platonist of the goodness of the Christians. The Pseudo-Justinian *De Monarchia* is an attempt to prove the oneness of

with the Christian claim to a monopoly of the truth.[1] But even Justinus, favourable as he was to the philosophers,[2] claimed that Christianity corrected and transcended their teaching.[3] The attempt to convict heathen learning out of its own mouth sometimes took a less flattering form than the quotation of its best utterances. Tatianus appealed to a number of heathen writers to prove that Moses was more ancient than Homer, Linus, Orpheus, etc.[4] Following the example of the later Jewish writers,[5] Justinus maintained that the philosophers derived their best doctrines from Moses and the Prophets without properly understanding them:[6] Tatianus went further, and accused them of disguising and misrepresenting their borrowings.[7] Resemblances between the religious usages of heathenism and those mentioned in Scripture (e.g. removal of shoes, baptism, eucharist) were ascribed by Justinus to the deliberate contrivance of wicked demons.[8]

THE POINTS AT ISSUE WITH HEATHENISM.—At the bottom of the whole controversy between Christianity and heathenism was the divergence of views on the subject of *the Nature of God*.[9] The Apologists were never weary of denouncing the errors of the heathen world in this respect. They urged that there could not be more than one God, and strenuously refused to worship the deities usually recognized;[10] they rebutted the charge of atheism to which this refusal laid them open.[11] They denied that any of the things or beings created by God ought to be worshipped in His place—whether heaven, or earth, or the heavenly bodies, or water, or fire, or wind, or any other natural element, or animal, or

God, etc., mostly by means of forged citations from the Hellenic poets (Krüger 114; Bardenhewer 53).

[1] See the passages quoted above on p. 211, particularly Just. *2 Ap.* xiii. 2–6. Cf. also the words of the Gnostic Valentinus: Πολλὰ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις βίβλοις εὑρίσκεται γεγραμμένα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ· τὰ γὰρ κοινὰ ταῦτα ἔστι τὰ ἀπὸ καρδίας ῥήματα, νόμος ὁ γραπτὸς ἐν καρδίᾳ (Cl. *Strom.* VI. vi. 52: cf. Neander, *Church History* [ET], ii. 86).

[2] Just. *Dial.* 2 (6): ἔστι γὰρ τῷ ὄντι φιλοσοφία μέγιστον κτῆμα καὶ τιμιώτατον Θεῷ, ᾧ τε προσάγει καὶ συνίστησιν ἡμᾶς μόνῃ· καὶ ὅσιοι ὡς ἀληθῶς οὗτοί εἰσιν, οἱ φιλοσοφίᾳ τὸν νοῦν προσεσχηκότες, κτλ. On the Apologists' attitude to Hellenic philosophy, see Neumann *SK* 117.

[3] See above, p. 239.

[4] Tat. 36–41.

[5] Stanley, *Jewish Church*, iii. 278–282; Fairweather in *DB* v. 274b; Schürer iii. 514f.

[6] Just. *1 Ap.* xliv. 8–10, lix, lx.

[7] Tat. 40.

[8] Just. *1 Ap.* lxii. 1f, lxvi. 4.

[9] Arist. 15f (Syriac, 48, 50); *Diog.* ii. 6, viii. 1; Tat. 26 (100), 42 (162) (γινώσκων δὲ λοιπὸν τίς ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ τίς ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν ποίησις, ἕτοιμον ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάκρισιν τῶν δογμάτων παρίστημι): cf. Harnack *ME* i. 290ff.

[10] Arist. 8, 13, 15 (104–111); *Praedic. Petr.* 2 (88f); *Diog.* i., ii. 10; Just. *1 Ap.* xvi. 6, xxiv. 2, xxv. 1f; *M. Pol.* xii. 2; Cels. ap. Orig. *Cels.* viii. 2; Athenag. *Legat.* 5–8, 14, 23f; Ps-Just. *Mon.* 2, 6.

[11] Just. *1 Ap.* vi.; Athenag. *Legat.* 4f, 10 init., 13, 30 fin.

man.[1] They were particularly scornful of the mythological stories, which attributed to the gods the limitations, weaknesses, and vices of men : [2] Justinus ascribed such stories to the agency of the demons.[3] They maintained that God had no visible outward image,[4] and consequently could not be represented by material idols. All *idolatry* was therefore utterly unreasonable and wrong ; [5] and Christians had no option but to refuse absolutely to take part in it.[6] Hermas censures severely those Christians who through cowardice or weakness allowed themselves to commit acts of idolatry.[7] There were even Christians who carried their contempt for idols so far as to go up to statues of the gods and revile and strike them and boast of their immunity in so doing ; but such behaviour was generally discountenanced.[8] Over against the Jewish and heathen practice of sacrifice, the Christians maintained that God neither needs nor demands temples or sacrificial gifts ; and they accordingly refused not only to offer sacrifices,[9] but also to eat the flesh of sacrificial victims.[10] Some of the Gnostics, indeed, arguing that the gods represented by the idols did not exist, advocated verbal denial of the faith and outward compliance with the heathen demand for sacrifice, and permitted the eating of sacrificial food. They regarded such actions as things indifferent (ἀδιάφορα), and the man who laid down his life on such issues as a self-murderer.[11] But the

[1] Arist. 3–7 (101–103), 12 (107f) ; *Praedic. Petr.* 3 (89f; cf. *TS* I. 1. 93f) ; *Diog.* viii. 2–4 ; Just. *1 Ap.* xxiv. 1, 3, lvi. 2 ; Tat. 4 (18, 20) ; Athenag. *Legat.* 15f, 28–30 ; Ps-Just. *Mon.* 5f.

[2] Arist. 8–13 (104–109) ; Just. *1 Ap.* xxv. 2, *2 Ap.* xii. 5–7, xiv. 2 ; Tat. 8–10 ; Ps-Just. *Mon.* 5f ; Athenag. *Legat.* 20–22 (in 22 he controverts the idea that the myths can be explained allegorically), 26, 29.

[3] Just. *1 Ap.* xxiii. 3, xxv. 3, liv., lv. 1, lxiv., *Dial.* 69f (246ff).

[4] *Diog.* viii. 5 ; Tat. 4 (18).

[5] Arist. 13f (108–110) ; *Praedic. Petr.* 2 (89) ; *Apoc. Petr.* 33 (87) ; *Diog.* ii. ; Just. *1 Ap.* ix., xx. 5, liii. 6, *Dial.* 95 (344) ; *M. Just.* i. 1 init. ; Ps-Just. *Mon.* 1 ; Tat. 4 ; Athenag. *Legat.* 15, 23 (116), 26f ; *Carp.* 16 ; Cels. ap. Orig. *Cels.* i. 5 ; *Acts of Phocas* 12 (in Conybeare 114f).

[6] Plin. *Ep.* x. 96 ; Presb. ap. Iren. iv. xxvii. 3 (ii. 243) ; Arist. 15 (Syriac, 48) ; 2 Cl. i. 6, iii. 1, xvii. 1 ; Just. *Dial.* 34 (116), 46 (156) ; *M. Pol.* xii. 2 ; Cels. ap. Orig. *Cels.* vii. 62, viii. 17.

[7] Herm. *M* xi. 4, *S* ix. xxi. 3.

[8] Cels. ap. Orig. *Cels.* viii. 38 ; Lecky i. 423 n ; Harnack *ME* i. 293. In the apocryphal *Acts of John*, it is related how the apostle by means of prayer broke down the altar and temple of Artemis at Ephesus in order to convert the pagans from their idolatry (*Act. Joh.* 38–45 ; Pick 149ff ; James 236ff).

[9] Arist. 1 (100), 13 (Syriac, 47) ; *Diog.* iii. ; Just. *1 Ap.* x. 1, xiii. 1, *Dial.* 22 (74ff) ; *M. Just.* if ; Tat. 4 (20) ; Ps-Just. *Mon.* 4 ; Athenag. *Legat.* 13 ; Cels. ap. Orig. *Cels.* vii. 62, viii. 17.

[10] Arist. 15 (Syriac, 49) ; Just. *Dial.* 34 fin. (116).

[11] Just. *Dial.* 35 (116) ; Iren. i. xxviii. 2 (i. 221) ; Cl. *Strom.* iv. iv. 16 ; Agrippa Castor ap. Eus. *HE* iv. vii. 7 ; Orig. *Cels.* vi. 11 : cf. Neumann *SK* 41–43 ; Brandt in *ERE* v. 265f (Art. ' Elkesaites ').

general sense of the Church went strongly the other way.[1] The gods of the heathen, the Christians said, were really evil demons,[2] and demanded sacrifices only in order to satisfy their own greed.[3] They challenged the philosophic theory of Fate and other views that limited the Providence of God.[4] In opposition to all these erroneous ideas, they affirmed positively and tried to explain their own views as to the attributes of God, His love and goodness, and His revelation through Jesus.[5]

In dealing with the differences in their theology, the Apologists were able to take a very strong aggressive line with their heathen opponents. But there was another point at issue, in which a more defensive policy had to be adopted, viz. the suspicion that rested upon *Christian morality*. The Christians held some at least of their meetings in secret, and often at night-time ; they were mixed meetings of men and women, and were called ἀγάπαι or love-feasts ; the Christians commonly greeted one another with a kiss ; some minor sects bearing the Christian name openly advocated the grossest profligacy on antinomian grounds ; the Messianic feast, the marriage of Christ and the Church, and the mystic consumption of body and blood in the Eucharist, were common Christian conceptions. These facts, coupled with the dislike and suspicion felt for Christians generally, are sufficient to account for the remarkable prevalence of accusations levelled against them of practising promiscuous and incestuous intercourse and feasting on human flesh.[6] It is always difficult to prove a negative ; but the Apologists made the best defence they could by protesting against such charges as spiteful calumnies,[7] by challenging candid inquiry,[8] by vehemently asserting their innocence and moral purity,[9] and

[1] On the active Christian opposition to idolatry, see Lecky i. 389, 404f ("The belief that it is wrong for a man in religious matters to act a lie, to sanction by his presence and by his example what he regards as baseless superstitions, had no place in the ethics of antiquity," etc.), 422f.

[2] Just. *1 Ap.* v. 2, 4, ix. 1, *Dial.* 79 fin. (286), 83 (300) ; Tat. 8 (36), 12 (54, 56) : cf. Orig. *Cels.* iii. 43 (Celsus says of us Christians "that we laugh at those who worship Zeus, since his tomb is shown in Crete"), vii. 62 fin.

[3] Just. *2 Ap.* v. 4 ; Athenag. *Legat.* 26 (136).

[4] Just. *2 Ap.* vii. 3–7 ; Tat. 2, 9 ; Athenag. *Legat.* 25.

[5] *Diog.* viii. 6–11 ; Just. *1 Ap.* xiii. 3f, xxiif ; etc. etc.

[6] Just. *Dial.* 10 (38) ; Eus. *HE* iv. vii. 11 ; Harnack *KS* 140.

[7] Tat. 30 (116) ; Athenag. *Legat.* 3 (16), 31 (160, 162).

[8] Just. *1 Ap.* v. 1 ; Athenag. *Legat.* 3 (16, 18) (Θυέστεια δεῖπνα, Οἰδοποδείους μίξεις), 35 (178).

[9] Just. *2 Ap.* xii. 4–6, xiv. 2 (cf. Purves 74, 78f) ; Tat. 25 (104) ; Meliton ap. Eus. *HE* iv. xxvi. 5 ; Athenag. *Legat.* 1 (8), 3 (16, 18), 12 (54), 18 (82), 31f, 35f. Cf. *M. Lugd.* ap. Eus. *HE* v. i. 9, 19, 26, 52.

by launching counter-attacks on the well-known immorality of the pagans.[1]

## CHAPTER V

## ATTITUDE TO THE STATE

Prejudice against Political Authorities as such.—The high-water mark of Christian antipathy to the State was reached in the Apocalypse; and no subsequent author exhibits the same fierce and bitter antagonism as is expressed in that work. There is, however, running through the literature of our period a current of acid criticism against political institutions in general and the Roman Empire in particular. This criticism is not confined to extremists like Tatianus, nor does it wholly concern itself with the iniquity of persecution. Its expression varies a good deal in force and directness. The writer to Diognetus says that God, in sending His Son, did not send a servant or an angel or a ruler or one of those who govern earthly affairs, nor did He send him to tyrannize or terrorize.[2] Justinus tells the Romans that it was only "the glory of the things regarded as dignities" that prevented them from realizing or wishing to realize their brotherhood and natural kinship with the Christians.[3] In the 'Dialogue with Tryphon,' he quotes Daniel vii. 9–28 at length, including the description of the fourth of the Empire-beasts, "which destroys all things and is very terrible, and its teeth are iron and its nails are bronze, (and) it ate and broke in pieces and trod down the rest with its feet . . . And it was said to me concerning the fourth beast: 'There will be a fourth kingdom on the earth, which will surpass all these kingdoms, and devour the whole earth, and upset it, and grind it down.'"[4] Justinus does not mention Rome in this connection, and the context of the quotation deals with the question of the future of Christ: nevertheless he could scarcely have failed to regard the beast as a picture

[1] Just. *1 Ap.* xxvii, *2 Ap.* xii. 4f; Athenag. *Legat.* 1 fin. (8, 10) (ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἡμῖν, κατασκεδάζοντες ὄχλον ἐγκλημάτων, ἃ ἡμῖν μὲν οὐδὲ μέχρις ὑπονοίας, τοῖς δὲ ἀδολεσχοῦσιν καὶ τῷ ἐκείνων πρόσεστι γένει), 34 (176).

[2] *Diog.* vii. 2–4.

[3] Just. *2 Ap.* i. 1: ὁμοιοπαθῶν ὄντων καὶ ἀδελφῶν, κἂν ἀγνοῆτε καὶ μὴ θέλητε διὰ τὴν δόξαν τῶν νομιζομένων ἀξιωμάτων.

[4] Just. *Dial.* 31 (104).

of the Roman Empire. "The construction of the world," says Tatianus, "is excellent; but the (organized) conduct (of the men) in it is bad."[1] In the apocryphal 'Acts of John,' the apostle, after warning the adulterer, the drunkard, the murderer, the poisoner, the robber, the sorcerer, the thief, etc., of the punishment that waits on impenitence, concludes his address: "Therefore, men of Ephesus, turn, knowing this also that the kings, the rulers, the tyrants, the boasters, the victors in wars, depart naked from this world, and suffer pains in eternal torments."[2] In the Gnostic 'Extracts from the Prophets' we read: "When we were earthly, we belonged to Cæsar. But Cæsar is the temporary ruler, whose earthly image is the old man, to whom he has returned."[3] What the exact meaning of these obscure words is, it would be hard to say; but it is clear that they relegate the Emperor to an inferior or earthly status. Athenagoras enlarges on the enormities of "the robber or prince or tyrant" as too great to be adequately punished in this life: he instances the breaking of laws, the unjust razing of cities, and the wholesale destruction of lands and peoples.[4] The heathen gods, for whom as a Christian he had scant respect, were, he says, originally kings and men of high repute.[5]

Criticism of Human Laws.—Human laws were criticized and even condemned, first of all, on the ground of their *variety and inconsistency*. "I condemn your legislation," says Tatianus to the Hellenes, "for there ought to be one common government for all: but now there are as many codes of laws as there are states, so that things that are disgraceful among some are honourable among others." He then adds some striking examples,[6] and goes on to say that the Hebrew Scriptures "rescue us from many rulers and ten thousand tyrants."[7] If human laws are thus mutually inconsistent, it follows that some of them at least must be wrong.[8] Justinus accounted for the element of inconsistency and error in human law by the fact that before Christ men's contemplation of the Logos was partial, and that the evil angels had introduced many laws in conformity with their own wickedness.[9]

Secondly, *human laws were inadequate both in scope and in power*. Christians had to reckon with a law that was at once

[1] Tat. 19 (86): κόσμου μὲν γὰρ ἡ κατασκευὴ καλή, τὸ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πολίτευμα φαῦλον.
[2] *Act. Joh.* 35f.
[3] *Eclog. Prophet.* 24.
[4] Athenag. *Res.* 19 (270).
[5] Athenag. *Legat.* 28 (150), 30 (156) (τί θαυμαστὸν τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ἀρχῇ καὶ τυραννίδι ὑπὸ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς κληθῆναι θεούς;).
[6] Tat. 28 (112).
[7] Tat. 29 (114).
[8] Bigelmair 90; Troeltsch 157ff.
[9] Just. *2 Ap.* ix. 3f, x. 2.

more exacting and more efficacious than the laws of the State.[1] "What the laws of man have not been able to effect," says Justinus, "that the Logos, being Divine, would have wrought, if the wicked demons had not scattered many lies and godless charges, . . . not one of which applies to us."[2] The Christian doctrine of the eternal punishment of the wicked was, he claimed, a more powerful deterrent upon wrong-doing than the fear of the laws: "for those who, when they do wrong, try to escape notice because of the laws and punishments laid down by you—and they do wrong, knowing that it is possible to escape your notice, ye being (but) men—if they learnt and were persuaded that it is impossible for anything, whether done or intended, to escape God's notice, would by all means live decently even if (only) on account of what threatens them, as ye will (readily) admit."[3] "Our concern," says Athenagoras, "is not with human laws, which a man may evade if he is wicked . . . but we have a law which makes the measure of rectitude (to consist in) dealing with our neighbour as ourselves."[4] "It is not enough (for us) to be just—and justice is to return like for like—but it is incumbent on us to be good and patient of evil."[5] "The Christians," says the writer to Diognetus, "surpass the laws by their own lives."[6]

In the third place, while in the main the moral principles of the pagan world were surpassed rather than contradicted by the Christian ethic, it was in the abstract perfectly *possible for the pagan law on sundry points to contravene the law of Christ.* In actual practice the only case that occurred at all regularly was the State's demand for sacrifice to the pagan gods and to the Emperor. The exact legal status of Christians in the Empire during this period has been the subject of much discussion:[7] but, broadly speaking, they were technically liable at any moment to be required to sacrifice

[1] The view of Carpocrates, Epiphanes, and their school was of course just the reverse. So far from human laws requiring too little in the shape of morality, they had no right to require anything at all. The Christian's independence of the rulers of the world was made the plea for the most flagrant disregard of the usually accepted canons of moral conduct (*DCB* i. 407b f). Epiphanes censured the legal distinction between meum and tuum, and advocated on this ground community of wives (*DCB* ii. 147b f).

[2] Just. *1 Ap.* x. 6. [3] Just. *1 Ap.* xii. 1–3. [4] Athenag. *Legat.* 32 (168).

[5] Athenag. *Legat.* 34 fin. (178). [6] *Diog.* v. 10.

[7] For the policy of the Emperors of this period, see Overbeck 113ff; Doulcet 51–81; Neumann *SK* 17–35; Ramsay *CRE* 196–225, 320–345; Hardy 102–156; Bigelmair 40–48; Workman 208–228. Trajanus' rescript to Plinius, when the latter was governor of Bithynia (Plin. *Ep.* x. 96f), modified the severity of the established practice by forbidding Christians to be sought for and anonymous charges to be admitted against them, but laid it down that when formally accused they were to be punished, unless they would deny their faith and worship the gods. The rescript was, in the main, merely

to the pagan gods, and sentenced to death if they refused. There was no uniformity in the extent to which the laws were put into force against them. While the matter was one of police administration, and no law specifically directed against the Christians appears yet to have existed, the requirement of sacrifice was always represented as the Emperor's command. "Obey the gods at once, and submit to the Emperors," says the Prefect to Justinus,[1] and on final refusal frames his sentence thus: "Let them, who were unwilling to sacrifice to the gods and yield to the command of the Emperor, be scourged and led away (to execution)."[2] Whether other cases occurred of a conflict between the law of Christ and the law of the State we do not know. Hermas describes the Christian as living in a foreign state or city, the lord of which says to him: "I do not wish thee to dwell in my city, . . . because thou dost not keep my laws. . . . Either keep my laws, or go out of my land." Hence the Christian is bidden be ready for the time "when the master of this city wishes to cast thee out, because thou art opposed to his law."[3]

a confirmation of what had previously been the legal position (see above, p. 171). Trajanus is said to have given orders in 114 A.D. for the persecution of Christians to be discontinued (Schürer i. 646). Hadrianus' rescript to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, introduced no new principle: Christians, if formally convicted of doing anything contrary to the laws, were to be punished; but they were not to be proceeded against as a result of mere calumny or popular clamour. To refuse to sacrifice was of course 'aduersus legem'; the rescript thus secured no more for the Christians than that of Trajanus had done. This fact is one of the best proofs of its genuineness (see above, p. 204 n 6): had it been a forgery, it would have been made adequate to support Justinus' contention (*1 Ap.* lxviii. 3) that on the strength of it Christians could demand from the Emperors such a verdict as they, the Christians, desired. Antoninus Pius wrote a letter to the Larisæans, Thessalonians, Athenians, and all the Hellenes, forbidding riotous conduct (*περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν*) on the part of the mob against the Christians (Meliton ap. Eus. *HE* iv. xxvi. 10. On the meaning of *νεωτερίζειν*, see Ramsay *CRE* 331f). In regard to the so-called Edict of Antoninus Pius, see above, p. 204 n 8. In regard to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, while the details are not clear, it certainly seems as if the status of the Christians now changed for the worse. The Emperor, unlike his predecessor, took personally an unfavourable view of them (see his *Meditations*, xi. 3); persecutions in his reign are more frequently heard of than previously, and it now apparently became customary to search for Christians in order to bring them to trial (Cels. ap. Orig. *Cels.* viii. 69). Marcus' rescript ordering the punishment of any one who disturbed men's minds with new religious superstitions does not seem to have been specially directed against the Christians (cf. Lecky i. 420–422, and the authorities quoted above).

[1] *M. Just.* ii. 1: cf. *Carp.* 11 (*θῦσαί σε δεῖ· οὕτως γὰρ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ*).

[2] *M. Just.* v. 8: cf. Cels. ap. Orig. *Cels.* viii. 67 (*κἂν ἐν ἀνθρώποις βασιλέα κελεύῃ σέ τις ὀρκωμοτεῖν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο δεινόν*).

[3] Herm. *S* i. 3f, 6. It seems natural to take "the lord of this city" as being the Emperor, though some scholars identify him with the devil (Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn iii. 133; Dobschütz 325); but even if it were the devil

THE CHRISTIAN OPPOSITION TO PERSECUTION.—Christians regarded persecution as a normal experience: [1] Justinus apparently expected it to continue until the Parousia.[2] Its occurrence was usually put down to the instigation of demons.[3] The faithful Christian always met the demand for sacrifice to the heathen gods or for an oath by the genius of the Emperor with a firm and unqualified refusal, whatever penalty he might thereby incur. Numerous instances of this *obstinate and avowed disobedience to government-orders* are mentioned in the literature of our period: they are the commonplaces of all martyr-narratives.[4] To refuse to sacrifice was to confess Christ; to give way and comply was to deny him.[5] Another method of thwarting the designs and wishes of Government was by having recourse to flight, though this does not seem to have been widely practised. Polycarpus had to be persuaded to flee, and after a certain point refused to go further, suffering himself to be taken and saying: "God's Will be done." [6] Passing by what may be called the inner side of the Christian experience of persecution—the exhortations to courage and endurance, the mutual helpfulness, the occasional exhibitions of eagerness for martyrdom,[7]

who is primarily meant, the Emperor would, from the otherworldly point of view of the context, be equally implicated as his representative and accomplice (Funk *PA* 518f).

[1] *Diog.* v. 11–17.

[2] Just. *Dial.* 39 (134), 110 (390, 392); Purves 72. Hermas spoke of the great affliction that would shortly befall the Church (*Vis.* II. ii. 7, iii. 4, IV. i. 1, ii. 5, iii. 6).

[3] Just. 1 *Ap.* v. 1 (ἀλόγῳ πάθει καὶ μάστιγι δαιμόνων φαύλων ἐξελαυνόμενοι ἀκρίτως κολάζετε μὴ φροντίζοντες), etc. etc.; *M. Lugd.* ap. Eus. *HE* v. i. saepe. Slander, particularly on the part of the Jews, was recognized as a secondary cause (Just. *Dial.* saepe). Christians looked upon persecution also as a Divine discipline.

[4] A couple of allusions may be cited. Just. *Dial.* 9 (36) (. . . οὐδὲ παυσόμεθα ὁμολογοῦντες τοῦτον, κἂν τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἡμῖν ἐπιφέρωνται ὀνείδη, κἂν ὁ δεινότατος ἀπειπεῖν ἀναγκάζῃ τύραννος); *Carp.* 5f (Ἐγὼ Χριστιανός εἰμι, Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ σέβομαι, . . , τοιούτοις δὲ εἰδώλοις οὐ θύω. ποίει ὃ θέλεις. ἐμὲ γὰρ ἀδύνατον θῦσαι κιβδήλοις φάσμασιν δαιμόνων), 8 (ὅθεν γίνωσκε, ἀνθύπατε, μὴ θύειν με τούτοις). On the element of real political danger involved in the Christian hostility to heathenism, cf. Purves 78 ("It was not the politically harmless thing which Justin innocently sought to represent it").

[5] On the view of some Gnostics that such denial was permissible, see above, p. 245.

[6] *M. Pol.* v. 1, vi. 1, vii. 1. In *GP* vii. 26 (18) Peter and his companions hide themselves from the Jews. Cf. also the reproach cast by Celsus on the secret meetings of the Christians (Orig. *Cels.* i. 1).

[7] Tiberianus, governor of Palestine 114 A.D. ap. Schürer i. 646; *M. Pol.* viii. 3, xi. 2; *M. Lugd.* ap. Eus. *HE* v. i. 11, 29, 55; *Carp.* 36, 42–44 (the self-immolation of Agathonice: cf. Neumann *SK* 40). *M. Pol.* (iv.) tells of a certain young Phrygian, Quintus, who, after "constraining himself" (παραβιασάμενος ἑαυτόν) and others to give themselves up, was unable to resist the proconsul's persuasion to swear and sacrifice, and adds: "Therefore, brethren, we do not praise those who give themselves up, since the Gospel does not teach so" (cf. Ramsay *CRE* 433f).

the hope of reward and fear of punishment, the joyful acceptance of death –we must take special note of the tone of *defiance, censure, and warning*, that characterizes in some measure practically all Christian utterances or writings addressed to the representatives of the State on the subject of persecution. Aristeides closes his Apology with the words: "Wherefore let thy senseless wise men stop talking nonsense against the Lord; for it is to your advantage to worship God the Creator, and to give ear to His incorruptible words, that ye may escape judgment and punishment and be appointed heirs of indestructible life."[1] Justinus says to the Emperors: "If ye honour custom rather than the truth like the foolish do, do what ye can. But rulers who honour opinion rather than the truth can do just as much as robbers in the wilderness. But the Logos shows that ye will not succeed."[2] Later on, speaking of persecutors in general, he says: "They do us a kindness in rescuing us from the sufferings and needs of this life, but they show themselves to be wicked and inhuman and bigoted."[3] Meliton protested to Marcus Aurelius against the shameless robbery of the informers, who took their opportunity from the imperial decrees.[4] Athenagoras, though his general tone is courteous and even fulsome, tells the Emperors plainly that, though they had secured peace for the whole Empire, they had not cared for the Christians, but had allowed them despite their innocence to be harassed, plundered, and persecuted by the multitude.[5] At one point in his Apology he exclaims: "Suffer me here to shout aloud and make myself heard and to launch forth into bold freedom of speech, since I am making my defence before philosophic kings."[6] The martyr-acts frequently speak of the persecuting officials in terms of strong censure,[7] and represent the speech of Christians in the law-courts as frequently couched in terms of protest and defiance. The words, "I am a Christian," were persistently repeated, sometimes in reply to questions from the magistrate perhaps on quite other points, sometimes on the speaker's own initiative and in reply to

[1] Arist. 17 (112). [2] Just. *1 Ap.* xii. 6f.
[3] Just. *1 Ap.* lvii. 3; cf. *2 Ap.* ii. 19 (*πονηρῶν δεσποτῶν τῶν τοιούτων*).
[4] Meliton ap. Eus. *HE* iv. xxvi. 5.
[5] Athenag. *Legat.* 1 (8).
[6] Athenag. *Legat.* 11 (50).
[7] *M. Pol.* ii. 3 (*τὸ πῦρ . . . τὸ τῶν ἀπηνῶν βασανιστῶν*), xix. 2 (*τὸν ἄδικον ἄρχοντα*); *M. Just.* i. 1 (*Ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν ἀνόμων ὑπερμάχων τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας προστάγματα ἀσεβῆ κατὰ τῶν εὐσεβούντων Χριστιανῶν κατὰ πόλιν καὶ χώραν ἐξετίθετο*); *M. Lugd.* ap. Eus. *HE* v. i. 57f (*. . . τὸ γὰρ νενικῆσθαι αὐτοὺς . . . ἐξέκαιεν αὐτῶν τὴν ὀργὴν καθάπερ θηρίου, καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ὅμοιον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἄδικον ἐπιδεικνυμένων μῖσος*). Cf. the attack on the character of Hadrianus in the doubtful *Acts of Thalelæus* (Conybeare 253).

no question at all.[1] The magistrate was often defied to do what he wished and to do it quickly.[2] It was little wonder that even reasonable and humane magistrates were struck with the obstinacy of the Christians.[3] It seems not to have been uncommon for Christians attending the trials of their co-religionists to protest boldly in open court against the condemnation of innocent men, and by thus disclosing their own faith to draw the death-sentence upon themselves also.[4] Both in Justinus' 'Apology' and in the martyr-acts, the persecuting rulers are frequently and plainly threatened with Divine condemnation and punishment in eternal fire, unless they cease not only their oppression but also their idolatry.[5]

Antichrist and the Fall of the Roman Empire.—The idea of the punishment of the persecutor naturally raises the question of the Christian anticipation of the ultimate downfall of the persecuting Empire itself. Apart from the particular question of persecution and its punishment, there were already in Christian thought, as has been mentioned,[6] elements that seemed to suggest the subversion of existing political conditions, e.g. the idea of the Kingdom of God, the royalty of Christ, his final and complete triumph, etc.[7] In many quarters, under the influence of the apocalyptic interest, these elements took concrete form. In the apocryphal 'Martyrdom of Paul,' a Christian says to Nero of Christ: "Yea, he abolishes all the kingdoms under heaven, and he alone shall remain for ever, and there shall be no kingdom

[1] *M. Pol.* x. 1; Just. *2 Ap.* ii. 11–13, 17f; *M. Just.* iii. 4, iv. 1–5, 6 (Παίων δὲ ἐστὼς εἶπε· Κἀγὼ Χριστιανός εἰμι), 9; *Carp.* 3, 5, 23, 34; *M. Lugd.* ap. Eus. *HE* v. i. 10, 19, 20 (Sanctus under torture τοσαύτῃ ὑποστάσει ἀντιπαρετάξατο αὐτοῖς ὥστε μητὲ τὸ ἴδιον κατειπεῖν ὄνομα, μήτε ἔθνους, μήτε πόλεως ὅθεν ἦν, μήτε εἰ δοῦλος ἢ ἐλεύθερος εἴη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἐπερωτώμενα ἀπεκρίνατο τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ "Χριστιανός εἰμι"). Cf. also the quibble of Papylus (*Carp.* 28–32), when asked by the Proconsul whether he had any children: the Proconsul not unnaturally charged him with falsehood.

[2] *M. Pol.* xi. 2 (ἀλλὰ τί βραδύνεις; φέρε, ὃ βούλει); *Carp.* 6 (ποίει ὃ θέλεις).

[3] Plin. *Ep.* x. 96: neque enim dubitabam, qualecunque esset quod fatereentur, pertinaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri.

[4] Just. *2 Ap.* ii. 15f (. . . οὐ πρέποντα εὐσεβεῖ αὐτοκράτορι οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ Καίσαρος παιδὶ οὐδὲ τῇ ἱερᾷ συγκλήτῳ κρίνεις, ὦ Οὔρβικε), 17–20 (. . . καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τρίτος ἐπελθὼν κολασθῆναι προσετιμήθη); *M. Lugd.* ap. Eus. *HE* v. i. 9f (case of Vettius Epagathus).

[5] Just. *1 Ap.* iii. 5, xvii. 4, xviiif, xlv. 6, lxviii. 2, *2 Ap.* xiv.; *M. Pol.* xi. 2; *Carp.* 7, 20; *M. Paul.* 4, 6; *Acts of Phocas* 13, 19 (Conybeare 115f, 120). Cf. *Sib. Orac.* v. 60–72; *Apoc. Petr.* 27 (86); and the warning tone in Just. *1 Ap.* viii. 1, xiv. 1, lv. 8, *2 Ap.* xv. 5.

[6] See above, pp. 174ff.

[7] *Eclog. Prophet.* 44 (βασιλεῖς πάντες λέγονται οἱ πιστοί, κεκλημένοι εἰς βασιλείαν, κτλ.); Harnack *ME* i. 259 n 2.

that shall escape him."[1] In the apocryphal 'Acts of John,' Domitianus says to the apostle: "Art thou John, who sayest that my kingdom will soon be rooted out, and that another, (namely) Jesus, is about to reign instead of me?" and John replies: "Thou shalt reign during the long period given thee by God, and after thee many others; but when the earthly times have been fulfilled, out of heaven shall come an eternal King, . . . to whom every nation and tribe shall confess, by whom all earthly authority and rule shall be brought to nothing and every mouth speaking great things shall be stopped."[2] We have here an interesting attempt to do justice to the traditional Christian eschatology without alarming the existing political authorities.

The views of Justinus on the subject are connected with his belief in the coming of Antichrist, whom, however, he does not call by that name. If we except certain contributors to the 'Sibylline Oracles,'[3] Justinus is the only Christian writer of the period, so far as I have been able to discover, who makes any reference to this figure. Justinus' views are not carefully stated, being put largely in the form of quotations from Daniel; but there is no indication that he regarded Antichrist as an enemy of the Empire. The four Beasts are given a limited time of dominion. The ten horns of the fourth Beast are ten kings; three of these fall under one of them. That one, the Man of Apostasy, is due to appear shortly: he will speak great things against God, wage war successfully against the Christians, and reign for three and a half years, until the Parousia occurs, heralded by the coming of Elijah, when his rule will be taken away and finally destroyed. The four Beasts are four kingdoms which are doomed to perish from the earth and to receive no more dominion for ever and ever: the fourth Beast is beaten down and its body destroyed and given up to be burnt by fire. The dominion given to Christ is an eternal dominion, which shall never be taken away.[4] It will be observed that, while Justinus nowhere speaks in so many words of the downfall of the Roman Empire, least of all in the 'Apology' he addressed to the Emperors,

[1] *M. Paul.* 2 (Lipsius i. 108). Elkesai anticipated a general convulsion of all ungodly kingdoms (? = the Roman Empire) in the reign of Trajanus (Hipp. *Ref.* ix. 16 (11)).

[2] *Act. Joh.* 8 (Lipsius and Bonnet ii. 155f).

[3] Cf. *Sib. Orac.* v. 28–34 (? Christian), viii. 68ff, 140ff, 151ff; *ERE* i. 580a; Lanchester in *APOT* ii. 373f.

[4] Just. *Dial.* 31 (102ff), 32 (108) (τῶν χρόνων συμπληρουμένων, καὶ τοῦ βλάσφημα καὶ τολμηρὰ εἰς τὸν Ὕψιστον μέλλοντος λαλεῖν ἤδη ἐπὶ θύραις ὄντος, κτλ.), (110) (συνέθλασεν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς), 49 (166ff), 110 (390). Cf. Neumann *H* 53.

he has let us see enough of the inside of his mind to make clear to us his belief in the early occurrence of that event.[1]

Christian Abstention from Public Office.—The honours of political life had, normally speaking, no attraction for the Christians. "They pass their time on earth," says the writer to Diognetus, "but their citizenship is in heaven."[2] There may be a touch of the Stoic idea of government as a burden in the words of the same author: "To bear rule over one's neighbours, or to wish to have more than the weaker (one)s, or to be wealthy and to treat the poor with violence, is not to be happy, nor can one imitate God in this."[3] "I have no wish to be a king," says Tatianus,[4] and he censures the philosophers for the service and flattery which they offered uninvited to kings and governors.[5] Celsus, in his 'True Discourse,' written about 178 A.D., urged the Christians to undertake the duties of government, that being necessary for the maintenance of the laws and the support of religion;[6] for if all were to do as the Christians did, he said, the Emperor would be deserted, and earthly affairs would fall into the hands of barbarians and savages, and then neither Christianity nor true wisdom would be possible.[7] The terms in which his appeals and reproaches are couched make it perfectly clear that the Christians of that time stood almost entirely aloof from political life.[8] This attitude of abstention is to be accounted for, partly by the idolatrous associations of public office, partly by the fact that the Christians were in the main people of humble rank, partly by the general Christian prejudice against worldly glory:[9] but

[1] Weinel remarks that, in speaking of the Christians' prayer for and obedience to the Emperor, Justinus "verschweigt dabei nur die Hauptsache, nämlich dass das Kommen der Gottesherrschaft im Glauben der Christen den Sturz der Kaiserherrschaft voraussetzte" (*SUS* 4; cf. 23).

[2] *Diog.* v. 9 (*ἐν οὐρανῷ πολιτεύονται*).

[3] *Diog.* x. 5.

[4] Tat. 11 (48). See also below, p. 274 n 1.

[5] Tat. 3 fin. (16).

[6] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 75.

[7] Cels. ap. Orig. *Cels.* viii. 68 (*εἰ γὰρ τὸ αὐτό σοι ποιήσειαν ἅπαντες, οὐδὲν κωλύσει τὸν μὲν* [the Emperor] *καταλειφθῆναι μόνον καὶ ἔρημον, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ γῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνομωτάτοις τε καὶ ἀγριωτάτοις βαρβάροις γενέσθαι, καὶ μήτε τῆς σῆς θρησκείας μήτε τῆς ἀληθινῆς σοφίας ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἔτι καταλείπεσθαι κλέος*), 73 (*εἶθ' ἑξῆς προτρέπεται ἡμᾶς ὁ Κέλσος ἀρήγειν τῷ βασιλεῖ παντὶ σθένει καὶ συμπονεῖν αὐτῷ τὰ δίκαια καὶ ὑπερμαχεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ συστρατεύειν αὐτῷ, ἂν ἐπείγῃ, καὶ συστρατηγεῖν*). On this appeal, see Bestmann ii. 294; Harnack *ME* i. 503f; Bigelmair 81, 128; Gwatkin *ECH* i. 190.

[8] On patriotic public service as a characteristic of ancient ethics, and the attitudes of Stoicism, Cynicism, Epicureanism, and Christianity respectively, towards it, see Lecky i. 200ff, 229ff, 238–241, 265, ii. 139–141, 145, 260f; and cf. Schmidt 10–15; *DCA* ii. 1912b; Holtzm. *RS* 15f. At the end of this chapter, we shall notice some cases of departure from the rule of Christian abstention from public office.

[9] In *M. Paul.* (2–4) we find in a strong form the conception of Christians

to these reasons we must certainly add a very strong feeling as to the impropriety of participating in any act that involved the imprisonment, torture, or execution of a wrong-doer. The Christians' own principles required them to abstain from all retaliation or reprisal or even resistance in case of wrong-doing. To injuries which they could not avert by love, gentleness, and conciliation, they submitted. This meant, not only that they could not take on the office of judge or executioner,[1] but that *they could not appeal to the law-courts* for the redress of injuries. The motives that ordinarily prompt men to prosecute, the considerations that a judge regards as compelling him to pass sentence—had no weight with them. On their principles for the treatment of wrong-doers, we have already spoken.[2] It will suffice here to mention a couple of passages from the apology of Athenagoras, which make it clear that the Christians of his day regarded the Sermon on the Mount as forbidding litigation. He speaks of Christians as "having learned not only not to hit the striker back, and not to go to law with those who plunder and rob us, but to some, if they buffet (us) on the side of the head, to turn the other side of the head for a blow, and to others, if they take away (our) tunic, to give (our) cloak as well."[3] They "display good deeds, (namely), not hitting back when they are struck, and not going to law when they are robbed, giving to those that ask, and loving their neighbours as themselves."[4] He speaks of it as a well-known fact that Christians could not

as soldiers of the heavenly King, the latter standing in striking contrast over against the earthly Emperor. Cf. Harnack *MC* 23.

[1] Such would, of course, have been the position of so-called heretics like Marcion (see below, p. 271) and Ptolemæus (*DCB* iv. 517a), who felt acutely the incongruity between the Mosaic Law of Retaliation and the Sermon on the Mount. Neander says, à propos of the views of Ptolemæus (*Church History* [ET], ii. 103): "It is plain that Ptolemy must have looked upon the execution of the murderer as only a second murder. . . . And it follows that those who have separated themselves from the kingdom of the Demiurge, the genuine Gnostic Christians, must decline all offices of civil trust. We here again trace a defect in the ethical system of these Gnostics, having its ground in their speculative theology. Because, according to the latter, the former could never become the animating principle of a state, therefore the possibility was denied to it of ever becoming a form of manifestation for the kingdom of God." Neander evidently did not realize that the ethics of orthodox Christianity were as inconsistent with capital punishment as were the ethics of these Gnostics, and that the complacence of Christian consciences over this matter in later times is a mark of confused thinking and unworthy compromise rather than of superior orthodoxy. Sed haec hactenus!

[2] See above, pp. 236f.

[3] Athenag. *Legat.* 1 (8) ( . . . ἁρπαζόμενοι μὴ δικάζεσθαι, κτλ.).

[4] Athenag. *Legat.* 11 (52).

endure to see a man put to death.[1] In the apocryphal 'Acts of John,' the apostle drinks a cup of poison before Domitianus without suffering any harm, and then, in order to prove its strength, he asks for a condemned criminal to be brought from prison, and makes him drink the dregs. The criminal immediately falls down, and dies; but John by prayer restores him to life again, and then prevails upon the Emperor to release him.[2] There can be no doubt at all that an unwillingness to be made parties to acts of violence and bloodshed was one of the most powerful factors in deterring Christians both from undertaking the duties of the magistrate, and from availing themselves of the law-courts as plaintiffs.[3]

Christian Submission to the State.—Except in the matter of idolatry, Christians were on principle obedient to the commands of the State. Even in that case they entered into conflict only with reluctance. Tatianus asks the Hellenes why they wish to bring the government into collision with the Christians in a sort of boxing contest.[4] They submitted without resistance to all the horrible cruelties inflicted on them during persecution. They never attempted a revolt.[5] While, on the one hand, occasionally endeavouring to save themselves by flight, and, on the other, occasionally flinging themselves into martyrdom (as in the case of Agathonice), they refused to escape the fate that awaited them by suicide.[6] They were ready to appear in the courts, to answer questions, and to plead their cause.[7] While they seem to have made use of such advantages as the forms of law gave them, we do not read that any of them claimed the special privileges of Roman citizenship.[8] They often bore themselves towards their persecutors with gentleness, praying for them, and expressing their concern for their salvation.[9] Justinus assured the Emperors

[1] Athenag. *Legat.* 35 (178) (see below, p. 264 n 3). We shall discuss the Christian attitude to bloodshed and homicide more fully in the next chapter.

[2] *Act. Joh.* 10–12, in Lipsius and Bonnet ii. 157f (but James (228f) says that the text of 1–17 is "distinctly late").

[3] "Severity, degenerating even into cruelty, is characteristic of the best and most upright class of Roman governors: lenity, as a general rule, was the result only of weakness, of partiality, or of carelessness" (Ramsay *CRE* 218). See also above, p. 114 n 1.

[4] Tat. 4 (18). [5] Schmidt 182. [6] Just. *2 Ap.* iv. [7] *M. Pol.* x. 2.

[8] Plin. *Ep.* x. 96 (fuerunt alii similis amentiae quos, quia cives Romani erant, adnotavi in urbem remittendos); *M. Lugd.* ap. Eus. *HE* v. i. 44; Neumann *SK* 32 (speaking of the martyrs of Lugdunum: "Dass ein römischer Bürger unter den angeklagten Christen an den Kaiser appellirt hätte, erfahren wir nicht").

[9] Arist. 17 (Syriac, 51); Just. *1 Ap.* xiv. 3, lvii. 1, *2 Ap.* iv. 4; *M. Pol.* vii. 2 (Polycarpus has a meal prepared for the men who came to arrest him);

that, though the Christians expected a kingdom, it was not a human one,[1] endeavouring in this way to clear the Christians of the suspicion of dangerous political disloyalty. The writer to Diognetus says that Christians "obey the established laws."[2] The Christians of Bithynia discontinued their meetings on the appearance of Plinius' edict forbidding such gatherings.[3] Justinus says that the Christians regularly pay their taxes, and quotes the Gospel-sayings about giving to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and going two miles with him who "impresses thee" to go one.[4] Tatianus declares himself ready to pay the tribute ordered by the Emperor.[5] Athenagoras speaks of "our zealous obedience to you and your house and to the Empire."[6]

THE APOLOGISTS' EFFORTS TO CONCILIATE THE STATE. — Allusion has already been made to the attempt on the part of certain Christian writers to justify the Christian position in the eyes of the heathen world by means of defensive treatises known as Apologies.[7] We have here to consider briefly the Apology in the narrower or special sense of a discourse addressed to the imperial rulers with the object of inducing them to stop persecution.[8] Unfortunately, we know very little of the manner in which they were presented, and still less as to that in which they were received. One would gather that the 'Apologies' of Quadratus and Aristeides were spoken by their authors in the Emperor's presence.[9] Justinus'

*Carp.* 40 (Carpus says to the soldier who was kindling the faggots, "We too were born of the same mother Eve (as thyself), and we possess the same flesh; but looking away to the true judgment-court we endure all things"); *M. Lugd.* ap. Eus. *HE* v. ii. 5.

[1] Just. *1 Ap.* xi. Cf. Harnack *ME* i. 259 n 2, and see above, p. 229 n 2.

[2] *Diog.* v. 10.

[3] Plin. *Ep.* x. 96: morem . . . coeundi . . ., quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetaerias esse vetueram.

[4] Just. *1 Ap.* xvi. 2, xvii. 1f (*Φόρους δὲ καὶ εἰσφορὰς τοις ὑφ' ὑμῶν τεταγμένοις πανταχοῦ πρὸ πάντων πειρώμεθα φέρειν, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν παρ' αὐτοῦ·* he then quotes the incident of Jesus and the tribute-money (Mc xii. 17), concluding with the words of Jesus: *Ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ Καίσαρος τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Θεῷ*).

[5] Tat. 4 (18). Cf. *Eclog. Proph.* 24 (*Τούτῳ οὖν* [i.e. Cæsar] *τὰ χοϊκὰ ἀποδοτέον, ἃ πεφορέκαμεν ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ χοϊκοῦ, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Θεῷ*).

[6] Athenag. *Legat.* 3 (18); cf. 37 fin. (972) (*τοῦτο* [the increase of the Empire] *δ' ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγοιμεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πάντα τὰ κεκελευσμένα προθύμως ὑπηρέτοιμεν*).

[7] See above, pp. 234ff.

[8] Quadratus composed his Apology "because certain evil men tried to trouble those who belonged to us" (Eus. *HE* iv. iii. 1; cf. *ib.* xii.). For a list of the Apologies composed during this period, see pp. 202–204.

[9] Eus. *HE* iv. iii. 1: *τούτῳ* [i.e. to Hadrianus] *Κοδρᾶτος λόγον προσφωνήσας ἀναδίδωσιν, ἀπολογίαν συντάξας ὑπὲρ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θεοσεβείας.* For Aristeides, cf. the Syriac title of his *Apology*, its length, and its opening and closing words (*TS* i. 1. 35, 100, 112).

'Apology' (presuming it to have been one and not two) was a written discourse, as the addresses (including, besides the Emperors, the Senate and People of Rome [1]), the length, and the reference to it in the 'Dialogue,'[2] clearly show, though whether it ever reached the Emperors' hands may be considered doubtful. The case is similar with the 'Apologies' of Ariston of Pella,[3] Apolinarius,[4] Miltiades,[5] Meliton,[6] and Athenagoras:[7] they were doubtless despatched or offered to the Emperor in writing, though as to the details of their presentation and reception we know nothing. It is hardly likely that they would fail in every case to reach their destination, or that they would be altogether without effect.[8]

Throughout the whole of this survey we are drawing constantly on the materials contributed by the Apologists. At this point we have to note the purport of their work as indicating a conciliatory attitude on the part of the Church, a desire to find some modus vivendi with the State, despite the wide divergence of its outlook from that of the Church.[9] From this point of view *certain features in their method* are worth noticing. Their language is courteous; they observe the rules of official etiquette in giving the Emperors their full honorary titles, and they add complimentary expressions which, in the case of Athenagoras, in particular, reach the level of flattery.[10] A skilful combination of compliment and

[1] Just. *1 Ap.* i. 1, *2 Ap.* i. 1.

[2] Just. *Dial.* 120 (432): ἐγγράφως Καίσαρι προσομιλῶν.

[3] In the *Chronicon Paschale*, under 134 A.D. (Migne *PG* xcii. 620), we read: Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Ἀπελλῆς καὶ Ἀρίστων, ὧν μέμνηται Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησιαστικῇ αὐτοῦ Ἱστορίᾳ, ἐπιδίδωσιν ἀπολογίας σύνταξιν περὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θεοσεβείας Ἀδριανῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ. Eusebius nowhere mentions this Apelles, and, if his name is to stand, the singular ἐπιδίδωσιν is wrong. It is better to read ὁ Πελλαῖος Ἀρίστων οὗ for Ἀπελλῆς καὶ Ἀρίστων ὧν, as suggested in *DCB* i. 161a.

[4] Eus. *HE* iv. xxvii. [5] Eus. *HE* v. xvii. 5.

[6] Eus. *HE* iv. xiii. 8, xxvi. 2 (ἐπὶ πᾶσι καὶ τὸ πρὸς Ἀντωνῖνον βιβλίδιον), 5 (ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα βιβλίῳ).

[7] *DCB* i. 204b.

[8] Bigelmair 34 ("Andrerseits gingen die Loyalitätsversicherungen der christlichen Apologeten sicherlich nicht ganz ungehört am Ohr der leitenden Staatsmänner vorüber, und machten diese so ruhigen und doch wieder so kraftvollen Charaktere des christlichen Altertums wohl auch gewaltigen Eindruck auf die Kinder einer Zeit, der Ruhe und Kraft meist abhanden gekommen"); Overbeck 108ff.

[9] Hobhouse 64. Another effort at an accommodation with the State was the custom of enrolling the Christian communities as Burial Clubs (collegia funeraticia), having the right to hold property. Ramsay (*CRE* 430f) conjectures that this custom began in the time of Hadrianus; but see below, p. 388.

[10] Aristeides uses βασιλεῦ or ὦ βασιλεῦ. Just. *1 Ap.* i. (full formal titles), xiv. 4 (ὑμέτερον ἔστω ὡς δυνατῶν βασιλέων), lxviii. 3 (τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἐπιφανιστάτου Καίσαρος Ἀδριανοῦ, τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν); but cf. *1 Ap.* ii. 3 (οὐ γὰρ κολακεύσοντες ὑμᾶς διὰ τῶνδε τῶν γραμμάτων οὐδὲ πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλήσοντες); Meliton ap. Eus. *HE* iv. xxvi. 7 (οὗ σὺ διάδοχος εὐκταῖος γέγονας), 10 (οἱ σοὶ εὐσεβεῖς πατέρες);

persuasion appears in the ascription of justice, piety, and philosophy to the Emperors, and the appeal that their treatment of the Christians should conform to these creditable qualities.[1] They try to base their claim on what is just and reasonable :[2] they strenuously deny the popular charges of immorality :[3] they insist on the facts concerning themselves being made known to the Emperors, and they ask the latter to judge for themselves in the light of those facts :[4] they claim to be tolerated, just like any other religious sect or philosophic school :[5] they appeal to the fulfilment of Scriptural prophecies—a type of argument not so ineffective in addressing pagans as we might suppose.[6] Aristeides refers the Emperor to the Christian "evangelic" writings for information as to the Parousia of Christ, and for proof that the Apologist was telling the truth.[7] Justinus fills a great section of his 'Apology' with references to and quotations from Old Testament prophecies, pointing out how they have been fulfilled in Christianity and offering them as a proof of its truth.[8] Athenagoras quotes the prophets, and asks the Emperor to examine them further.[9]

*The Apologists do not seem to have had a very clear grasp of the political and historical facts* connected with the State's attitude towards Christianity. They rightly recognize that there was no need to ask for the repeal of any law specially directed against the Christians, for no such law existed, the persecution being a matter

Athenag. *Legat.* init. (2), 1 (2) (*ἡ ὑμετέρα, μεγάλοι βασιλέων, οἰκουμένη*), 2 (10) (*τῶν μεγίστων καὶ φιλανθρωποτάτων καὶ φιλομαθεστάτων βασιλέων*· he promises that the Christians will be grateful to the Emperors, when they are no longer falsely accused), 2 (14) (*μέγιστοι αὐτοκράτορες*), 18 (82) (*μέγιστοι αὐτοκρατόρων*), 37 (184) (. . . *τὴν βασιλικὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπινεύσατε*).

[1] Just. *1 Ap.* i. (*Οὐηρισσίμῳ υἱῷ φιλοσόφῳ καὶ Λουκίῳ φιλοσόφῳ*), ii. 1f, xii. 5, *2 Ap.* xv. 5 ; Meliton ap. Eus. *HE* iv. xxvi. 6 (*δίκαιος γὰρ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἂν ἀδίκως βουλεύσαιτο πώποτε*), 11 (*σὲ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον περὶ τούτων τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις ἔχοντα γνώμην, καὶ πολύ γε φιλανθρωποτέραν καὶ φιλοσοφωτέραν, πεπείσμεθα πάντα πράσσειν ὅσα σου δεόμεθα*) ; Athenag. *Legat.* 1 (2, 6), 2 (10–14), 6 (28) (*οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ὅσον συνέσει καὶ ἰσχύϊ τῆς βασιλείας πάντων ὑπερέχετε, τοσούτον καὶ τῷ πᾶσαν παιδείαν ἀκριβοῦν πάντων κρατεῖτε, κτλ.*), 7 (36), 9 (42), 10 (46) (*δι' ὑπερβολὴν συνέσεως*), 11 (50) (*ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλέων φιλοσόφων ἀπολογούμενον*), 17 (74), 23 init. (116), 24 init. (122), 37 (184).

[2] Just. *1 Ap.* ii. 3, iii. 5, iv. 2, xii. 11, lxviii. 1, 3, *2 Ap.* xv. 5 ; Meliton ap. Eus. *HE* iv. xxvi. 6 ; Athenag. *Legat.* 1 (8), 2 (10–14), 3 (18), 18 (82, 84).

[3] See above, p. 246 nn 7–9.

[4] Just. *1 Ap.* iii. 4, xii. 11, *2 Ap.* xiv. 1, xv. 2 ; Athenag. *Legat.* 2 (10–14), 3 (18) : cf. *M. Pol.* x. 1 ; Tat. 27 (108).

[5] Just. *1 Ap.* iv. 8f, vii. 3 ; Athenag. *Legat.* 1 (4, 6, 8) : cf. Tat. 27 (108, 110) ; Purves 74–78 ; Blunt xvi.

[6] Purves 75 ; Harnack *ME* i. 279–282.

[7] Arist. 15f (110f).

[8] Just. *1 Ap.* xxx.–lv., esp. xxxi. 1, xliv. 12, 13 (*ἀφόβως μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐντυγχάνομεν αὐταῖς* [i.e. the prophecies], *ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῖν, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν φέρομεν, ἐπιστάμενοι πᾶσιν εὐάρεστα φανήσεσθαι*), liii. 1, 12.

[9] Athenag. *Legat.* 9 (42, 44) : cf. Tat. 29 (114).

partly of popular disfavour, partly of police administration. They also urged, and, it seems, with truth, that no Emperor, except Nero and Domitianus, had actually initiated measures against the Christians, and that more than one had taken steps to relieve them of oppression. On the other hand, they ignore—as indeed their position almost bound them to do—the fact that, as long as the Emperors felt that the maintenance of the State-religion was essential to the State's welfare, Christianity, which was a secession from the State-religion, was bound to remain a religio illicita.[1] They ignore the fact that every Emperor since Trajanus (and probably earlier) had adhered to this principle, and that the rescripts of Trajanus, Hadrianus, and Antoninus had not altered or renounced it, but had merely checked abuses and excesses in its application. None of the Apologists of this period mention the first of these three rescripts, which definitely confirmed the illegality of Christianity.[2] Justinus quotes that of Hadrianus in full, but quite wrongly regards it as authorizing such judicial decisions as the Christians themselves desired, whereas in reality it left the illegality of Christianity untouched.[3] Meliton speaks of Christianity as a philosophy which the ancestors of Marcus Aurelius had honoured along with other religions :[4] only Nero and Domitianus, he says, had been willing to slander it: Marcus' pious fathers had checked the popular ignorance concerning it: Hadrianus and Antoninus had both written several times about it: Marcus' opinions, so the Apologist presumes, were the same as those of his predecessors, only still more benevolent and philosophic; so of course he would do all the Christians asked of him.[5] Over against this apologetic view of the Empire was the traditional view preserved in the Acts

[1] Blunt xvii.

[2] Overbeck (147) thinks Meliton may have already regarded it, as later Christians did, as a "Schutzedict": cf. Bigelmair 40.

[3] Just. *1 Ap.* lxviii. 3–10. Cf. Purves 67.

[4] Meliton ap. Eus. *HE* IV. xxvi. 7: . . . *φιλοσοφίαν, ἣν καὶ οἱ πρόγονοί σου πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις θρησκείαις ἐτίμησαν.*

[5] Meliton ap. Eus. *HE* IV. xxvi. 9 (*μόνοι πάντων, ἀναπεισθέντες ὑπό τινων βασκάνων ἀνθρώπων, τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν διαβολῇ καταστῆσαι λόγον ἠθέλησαν Νέρων καὶ Δομετιανός, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὸ τῆς συκοφαντίας ἀλόγῳ συνηθείᾳ περὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ῥυῆναι συμβέβηκε ψευδος*), 10 (*ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἄγνοιαν οἱ σοὶ εὐσεβεῖς πατέρες ἐπηνωρθώσαντο, πολλάκις πολλοῖς ἐπιπλήξαντες ἐγγράφως, ὅσοι περὶ τούτων νεωτερίσαι ἐτόλμησαν· ἐν οἷς ὁ μὲν πάππος σου Ἀδριανὸς πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις, καὶ Φουνδανῷ δὲ τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ, ἡγουμένῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας, γράφων φαίνεται, ὁ δὲ πατήρ σου, καὶ σοῦ τὰ σύμπαντα διοικοῦντος αὐτῷ, ταῖς πόλεσι περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ ἡμῶν ἔγραψεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ πρὸς Λαρισαίους καὶ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς καὶ Ἀθηναίους καὶ πρὸς πάντας Ἕλληνας*), 11 (*σὲ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον περὶ τούτων τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις ἔχοντα γνώμην, καὶ πολύγε φιλανθρωποτέραν καὶ φιλοσοφωτέραν, πεπείσμεθα πάντα πράσσειν ὅσα σου δεόμεθα*). On Meliton's perversion of history, see Holtzm. *RS* 36f.

of the Martyrs, according to which all the Emperors before Constantinus were generally regarded as hostile to the Church.[1]

Rulers honoured and prayed for.—While reserving fear and worship for God alone, Christians gladly served, honoured, and prayed for their human rulers.[2] Justinus said that the Christians prayed that the Emperors would be found to possess, along with the royal power, a sound judgment.[3] Athenagoras says: "We pray for your rule, that ye may receive, son from father, the royal dignity as justice demands, and that your rule may have growth and extension, all men becoming subject (to you). And this is for our advantage, that we may lead a quiet and peaceful life and may perform willingly all the services required of us."[4]

The Rightfulness and Value of Heathen Rule.—It will be observed that in this passage Athenagoras speaks of the succession of one member after another of the imperial dynasty as taking place "in a perfectly just way."[5] Other statements are made, both by Athenagoras and others, expressing their recognition of the rightfulness and value of heathen rule. Thus Justinus says: "Every sober-minded man will assert that this is the only good and just demand, that the ruled should present a satisfactory account of their own life and views, and likewise that the rulers should give their decisions having regard not to force or tyranny but to piety and philosophy. For thus would the rulers and the ruled enjoy the good. For one of the ancients said: 'Unless the rulers and the ruled study philosophy, it is not possible for states to be happy.'"[6] Similarly Meliton: "A just king would never adopt unjust counsels."[7] Athenagoras, however, goes further than any. "By your wisdom," he says, "the whole inhabited world enjoys profound peace."[8] "The whole (world), both as individuals and as states, has shared in the benefits conferred by

[1] Overbeck 148–157; Ramsay *CRE* 340–345; Hardy 130–133.

[2] Just. *1 Ap.* xvii. 3; Tat. 4 (18); *M. Pol.* x. 2 (Σὲ μὲν κἂν λόγου ἠξίωσα· δεδιδάγμεθα γὰρ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τεταγμέναις τιμὴν κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον, τὴν μὴ βλάπτουσαν ἡμᾶς, ἀπονέμειν). In the Vatican recension of the *Acts of John* (7: cf. Pick 130f n), John, when he is brought before Domitianus, kisses him on the breast and on the head. Meliton calls Marcus the διάδοχος εὐκταῖος of his predecessors, and says that since the advent of Christianity the Empire had prospered κατὰ τὰς πάντων εὐχάς (Eus. *HE* iv. xxvi. 7f).

[3] Just. *1 Ap.* xvii. 3.

[4] Athenag. *Legat.* 37 (184). Weinel (*SUS* 43f) remarks on the importance of this statement.

[5] κατὰ τὸ δικαιότατον. [6] Just. *1 Ap.* iii. 2f.

[7] Eus. *HE* iv. xxvi. 6: cf. *Diog.* vii. 4, where God sending Christ is compared to a king sending his son (ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ πραΰτητι ὡς βασιλεὺς πέμπων υἱὸν βασιλέα ἔπεμψεν, κτλ.).

[8] Athenag. *Legat.* 1 (6).

you." [1] To illustrate the point that men must worship, not God's handiwork, but God Himself, he refers admiringly to the magnificent palaces which the Emperors built for themselves and to which their subjects came to ask for and to obtain what they need.[2] He speaks of adultery, etc., as violations of "the existing laws, which ye and your ancestors enacted after a full search for all that is right." [3] As we have seen, he regarded the imperial succession as just, and prayed for the extension of the Empire, because it secured peace for its subjects.[4]

The events that happened in Palestine during and after the revolt of the Jews under Bar-kokba in 131 A.D. show the Christians of that country almost in the position of sympathetic and respectful protégés of the imperial government. The revolt arose as a result of Hadrianus' action in rebuilding Jerusalem as a gentile city under the title of Aelia Capitolina. The Palestinian Christians—now apparently gentiles for the most part—did not join the revolt; but after its suppression, they removed from Pella to Jerusalem, and settled down under a gentile bishop, though up to that time their bishops had always been Jews. A few years later Ariston of Pella, probably in his anti-Jewish 'Disputation between Jason and Papiscus,' recorded the measures taken by Hadrianus to prevent a repetition of the rising: the Emperor decreed that no Jew was to come within sight of Jerusalem.[5]

The Relative Justification of Judicial Penalties.—The tendency to recognize the rightness of civil government interests us most when it becomes a tendency to justify the infliction of judicial penalties on wrong-doers. The Christian belief in the punishment of the wicked in eternal fire did much to facilitate this justification. Justinus, for instance, in replying to the criticisms levelled at the doctrine of eternal punishment, takes it for granted that law-givers who punish wrong-doers are not unjust: neither, says he, is the Father who teaches men by the Logos to do the same things as the law-givers command: Christians, there-

[1] Athenag. *Legat.* 2 (10). [2] Athenag. *Legat.* 16 (70).

[3] Athenag. *Legat.* 34 (176); cf. *Res.* 19 (270), where he reckons it among the crimes of the tyrant that he "sets aside the laws."

[4] See the passage quoted on the previous page: in the same context he addresses the Emperors as ὦ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι φύσει καὶ παιδείᾳ χρηστοὶ καὶ μέτριοι καὶ φιλάνθρωποι καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἄξιοι.

[5] Eus. *Chron.* ad Ann. 2140, 2151 (Helm's edn. in *Die griech. christl. Schriftsteller*, etc., 199, 201: cf. Harnack *C* i. 73, 75), *HE* iv. v., vi., esp. the quotation from Ariston in vi. 3. Cf. Just. *1 Ap.* xlvii. 6, *Dial.* 139 (490); Overbeck 103 ("... so dass man schon an diesem Punkte" [i.e. the foundation of the gentile Church of Jerusalem] "den späteren Bund der Kirche und des römischen Staates deutlich keimen sehen kann"); *DCB* ii. 836b.

fore, are not unjust in believing that God will inflict punishment: true, all human laws were not good, for the evil angels had introduced many bad ones, and men's knowledge of the Logos was incomplete; but the Logos, when he came, had shown which were good and which bad, and Justinus clearly implies that some at least of the laws punishing crime were among the good ones.[1] In order rightly to appraise this and all other similar moral judgments, allowance must always be made for the relative element in the verdict. A phrase unconsciously dropped by Hermas warns us how entirely relative to the heathen state of those concerned such recognition might be. Hermas represents the imperial command to the Christians: "Either keep my laws or go out of my country," as a *just* command.[2] That the writer was always clear as to the limited significance which this relativity involved is of course not to be maintained, but neither is it safe to assume that he was not aware of it. A striking exhibition of this inevitable dualism of moral standards on the particular point under notice is given by Athenagoras, who says, à propos of the gladiatorial games, that the Christians considered that to see a man put to death was next door to killing him, and that they could not endure to see a man killed, *even justly*:[3] that is to say, the execution of a criminal may be just, but the justice is relative to the heathen state of the judge and the executioner; it is wrong for a Christian either to do it or see it done.

The Divine Appointment of Rulers.—The average Christian no doubt connected the obedience and deference due from himself to rulers with the Pauline doctrine of the Divine appointment of the latter. Polycarpus says to the Proconsul: "We have been taught to pay honour, as is fitting, to governments and authorities appointed by God—an honour which does us no harm: but I do

[1] Just. *2 Ap.* ix. 1 (*εἰ μὴ τοῦτό ἐστιν* [i.e. if the unrighteous are not punished in eternal fire], *οὔτε ἔστι Θεός, ἤ, εἰ ἔστιν, οὐ μέλει αὐτῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐστιν ἀρετὴ οὐδὲ κακία, καὶ, ὡς προέφημεν, ἀδίκως τιμωροῦσιν οἱ νομοθέται τοὺς παραβαίνοντας τὰ διατεταγμένα καλά*), 2 (*ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄδικοι ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ὁ αὐτῶν Πατήρ, τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτοῖς* [Otto reads *αὐτῷ* for *αὐτοῖς*] *πράττειν διὰ τοῦ Λόγου διδάσκων, οἱ τούτοις συντιθέμενοι οὐκ ἄδικοι*), 3, 4 (*καὶ νόμους διατάξασθαι τῇ ἑαυτῶν κακίᾳ ὁμοίους τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀγγέλους ἐπιστάμεθα, οἷς χαίρουσιν οἱ ὅμοιοι γενόμενοι ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ὀρθὸς λόγος παρελθὼν οὐ πάσας δόξας οὐδὲ πάντα δόγματα καλὰ ἀποδείκνυσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν φαῦλα, τὰ δὲ ἀγαθά . . .*), 5, x. 1–4. On the Christian appreciation of heathen laws as relatively good and valuable, cf. Weinel *SUS* 61; Troeltsch 156f.

[2] Herm. *S* i. 4: *λέγει γάρ σοι δικαίως ὁ κύριος τῆς χώρας ταύτης· Ἧ τοῖς νόμοις μου χρῶ, κτλ.* See above, pp. 250f n 3.

[3] Athenag. *Legat.* 35 (178): *οὔς γὰρ ἴσασιν οὐδ' ἰδεῖν κἂν δικαίως φονευόμενον ὑπομένοντας, τούτων τίς ἂν κατείποι ἢ ἀνδροφονίαν ἢ ἀνθρωποβορίαν; . . . ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς πλησίον εἶναι τὸ ἰδεῖν φονευόμενον τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι νομίζοντες, ἀπηγορεύσαμεν τὰς τοιαύτας θέας.*

not consider those people worthy of having my defence addressed to them." [1] Athenagoras says: "All things are subservient to you, father and son, who have received the royal power from above—for 'the king's soul is in God's hand,' says the prophetic Spirit." [2] The influence of the words of Paul in Romans xiii. was of course great, and became greater with the growing recognition of the New Testament Canon.[3]

Christians as Allies and Servants of the State.—Justinus claimed that the Christians, by virtue of their moral influence, were real *helpers and allies* of the government. "We," says he, "more than all (other) men are your helpers and allies in (promoting) peace, seeing that we hold this view, that it is impossible for an evil-doer or a covetous man or a conspirator or a virtuous man to escape God's notice, and that everyone goes to eternal punishment or eternal salvation according to the merit of his deeds." [4] He proceeds to argue that, if all men knew this (i.e. if all men became Christians), they would be restrained from sinning by the very fear of a punishment which, if guilty, they could not elude.[5]

Of *Christians actually and officially engaged in the service of the government*, we do not hear a great deal in this period. Florinus, the friend of Irenæus, seems to have been in his youth (possibly about 145 A.D.) attached to the court of the proconsul of Asia.[6] Euelpistus, pupil and fellow-martyr of Justinus (about 165 A.D.), was an imperial slave.[7] It is probable that the martyr Papylus (between 161 and 169 A.D.) was reported to the proconsul as a municipal senator; but when asked about it, he said he was a citizen of Thyatira: the actual facts of the matter are lost to us.[8] The apocryphal 'Acts of Paul' contain accounts of the conversion

[1] *M. Pol.* x. 2.

[2] Athenag. *Legat.* 18 (82) (Prov xxi. 1: cf. *Act. Joh.* 7; *Acts of Phocas* 7, 11, 16 (Conybeare 109 etc.).

[3] Holtzm. *RS* 6f, 16.

[4] Just. *1 Ap.* xii. 1. Weinel does not seem to have reckoned with this passage in saying (*SUS* 4) that Justinus is silent on the fact "dass man unter Gehorsam nur einen negativen Gehorsam verstand, die Fernhaltung aller Gewalttat gegen den Staat und seine Gebieter." On Justinus' teaching here, cf. Harnack *ME* i. 260, *KS* 145.

[5] Just. *1 Ap.* xii. 2f.

[6] Iren. *fr.* ii (ii. 471) (Εἶδον γάρ σε παῖς ὢν ἔτι, ἐν τῇ κάτω Ἀσίᾳ παρὰ τῷ Πολυκάοπῳ, λαμπρῶς πράττοντα ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ, καὶ πειρώμενον εὐδοκιμεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ). Cf. *DCB* ii. 544b, iii. 254a.

[7] *M. Just.* iv. 3 (Εὐέλπιστος, δοῦλος Καίσαρος); Harnack *ME* ii. 47 ("so that Christianity had evidently not died out among the members of the imperial household").

[8] *Carp.* 24–27. Ramsay (*CRE* 435f) says: "Apparently he had been called on to serve, but considered the duty an unworthy one."

of imperial courtiers, officials, and servants.[1] While this document cannot be appealed to as giving an entirely faithful representation of the conditions of the time, it is probable that on this point it departs from historical truth by way rather of exaggeration than of sheer invention.[2]

So far as *implication in the violent or punitive functions of government* is concerned, there are of course the soldiers, of whom we shall speak in the next chapter; but there is another small piece of evidence of which note must be taken. Justinus, in his endeavour to substantiate the moral purity of the real Christians and to dissociate them from the wrong-doing of those whose Christianity was merely nominal, says to the Emperors: "We ask that those who are not living in conformity with his" (i.e. Christ's) "teachings, but are Christians only in name, should be punished by you."[3] Justinus here undoubtedly departs from the normal Christian attitude, and his words are hard to harmonize with what he says elsewhere about the Christian attitude to wrong-doers. The probability is that, in his eagerness to clear his co-religionists of the unjust suspicion of immorality, he was not careful to guard himself against a momentary verbal unfaithfulness to his Christian principles. It is hardly likely that he would normally have wished to identify himself in this close and direct way with the punitive functions of the State.[4]

Church and Empire as Twin Authorities.—We have already observed in the writings of Luke[5] the inception of the idea of the Christian Church and the Roman Empire as two coeval and complementary organizations, having separate though parallel functions, and each possessed of legitimate authority within its own sphere. As Harnack remarks, Justinus, with his conception of the Christians as the Emperor's helpers and allies in the cause of peace, "affirms a positive relationship between the church and

[1] *M. Paul.* 1 (ἀ πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας Καίσαρος come to Paul and are converted), 2 (Patroclus, Nero's cupbearer, and two πρῶτοι τοῦ Νέρωνος are converted), 7. Cf. Harnack *ME* ii. 43f.

[2] Harnack, *l.c.*: "It is just possible that several Roman Christians, mentioned in the oldest *Acta Petri* (Vercell.), were historical personalities": for this, see below, p. 389 n 3. Ramsay says (*CRE* 435): "The Church in Asia Minor seems to have held that Christians should live in society as far as possible, should act as members of the municipal senates, and serve as soldiers." This remark, I think, goes beyond our evidence for the period on which Ramsay is writing, viz. 120–170 A.D.

[3] Just. *1 Ap.* xvi. 14.

[4] In *Test. XII. Patr., Gad* vi. 5 (Charles *APOT* ii. 342; cf. 291), mention is made of men being involved in legal strife, but we cannot be sure that this apparently Christian interpolation belongs to our present period.

[5] See above, p. 179.

the state."[1] It is, however, Meliton, bishop of Sardis (about 176–177 A.D.), who, of all Christian authors of this period, carries farthest the doctrine of the mutual recognition and dependence of Church and State. He says to Marcus Aurelius: "Our philosophy formerly flourished among the barbarians, but having blossomed forth among thy provinces in the great reign of thine ancestor Augustus, it became an auspicious blessing to thine Empire especially. For since that time, the power of the Romans has grown to greatness and splendour; and of this power thou hast become the heir that was longed for, and shalt continue so with thy son, if thou guardest the philosophy which was foster-sister to the Empire and came into existence with Augustus, and which thy ancestors honoured along with the other religions. And this is the greatest proof that our doctrine flourished to good purpose alongside of the Empire that (had) started (so) brilliantly—that since the reign of Augustus it has met with no disaster, but on the contrary all things (have been) splendid and glorious according to everyone's prayers."[2] Meliton thus conceives of Christianity and the Empire as a pair. "Only when Christianity is protected and permitted to develop itself freely, does the Empire continue to preserve its size and splendour. . . . at a time like this, when Christians were still a feeble folk, he actually recognized in Christianity the one magnitude parallel to the state, and that simply on the ground of religion—*i.e.*, as being a spiritual force which was entrusted with the function of supporting the state."[3] His apology is an important landmark in the process that culminated in the Constantinian alliance between the Church and the Empire.[4]

The Conception of the Empire as prospectively Christian. —Christians looked forward to nothing less than the complete

[1] Harnack *ME* i. 260.

[2] Meliton ap. Eus. *HE* iv. xxvi. 7 (*ἡ γὰρ καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφία πρότερον μὲν ἐν βαρβάροις ἤκμασεν, ἐπανθήσασα δὲ τοῖς σοῖς ἔθνεσιν κατὰ τὴν Αὐγούστου τοῦ σοῦ προγόνου μεγάλην ἀρχήν, ἐγενήθη μάλιστα τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ αἴσιον ἀγαθόν. ἔκτοτε γὰρ εἰς μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν τὸ Ῥωμαίων ηὐξήθη κράτος, οὗ σὺ διάδοχος εὐκταῖος γέγονάς τε καὶ ἔσῃ μετὰ τοῦ παιδός, φυλάσσων τῆς βασιλείας τὴν σύντροφον καὶ συναρξαμένην Αὐγούστῳ φιλοσοφίαν, ἣν καὶ οἱ πρόγονοί σου πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις θρησκείαις ἐτίμησαν*), 8 (*καὶ τοῦτο μέγιστον τεκμήριον τοῦ πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγον συνακμάσαι τῇ καλῶς ἀρξαμένῃ βασιλείᾳ, ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φαῦλον ἀπὸ τῆς Αὐγούστου ἀρχῆς ἀπαντῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ἅπαντα λαμπρὰ καὶ ἔνδοξα κατὰ τὰς πάντων εὐχάς*). He then proceeds with his version of the policy of the different Emperors in the matter of persecution (see above, p. 261).

[3] Harnack *ME* i. 261f. Harnack also remarks: "It is no mere accident that he writes in loyal Asia Minor."

[4] Holtzm. *RS* 34ff: cf. Neumann *H* 88f; Harnack *KS* 145–147; Weinel *SUS* 4 ("Eine neue Schicht, das gebildete Bürgertum, und eine neue Zeit kündigen sich in diesen Worten an, die Kirche und die Zeit Konstantins").

triumph of their cause ; and only the possibility of an early Parousia obscured the obvious implication of the thought, viz. the Christianization of the imperial government itself. Justinus, both in his 'Apology' and in his 'Dialogue,' quotes Old Testament passages foreshadowing the submission of kings to Christ.[1] He complains that the Emperors are afraid of all men becoming righteous, so that they would have no one to punish.[2] Tatianus contended that the whole of humanity ought to be under a single uniform code of laws, and on the strength of this he has been claimed as the first herald of the Holy Roman Empire.[3] We are able to gather from the rather puzzling censures of Celsus that some of the Christians, about the end of our period, really entertained hopes of converting the rulers of the Empire to Christianity.[4] Thus Athenagoras says to the Emperors : "May ye be able of yourselves to discover the heavenly Kingdom."[5] In the apocryphal 'Martyrdom of Paul,' the apostle invites Nero to become a Christian.[6]

[1] Just. *1 Ap.* xl. 11–19 (full quotation of Psalm ii., warning the kings of the earth to make a timely submission to the Messiah), I. 4 (*συνέξουσι βασιλεῖς τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν*, i.e. at the Suffering Servant [Isa lii. 15], cf. *Dial.* 13 (48)), 118 (422), *Dial.* 34 (114) (Ps lxxii. 11).

[2] Just. *1 Ap* xii. 4.

[3] Tat. 28 (112) ; Gwatkin *ECH* i. 180.

[4] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 71 (*φησὶ γὰρ* [*ὁ Κέλσος*] *τοιαῦτα· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο ἀνεκτόν σου λέγοντος, ὡς, ἂν οἱ νῦν βασιλεύοντες ἡμῶν σοι πεισθέντες ἀλῶσι, τοὺς αὖθις βασιλεύοντας πείσεις εἶτ' ἄλλους, ἂν κακεῖνοι ἁλῶσι, καὶ ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις, μέχρι πάντων τῶν σοι πειθομένων ἁλισκομένων μία τις ἀρχὴ σωφρονήσασα καὶ προειδομένη τὸ συμβαῖνον πάντας ὑμᾶς, πρὶν αὐτὴν προαπολέσθαι, παγγενεὶ διολέσει*). Origenes replies that Celsus here is talking nonsense, and denies that any Christian spoke in this strain. Cf. Harnack *ME* i. 264 n : "I do not understand, any more than Origen did, the political twaddle which Celsus (lxxi.) professes to have heard from a Christian. It can hardly have come from a Christian, and it is impossible nowadays to ascertain what underlay it. I therefore pass it by." I suggest that, down to *ἄλλοις*, Celsus is quoting some keen Christian propagandist, and that the rest of the sentence may be Celsus' own contemptuous threat uttered in reply to him. See below, p. 400 n 2.

[5] Athenag. *Legat.* 18 (82).

[6] *M. Paul* 3 (Lipsius i. 110f). In the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* (39), Queen Tryphæna is converted to Christianity. Ramsay (*CRE* 382–389, 427f) has a full discussion of Tryphæna as an historical personage : she appears to have been mother of the king of Pontus, and in the time of Paul to have been living in retirement on her own estates (cf. Schürer i 558). Whether she was actually converted to Christianity is more than doubtful ; but the narrative is interesting as showing the Christian view in the latter half of our period on the subject of the conversion of royal persons.

# CHAPTER VI

## WAR

VIEWS OF THE CHRISTIANS AS TO PEACE AND WAR IN GENERAL. —Peace is, as before, everywhere mentioned, commended, and enjoined as a characteristic of the Christian life.[1] As such it is by no means confined to the inside of the Church. It is the Christian's duty to be on good terms with all.[2] Universal peace was a leading mark of the Kingdom of Christ.[3] Christians took an eager interest in the maintenance of peace on earth. Justinus told the Emperors that the Christians were the best allies and helpers they had in promoting peace.[4] He quoted the Isaianic prophecy about the end of wars, and pointed to the spread of Christianity throughout the world as a fulfilment of it.[5] Athenagoras recognizes that the world in general and the Christians in particular owe their state of peace to the power and wisdom of the imperial rulers.[6]

Corresponding to this love of peace is a real *horror of war.* Aristeides attributed the ceaseless wars of men (primarily the Hellenes) to their erroneous views as to the nature of the gods;[7] for among the unworthy characters assigned to them was that of the warrior, by which Ares and Herakles were discredited.[8] Justinus said that it was the evil angels and their offspring the demons who sowed murders and wars among men.[9] Tatianus

[1] 2 P i. 2, iii. 14; 2 Cl. x. 2f; Herm. *Vis.* III. v. 1, vi. 3, IX. 2, 10, xii. 3, *M* II. 3, VIII. 10, *S* VIII. vii. 2, IX. xxxii. 2; *M. Pol.* int.

[2] Herm. *M* II. 3.

[3] Presb. ap. Iren. IV. xxvii. 1 (ii. 240).

[4] Just. *1 Ap.* xii. 1: see above, p. 265.

[5] Just. *1 Ap.* xxxix. 1–3: he quotes Isa. ii. 3b–4 (ploughshares and pruning-knives), and adds *καὶ ὅτι οὕτως γέγονε, πεισθῆναι δύνασθε·* he then refers to the mission of the twelve apostles from Jerusalem and the result: *καὶ οἱ πάλαι ἀλληλοφόνται οὐ μόνον οὐ πολεμοῦμεν τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἀλλ' . . .*

[6] Athenag. *Legat.* 1 (6), 37 fin. (184) (Christians pray for extension of the Emperor's rule, *πάντων ὑποχειρίων γιγνομένων . . . τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἥρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγοιμεν*).

[7] Arist. 8 (104).

[8] Arist. 10 (106); for Herakles, cf. the Syriac (43).

[9] Just. *2 Ap.* v. 4: cf. *Carp.* 17 (*ὁ γὰρ διάβολος . . . καταπιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων τούτοις ἀνταγωνίζεται καὶ προκατασκευάζει πολέμους*)—though the reference here is primarily to persecution. In *Dial.* 93, according to the texts printed by Otto (338) and Maran (Migne *PG* vi. 697), Justinus says that all men know *ἀνδροφονία* to be wrong: there is, however, a variant reading *ἀνδρομανία* (lust

said that the demons by means of oracles not only excited war—which he spoke of as murder—but also deceitfully predicted victory.[1] Athenagoras instances the usages of unjust war—the slaughter of myriads of men, the razing of cities, the burning of houses with their inhabitants, the devastation of land, and the destruction of entire populations—as samples of the worst sins, such as could not be adequately punished by any amount of suffering in this life.[2] In the apocryphal 'Acts of John,' the apostle tells the Ephesians that military conquerors depart naked from this world and suffer eternal pains.[3] The dreadful sufferings endured by Christians in times of persecution were generally inflicted by the hands of soldiers,[4] and would doubtless tend to confirm the Christian view of the unchristian character of the military calling.

War in Hebrew History.—The feeling of abhorrence with which war was normally regarded did not extend to those wars which were recorded in the sacred story of God's Chosen People. Justinus quotes to Tryphon the words of Moses: "The Lord thy God who goeth before thy face, he shall destroy the nations,"[5] and says: "Ye, who derive your origin from Shem, came, according to the purpose (*βουλὴν*) of God, upon the land of the sons of Canaan, and took possession of it":[6] he reminds him how the angel of the Lord slew 185,000 Assyrians encamped before Jerusalem in Hezekiah's time.[7] Types of Christ were seen in military incidents, objects, and persons mentioned in the Old Testament, viz. in Joshua, and in the stone on which Moses sat when Israel defeated Amalek. Moses' outstretched arms on that occasion formed the sign of the cross. Rahab's scarlet thread was a type of Christ's blood. The horns with which Joseph, as it was foretold, would push the nations, prefigured the cross of Christ in its victorious advance.[8] While the Christian mind was as a rule satisfied to accept, on the mere authority of the Old Testament, the ascription

after males), which may be correct, as it suits the context (*μοιχεία*, *πορνεία*) better.

[1] Tat. 19 (86, 88): cf. Bigelmair 166. [2] Athenag. *Res.* 19 (270).

[3] *Act. Joh.* 36 fin. For the Stoic opinion of military life, see Bigelmair 177: M. Aurelius *Medit.* (x. 10) called successful soldiers robbers. Discipline and recruiting were becoming difficult in his time; he was obliged to fill up his ranks with gladiators, slaves, and Dalmatian brigands (Capitolinus, *Life of M. Antoninus Philosophus*, xxi. 6f (*Hist. Aug.* ed. Peter i. 66)): cf. Guignebert 190; *Year's Work in Classical Studies, 1923–1924*, 31.

[4] *M. Pol.* vii. 1, xviii. 1; *Carp.* 40; *M. Lugd.* ap. Eus. *HE* v. i. 17: but in *Act. Joh.* 6, the soldiers treat John kindly, and the papyri occasionally reveal some attractive characteristics in military men (Deissmann *LVO* 150–153, 163–166).

[5] Just. *Dial.* 126 (454): Deut xxxi. 3. [6] Just. *Dial.* 139 (490).

[7] Just. *Dial.* 83 (298).

[8] Just. *Dial.* 90f (328ff), 111 (394, 396), 113 (400ff), 115 (408ff), 131 (466ff).

of warlike propensities to God, without feeling the need of harmonizing them with the teaching of Jesus about the Father, Marcion, on the other hand, made them a great count in his allegations of opposition between the Old and New Testaments: he preferred to reject the former altogether, as the revelation of an inferior being, rather than compromise what he felt to be the view of God conveyed by Jesus. Neither he nor the orthodox had the modern key, viz. a theory of the progressive revelation of the Divine character; and the orthodox, in meeting his arguments, were often driven to seek for warlike features in the God of the New Testament.[1]

Messianic Wars.—A second field of thought in which war appeared to Christians in a sanctified or semi-sanctified form was the apocalyptic notion of punitive wars to be waged against the enemies of God and His People. The course of history had severed these wars into two groups, and actualized one of them in the strangely inverted form of a disaster befalling, not the gentiles, but the Jews themselves. The Christians regarded the war of 70 A.D. as a just judgment inflicted by God on the Jewish nation for their sin in rejecting Christ.[2] But prophecies of future wars still remained unfulfilled, though here there was no attempt at an exact forecast. Justinus confines himself to the quotation of passages from the Old Testament speaking of a warlike triumph on the part of God or of the Messianic king.[3] Paul, in the apocryphal 'Acts,' tells Nero that Christ "is going one day to make war upon the world with fire."[4] The Book of Elkesai, written apparently during Trajanus' reign, prophesied that, when three more years of that reign had elapsed, war would break out among the ungodly angels of the north, and a convulsion of all ungodly kingdoms would ensue.[5] In the Gnostic 'Excerpts from Theodotus,' we

[1] Harnack *MC* 25f: ". . . Marcion hat unzweifelhaft den christlichen Gottesbegriff wesentlich richtig erfasst. . . . Es wird aber stets ein Ruhm der marcionitiscen Kirche, die sich lange erhalten hat, bleiben, dass sie lieber das Alte Testament verwerfen, als das Bild des Vaters Jesu Christi durch Einmengung von Zügen eines kriegerischen Gottes trüben wollte."

[2] *GP* vii. 25 (18) (ἤγγισεν ἡ κρίσις καὶ τὸ τέλος Ἱερουσαλήμ); Just. *1 Ap.* xlvii., *Dial.* 110 (392), 139 (490); Orig. *Cels.* iv. 22 (καὶ Χριστιανοὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Κέλσον . . . φασὶ . . . ὅτι Ἰουδαῖοι κολάσαντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν . . . ἐπὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Θεοῦ χόλον ἐπεσπάσαντο).

[3] Isa lxiii. 1–6 (the one in dyed garments from Bosrah) is quoted in Just. *Dial.* 26 (90), Dan vii. 11 (destruction of the Beast) and 26 (overthrow of the horn) in *op. cit.* 31 (102, 104), Ps xlv. 5 (arrows in the heart of the king's enemies) in 38 (130), Ps cx. 1 ("until I make thine enemies thy footstool," etc.) and 5 (kings crushed in the day of God's wrath) in 32 (108, 110). From *Dial.* 32 (106) we gather that Justinus regarded the putting of Christ's enemies under his feet as a process going on from the time of the Ascension.

[4] *M. Paul.* 3 (Lipsius i. 110f). [5] Hipp. *Ref.* ix. 16 (11).

read of a great battle going on between the rebel "powers" and the angels, the former fighting against, the latter (like soldiers) for, the Christians: God rescues the Christians from the revolt and the battle, and gives them peace.[1] The Montanist prophetess Maximilla foretold wars and anarchy.[2]

War as an Illustration of Christian Life.—References to warfare as a type or pattern of the Christian life are not abundant in the literature of this period.[3] Justinus has one rather striking simile. "It would be a ridiculous thing," he says, "that the soldiers engaged and enrolled by you should respect their agreement with you in preference to their own life and parents and country and all their friends, though ye can offer them nothing incorruptible, and that we, loving incorruptibility, should not endure all things for the sake of receiving what we long for from Him who is able to give it."[4] Tatianus has a long description of the Christian warfare.[5] In the apocryphal 'Martyrdom of Paul,' written perhaps about 165 A.D., both the author himself[6] and the characters he introduces[7] speak of Christians as soldiers in the service of God. The paucity of these passages rather indicates that the military analogy did not appeal very widely or strongly to the Christians of this period.

Christian Aloofness from Military Service.—Before we proceed to commit ourselves to generalities on this subject, it will be well to set the facts as we have them before the reader; and we begin with *the literary evidence*—the sentiments and statements of contemporary authors. In addition to all that has been said on the Christian attitude to the State, the Christian method of treating wrong-doers, and the Christian views on peace and war in the abstract, there are certain passages bearing more immediately on the point before us, and these may be quoted here. Thus Justinus says in his 'Apology': "We, who hated one another, and slew one another, and on account of (differing) customs would not share even common hearths with those not of the same tribe as ourselves, now

[1] *Excerp. Theod.* 72. [2] Eus. *HE* v. xvi. 18f.

[3] Cf. *Excerp. Theod.* 85: δεῖ οὖν ὡπλίσθαι τοῖς κυριακοῖς ὅπλοις ἔχοντας τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄτρωτον.

[4] Just. *1 Ap.* xxxix. 5.

[5] In his treatise *Perfection according to the Saviour*, recently unearthed by J. Rendel Harris (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, Jan. 1924, 30f).

[6] *M. Paul.* 2f.

[7] *M. Paul.* 2 (Πάτροκλε, καὶ σὺ στρατεύῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐκείνῳ; . . . καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκείνῳ στρατευόμεθα τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων), 3, 4 (οὐ γὰρ ὡς ὑμεῖς ὑπονοεῖτε βασιλεῖ ἀπὸ γῆς ἐρχομένῳ στρατευόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, κτλ. . . . οὔκ εἰμι δραπέτης τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀλλ' ἔννομος στρατιώτης Θεοῦ ζῶντος), 6: cf. Harnack *MC* 22f, 95f.

since the coming of Christ become sociable, and pray for our enemies, and try to persuade those that hate us unjustly, so that they, living according to the fair precepts of Christ, may share our good hope of receiving the same (reward as ourselves) from the God who rules all things." [1] Again, "When the prophetic Spirit speaks as prophesying things that are to happen, it says thus: 'For from Sion will come forth law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem, and He will judge between nations and convict many people: and they will beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into sickles, and they will not take the sword nation against nation, and they will not learn any more to make war.' And that this has happened, ye can be persuaded. For twelve men went out from Jerusalem into the world, and they were ignorant men, unable to speak; but by the power of God they told every race of men that they were sent by Christ to teach all (men) the word of God. And we who formerly slew one another not only do not make war against our enemies, but, for the sake of not telling lies or deceiving those who examine us, gladly die confessing Christ." [2] In the 'Dialogue,' he quotes the parallel prophecy from Micah, and then similarly affirms its fulfilment in Christianity. "We, who were filled with war and mutual slaughter and every wickedness, have changed each one (our) warlike instruments throughout the whole earth—the swords into ploughshares and the spears into farming implements, and we cultivate piety, righteousness, love for men, faith, (and) the hope which (we have) from the Father through the Crucified One." [3] Tatianus, in affirming his independ-

[1] Just. *1 Ap.* xiv. 3: the Greek is given above, p. 233 n 2. Hefele (quoted in *DCA* ii. 2028a) maintains that Justinus' language here and that of Athenagoras in *Legat.* 35 (see above, p. 264 n 3) does not necessarily imply a general disapproval of the profession of the warrior. B.-Baker, referring to *1 Ap.* xi. (where Justinus denies that the Christians are looking for a human kingdom) and xiv., remarks that Justinus "expresses no definite view on the subject of war. . . . What he says . . . really only amounts to a general repudiation of warlike aims or methods on behalf of Christians. Had he regarded war as actually incompatible with Christian sentiment he would probably have taken this opportunity of disposing absolutely of the suspicion to which the Christians were exposed by their Master's use of earthly metaphors to shadow forth eternal spiritual relations" (*ICW* 21). This reasoning is, in my opinion, faulty. Justinus said all that was necessary to controvert the suspicion in question; and there is no reason to assume that, supposing he had really disapproved of war, he would necessarily have gone out of his way, in the middle of a conciliatory apology, to tell the Emperor that the Christians abstained on principle from serving in his legions.

[2] Just. *1 Ap.* xxxix. 1–3 (see above, p. 269 n 5) (Isa ii. 3b, 4).

[3] Just. *Dial.* 109f (388, 390) (Mic iv. 2b, 3). Cf. Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 661b: "Justin steadily set his eyes upon the peaceful advance of Christianity, unarmed and non-resisting. Even yet, however, the question of the Christian as citizen had not fully presented itself to the Christian consciousness."

ence of earthly ambitions and pleasures, remarks: "I decline military command."[1] Athenagoras said that Christians could not endure to see a man put to death, even justly, considering that to do so was practically equivalent to killing him, and that for this reason they could not attend the gladiatorial games.[2] Celsus (about 178 A.D.) thought it necessary to appeal to the Christians as a body to help the Emperor zealously, to co-operate with him in maintaining justice, and to fight for him, if he should call upon them to do so, both in the ranks and in positions of military command. He argued that, if all did as they did, the Emperor would be deserted, and his realm fall a prey to savages and barbarians.[3]

In the second place, we may remind ourselves of what we know of *the conditions of military service at that time*, as they would be likely to affect contemporary Christian conduct. It has already been mentioned[4] that the imperial government could in normal

[1] Tat. 11 (48): *βασιλεύειν οὐ θέλω· πλουτεῖν οὐ βούλομαι· τὴν στρατηγίαν παρῄτημαι· πορνείαν μεμίσηκα.* Harnack (*ME* ii. 55 n 5) thinks that *στρατηγίαν* refers to the prætorship; but political ambition has already been mentioned (*βασιλεύειν*), and in a list of this sort, some reference to military life is probable. Anyhow, Harnack agrees that Tatianus "was undoubtedly opposed to the military calling." So too Moffatt (*DAC* ii. 662a).

[2] Athenag. *Legat.* 35 (178): for the Greek, see above, p. 264 n 3. See, however, Hefele (quoted above, p. 273 n 1) and Moffatt (*DAC* ii. 662a: Athenagoras' "pages contain no direct repudiation of war or of the military profession. It is impossible to interpret his language as conveying a direct censure of military service"). It is for the reader to judge whether such interpretations of Athenagoras are justified. Per contra, cf. Bigelmair 166: "Möglich, dass auch dem Athenagoras der Gedanke an den Krieg in etwas vorgeschwebt, wenn er davon spricht, dass die Christen nicht nur nicht morden, sondern es sogar vermeiden, den Mord mit anzusehen."

[3] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 68, 73 (for the Greek of these passages, see above, p. 255 n 7), 74 (*βούλεται ἡμᾶς ὁ Κέλσος καὶ στρατηγεῖν ὑπὲρ πατρίδος*). Guignebert's remark (190f), "quand Celse leur reproche leur abstention, il est clair qu'il s'en prend à leurs doctrines plus qu'aux applications pratiques qu'ils en peuvent déjà faire," is, in my judgment, unwarranted. Harnack is nearer the truth (*ME* ii. 57 n 1): "It is quite obvious from this that Christians were charged with a disinclination to serve in the army, and the charge was undoubtedly well founded." Cf. Harnack *MC* 55f; Neumann *SK* 127; and De Jong 6f. B.-Baker (*ICW* 21ff) ignores the evidence of Celsus for the latter part of the second century: he does not mention his date, but treats him along with Origenes, as if they were contemporaries (*ib.* 27; cf. 29: "By this time, therefore," i.e. the time of Origenes' reply, 248 A.D., "many Christians shrank from military service").

It is surely an understatement, in face of the sweeping charge made by Celsus, to say simply: "It is fairly obvious that *he had met Christians* who were already holding back from military service" (Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 664a; italics mine). To judge from Origenes' quotations, Celsus, with all his knowledge of Christendom, had never met or heard of a Christian who *would* go into the army. And why "*already* holding back"? What evidence is there that Christians generally had been any more willing to serve in the times before Celsus made his inquiries?

[4] See above, pp. 116f: but cf. also p. 270 n 3.

times get as many soldiers as it wanted without having recourse to compelling unwilling conscripts, and that being so, it would be a very unlikely thing for a Christian to be pressed against his will to join the service. Conflicts on the matter between Christians and the State would thus be exceedingly rare.[1] This condition in itself would account very largely for whatever tardiness or indefiniteness there is in the attitude of the early Church.[2] At the same time, there were certain features of military life which could not have failed to thrust themselves on a Christian's notice as presenting, to say the least, great ethical difficulty. The shedding of blood on the battlefield, the passing of death-sentences by officers and the execution of them by common soldiers, the judicial infliction of scourging, torture, and crucifixion, the unconditional military oath, the all-pervading Kaiserkult, the sacrifices in which all were expected in some way to participate, the average behaviour of soldiers in peace-time, and other idolatrous and offensive customs[3] —all these would constitute in combination an exceedingly powerful deterrent against any Christian joining the army on his own initiative.

As to the actual evidence for the absence of Christians from the army, it will be seen presently that the evidence for the existence of a single Christian soldier between 60 and about 165 A.D. is exceedingly slight; and we have already noticed that the appeal

[1] Neumann *SK* 127f; Harnack *ME* ii. 57 n 1; Bigelmair 175–177.

[2] Harnack *MC* 51: "Jetzt, in der Zeit der Antonine, . . . brach mit voller Gewalt das Gefühl der Verantwortung herein: Wie sollen wir uns als Christen zu der Welt um uns stellen . . . ? Somit ist es also nicht auffallend, dass es etwa bis zur Zeit der Antonine bez. Marc Aurel's eine Soldatenfrage in den Gemeinden nicht gegeben hat" (cf. 47 and *ME* ii. 52). B.-Baker (*ICW* 21) remarks: "Pliny's letter shows that there was no complaint against the Christians then with regard to their view of war"; but this does not prove that the Bithynian Christians, still less Christians at large, believed that service in the legions was compatible with their religion. The question had simply not been raised. The attempt, therefore, to use Plinius' letter as evidence of the early Christian's willingness to become a soldier is thoroughly unscientific. It is the more needful to refer to this, because the late Archdeacon W. Cunningham, in an Appendix to his book, *Christianity and Politics*, drawing his information largely as he admits from Professor B.-Baker's essay (Cunningham 251 n 3), not only repeats the misleading statement about Plinius' letter, but thoroughly misrepresents the early Christian attitude in general. Thus, "there was not in primitive times any definite protest against" war (249); the first four centuries are taken as a single period under the heading "The acceptance of War as inevitable in an evil world" (249f); "so far as we can rely on the argument from silence, Christians do not appear to have been repelled by bloodshed in war. Pliny does not complain of them, and there seem to be no special warnings in regard to un-Christian conduct in connection with military service" (251).

[3] Cf. Harnack *MC* 46f; cf. 59 n and *ME* ii. 52.

of Celsus bears undeniable witness to a general aversion on the part of Christians to military service. While, therefore, the grounds on which a statement on the subject can be based are unhappily very meagre, and too much must not be made of *the argumentum e silentio*, we may perhaps venture to say that, though on the one hand no unanimous prohibition had been laid down by the Church, yet on the other, up to the reign of Marcus Aurelius at least, no Christian would become a soldier after his baptism.[1]

Christian Participation in Military Service.—At the same time, the precedents recorded in the New Testament, apart from any other considerations, compel us to admit the *possibility* of the existence of Christian soldiers at any period subsequent to the early Apostolic age.[2] But down to the time of Marcus Aurelius, they must in any case have been very few, and those few must have been men converted when already in the army.[3] *The positive evidence* on the subject can be briefly stated. After the at best doubtful cases of Cornelius and the Philippian gaoler in Acts, we have no reliable evidence of any Christian soldiers until we come to the reign of Marcus Aurelius.[4] We then get a piece of evidence

[1] This is the conclusion of Harnack, who will not be suspected of exaggerating the evidence in its favour: see his *MC* 47f ("hatte Jesus nicht jede Rache, ja jede Vergeltung des Unrechts verboten und vollkommene Sanftmut und Geduld gelehrt? Und war nicht der Soldatenstand überdies durch seine Erpressungen, Gewalttätigkeiten und Schergendienste verächtlich? Gewiss, und daraus folgte unzweifelhaft, dass ein Christ nicht freiwillig Soldat werden durfte. Diese Regel innezuhalten, war aber nicht schwer, und gewiss haben sie die ältesten Christen beobachtet"), 49, 51 (see above, p. 275 n 2; the passage continues: "der getaufte Christ wurde nicht Soldat" u.s.w.): cf. also Onslow in *DCA* ii. 1182b; Mullinger in *DCA* ii. 2028a; Brace 91f; Guignebert 191 (he quotes Lc iii. 14 as said by Jesus, instead of John the Baptist).

[2] Harnack *ME* ii. 52: "There were Christian soldiers from a very early period, perhaps from the very first."

[3] Harnack *l.c.*

[4] J. B. Mullinger (*DCA* ii. 2028b) says: "Aringhi (*Antiq. Christianae*, i. 430) gives an epitaph of a soldier of the time of Hadrian, and (ii. 170) that of a soldier in the praetorian guard; Boldetti (*Osservazioni sopra i cimiteri*, etc., p. 432), one of a veteranus ex proterioribus (? "protectorioribus"), and also (p. 415) one "Pyrrho militi," and (p. 416) that of one who is described as "felicissimus miles." Marangoni (*Act. S. Vict.* p. 102) gives us that of a centurion, and Ruinart (*Act. Mart.* i. 50) that of two brothers, Getulius and Amantius, who were military tribunes under Hadrian." The first of these (which occurs, by the way, on 525, not on 430, of Aringhi's first volume) reads: "Tempore Hadriani Imperatoris: Marius adolescens dux militum, qui satis vixit dum vitam pro Ch(rist)o cum sanguine consunsit, in pace tandem quievit. Benemerentes cum lacrimis et metu posuerunt." It is, I am informed on competent authority, unquestionably a forgery. As regards the second inscription from Aringhi, there is not only no evidence of pre-Constantinian date, but none even of its being Christian. As regards the three inscriptions given by Boldetti, there is no evidence that any one of them is as early as the second century. That given by Marangoni is probably

of great importance and historical worth. During one of the Emperor's campaigns against the Quadi—perhaps in 173 or 174 A.D. (though some put it as early as 171 A.D.)—the Roman army found itself in serious difficulties owing to lack of water. In the twelfth legion—the Legio Fulminata, usually stationed in Melitene, a region in Eastern Cappadocia, and recruited in the same neighbourhood—there was a considerable number of Christian soldiers. These prayed for relief from the drought, and at once a shower refreshed the Roman troops, while a storm discomfited the enemy. Such is, in bare outline, the story of what, as far as we can make out, actually happened. Evidently it was an incident of some importance, for it was commemorated on the column set up by Marcus Aurelius at Rome, and noticed by a number of writers, both Christian and pagan. The pagan accounts do not mention the Christians in the army at all, and so are of no value for our immediate purpose, beyond confirming the historical background of the story. The various Christian versions contain obvious embellishments and exaggerations; but there can be no doubt about the main fact that, in or about 173 A.D., the Legio Fulminata contained a considerable number of Christian soldiers, while there is no extant indication that any disapproval of their military

post-Constantinian, as it contains the nomen Flavius in the contracted form FL. (On the evidence of the inscriptions generally, see *DCA* ii. 2028f; Brace 91; Harnack *MC* 121 ("Inschriften aus vorkonstantinischer Zeit, in denen der Tote als Christ und als Soldat bezeichnet ist, besitzen wir m.W. nicht," but this, he adds, is not conclusive evidence as to the paucity of Christian soldiers); Bigelmair 182f; Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 663a). As for Getulius and Amantius, their existence rests on the witness of the highly coloured *Acts of Symphorosa* 1 (Ruinart 71: Symphorosa says to Hadrianus, 'Vir meus Getulius, cum fratre suo Amantio, tribuni tui cum essent, pro Christi nomine passi sunt diversa supplicia, ne idolis consentirent ad immolandum. . . . Elegerunt enim magis decollari quam vinci,' etc. A translation of these Acts is given in *ANCL* ixb. 191ff: cf. also *DCB* ii. 668b, iv. 755b; Doulcet 94–97, 187f; Harnack *ME* ii. 60f). The names of Symphorosa and her seven sons are those of real martyrs; but that apparently is all that can be affirmed in support of the historicity of the story. Lightfoot summarizes a full discussion by saying that "the story condemns itself both in its framework and in its details," and that "there is no sufficient ground for assigning their martyrdom to the reign of Hadrian" (*AF* II. i. 502–505).

In the highly doubtful *Acts of Phocas* (16), who is said to have been martyred in Pontus under Trajanus, the martyr-bishop baptizes a number of soldiers at their own request (Conybeare 118: but see the remark of Harnack quoted above, pp. 204f n 10).

J. Rendel Harris (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, Jan. 1924, 41–44) conjectures on the basis of Tatianus' language, both in the *Oratio* and in his newly unearthed treatise on *Perfection according to the Saviour*, that Tatianus had himself seen military service. The evidence is not final, but in any case there is no ground for believing that he was ever in the army *after* his conversion, which seems to have taken place towards middle life.

status was expressed by the Church of their day.[1] This fact indicates further that, perhaps for some years before 170 A.D., soldiers in the legions had begun to be converted. It is also just possible—though perhaps hardly probable—that at this date some Christians may have begun to enlist after their conversion. In endeavouring to arrive at *the probable situation*, we must bear in mind, first of all, the fact that generally speaking Christianity could have had comparatively little attraction for the average soldier. It did, however, present certain features (monotheism,

[1] The pagan witnesses are the pillar of Marcus, Dio Cassius (lxxi. 8, 10), and Capitolinus (*Life of M. Antoninus Philosophus*, xxiv. 4, in *Hist. Aug.* ed. Peter i. 68) : cf. also Suidas, *s.v.* 'Ιουλιανός. no. 2. Of the Christian witnesses, the earliest is Apolinarius of Hierapolis, who gave a simple account of the incident—possibly in the apology which he addressed to M. Aurelius (so Harnack *C* i. 360f), though the dates are hard to reconcile. He speaks as if the whole legion had been Christian, and says that it received from the Emperor the name of κεραυνοβόλον in memory of the incident (so at least Eusebius reports him, *HE* v. v. 3f). Now there is no doubt at all that either Eusebius has misreported Apolinarius (so Lightfoot *AF* II. i. 491), or else Apolinarius himself made a mistake about the name of the legion : for Legio XII. was called Fulminata, not Fulminatrix, and had borne that name since the time of Augustus, or at least that of Nero. In view of this error, the value of Apolinarius as a witness for the existence of a *whole legion* of Christian soldiers simply disappears. The next witness whom we can date with any confidence is Tertullianus, who mentions the incident in *Apol.* 5 (i. 132, 197 A.D.) (illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussam) and in *Scap.* 4 (i. 548, 212 A.D.) (Christianorum militum orationibus ad Deum factis), but without committing himself to the number of soldiers. Even the so-called *Letter of Marcus Aurelius to the Senate* (text in Otto's *Justinus* i. 246ff, Lightfoot *AF* II. i. 485f, Blunt 133f), which some put before the time of Tertullianus, some as late as early in the fourth century (see below, pp. 579f n 6), and which is usually regarded as a Christian forgery (Lightfoot *AF* II. i. 488; Blunt 131f—Harnack has a thorough discussion of its possible sources in *Sitzungsberichte der königl. preuss. Akad. der Wissensch. zu Berlin*, 1894, 862–871), does not claim a whole legion of Christian soldiers—does not, in fact, mention the legion at all—but contents itself with the vague πλῆθος καὶ μέγεθος of τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν λεγομένους Χριστιανούς. Eusebius (*HE* v. v. 1–3; but cf. *Chron.* ad Ann. 2190 [Helm's edn. in *Die griech. christl. Schriftsteller*, etc., 207; Migne, *PG* xix. 563]; *Chronicon Paschale* in Migne *PG* xcii. 636; Harnack *C* i. 49) seems to have believed that the whole legion was Christian. The remarks of Xiphilinus (Dio Cassius lxxi. 9) are interesting, but much too late to be of any value as evidence. On the story and the problems connected with it, see *DCB* iv. 1024f (" There were some Christians among the soldiers of Marcus Aurelius, though there could not possibly have been a whole legion composed of Christians ") ; Doulcet 110–114; Lightfoot *AF* II. i. 487–491; Ramsay *CRE* 342–344 (" there were many Christian soldiers in the army " ; cf. the remark on 435, quoted above, p. 266 n 2) ; Bigelmair 185–189; Harnack in *Sitz. der kön. preuss. Ak. der Wiss.*, 1894, 835–882 (an exhaustive discussion), *ME* ii. 52f, 55, *MC* 56f (" Daraus folgt, dass die Zahl der Christen in der Legion keine unbeträchtliche gewesen sein kann. Bei jeder anderen Legion im Orient—mit Ausnahme vielleicht der legio X Fretensis, die in Syrien stand—wäre das in jener Zeit auffallend " ; but the twelfth legion was recruited in the neighbourhood of Melitene, where Christianity was strong) ; Westcott *TE* 117–127; De Jong 5f. On the Melitenian legion, see also below, p. 578 n 1.

absolutism, universalism, use of military terms, wars in Scripture, and so on) which would appeal to him.[1] Further, however clear most Christians might be as to the impossibility of service in the legions for themselves, yet in the absence of any unanimous and explicit decision on the subject, a converted soldier, habituated to military usages, might very easily fail to see clearly the inconsistency of his position, though not altogether unconscious of its difficulties, and would readily and naturally give himself the benefit of the apostolic dictum: "Let everyone remain in the calling wherein he was called."[2] The adoption of this decision in an increasingly large number of cases would be facilitated by three factors: firstly, the simple-mindedness of the soldiers themselves, who would be, for the most part, men of a somewhat uncultured and unreflective type; secondly, the gradual and steady growth throughout the Church of a certain moral laxity, which was engaging the serious and anxious attention of Christian leaders as early as the time of Hermas, and had become an acute problem by the time of Callistus: this abatement of the primitive moral rigour would naturally assist the process of conformity to the ways of the world; and thirdly, there was the tolerant connivance of the Church at large:[3] the number of cases was few, the ethical problem was unfamiliar and complicated,[4] the erection of Christ's banner in the devil's camp was in any case a matter for rejoicing, to leave the army on Christian grounds would have been a matter of great difficulty and danger,[5] and the issue was not seen with sufficient clearness to cause so extreme a step to be demanded generally from the new converts.[6] The operation and interaction of these various factors in the situation would explain how the divergence in principle and practice, between the majority and the minority, could come into being and continue for some time without creating difficulty sufficiently serious to leave its mark

[1] Harnack *ME* ii. 53 n 1; *MC* 54f.

[2] Harnack *ME* ii. 52, *MC* 49f. He considers that the eschatological expectation would tend to keep the more prudent Christians where they were, and to foster conservatism on questions of social ethics.

[3] "Man wird auch nachsichtiger gegen sie gewesen sein als gegen andere" (Harnack *MC* 51).

[4] Harnack (*MC* 52) says that, just as the State was viewed now as a satanic realm, now as a Divine institution, "so fällt auch der Soldatenstand unter eine doppelte Beleuchtung." This view of the imperial army as the magistrate's sword probably had something to do with the Church's willingness to serve and to allow Christians to serve. Cf. Harnack *ME* ii. 54 n.

[5] Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 664a.

[6] That it was very widely demanded in the next century will be seen later (pp. 430–433).

on our records.[1] In view, however, of the evidence of Celsus, we are not justified in assuming, as is often done,[2] that the existence of Christian soldiers was not felt at all in the Church to be in any way a reproach.

GLADIATORIAL SHOWS.—Without ignoring the wide differences between the moral issues sometimes involved in war and those involved in fighting in the arena, we may for the sake of convenience deal with the latter here, all the more because for the early Christians the two customs were very closely related to one another. It is in this period that we come across the first definite expressions of Christian feeling with regard to the gladiatorial shows.[3] The question does not seem to have arisen at all before the middle of the second century. I have found only two passages bearing on the subject in the Christian literature of our period; but the fact that one of them comes from Tatianus and the other from Athenagoras may be taken as indicating how widespread was the aversion felt towards them. Tatianus, after mentioning the boxing contests as the lesser evils, continues: "But the greater ones, who would not shrink from telling? Some, taking up idleness for the sake of profligacy, sell themselves to be slain. And the hungry man sells himself, and the rich buys those who are to do the killing. And for these the witnesses take their seats, and the combatants[4] engage in single fight over nothing, and no one comes down to the rescue. Is it good that these things should be done by you? He who is in high station among you gets together the army of men stained with slaughter, promising to maintain them like robbers.[5] The robbers come forth from him, and ye all assemble at the spectacle as judges, partly, of the wickedness of the president of the games, partly, of that of the gladiators. And he who is not present at the slaughter is grieved, because he was not condemned to witness wicked and foul acts. Ye sacrifice animals for the sake of eating flesh, and ye buy men to provide your soul with human slaughter,[6] nourishing it with most godless bloodshed.

[1] Harnack *ME* ii. 53, *MC* 51f.

[2] E.g. Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 662b ("The extant literature of the Church down to the close of the 2nd cent. betrays no sense of military service as incompatible with Christianity"), 663a ("The acceptance of the story" [of the 'Thundering Legion'] "proves not only that Christians must have been in the army but that their presence there did not raise the slightest sense of embarrassment or disapproval in the Church").

[3] For an account of these shows, see Lecky i. 271–291; on the Christian opposition to heathen theatres and games, see Harnack *ME* i. 300–303; Bigelmair 261ff; Guignebert 483.

[4] Or (?) boxers (πυκτεύοντες).

[5] λῃστοτροφεῖν ἐπαγγελλόμενος.

[6] τῇ ψυχῇ διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωποσφαγίαν παρεχόμενοι.

Thus the robber slaughters for the sake of taking (booty); while the rich man buys gladiators for the sake of (their) being killed." [1] The remarks of Athenagoras are less aggressive, but equally definite. They occur in the course of his defence of the Christians against the charge of eating human flesh. After pointing out the absurdity of raising this charge against those who cannot endure to see a man slain even justly, he goes on: "But who (among you) does not feel an uncontrollable zest for the contests of armed men with one another and with wild beasts, and especially the contests conducted by you? But we, who consider that to see a man being slain is next door to killing him, have renounced such sights. How then, when we do not even look on, lest we should inflict guilt and pollution on ourselves, are we able to commit murder?" [2]

## CHAPTER VII

## THE INSTITUTIONS OF FAMILY-LIFE, PROPERTY, AND SLAVERY

Family-Life.—On questions concerning the relations of the sexes and family-life generally, there is very little that is new or characteristic in the Christian literature of this period. *Women take an active and dignified part* and are treated with marked respect, not only in such outlying sects as the Marcionites [3] and Montanists,[4] but also in the Great Church.[5] Tatianus draws a lengthy contrast between the Hellenic and the Christian attitudes to women, very much of course to the disadvantage of the former: he handles with great severity the Hellenic custom of honouring immoral women with statues and otherwise.[6]

Perhaps the most significant feature in the Christian thought of the time on the subject is the largely increased emphasis that is

[1] Tat. 23 (98, 100).

[2] Athenag. *Legat.* 35 (180), accepting Schwartz' slight emendation of the corrupt text. See also above, p. 264 n 3.

[3] Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 62; Harnack, *Marcion*, 185f.

[4] Eus. *HE* v. xvi. 9, 12f, 16–19, 22.

[5] Plin. *Ep.* x. 96 (ancillis, quae ministrae dicebantur): cf. also the extent to which women figure in the *Shepherd* of Hermas. For women in the early Church, cf. Uhlhorn *Ch* 165–177, 184f; the monographs of Zscharnack and Stöcker; and C. H. Turner's article on 'Ministries of Women in the Primitive Church' in *The Constructive Quarterly*, Sept. 1919, 434–459.

[6] Tat. 33f (128–136).

laid on the value and virtue of *celibacy, virginity, and abstinence from sexual intercourse* on the part of married persons. This feeling seems to have been strongest among those who were regarded as heretics, e.g. Basileides,[1] Saturninus,[2] the Naassenes,[3] Marcion,[4] Tatianus,[5] and Julius Cassianus.[6] In the Gnostic 'Acts of Andrew,' women who come under Christian influence abstain from intercourse with their husbands.[7] But even in more orthodox circles, there were many who valued the excellence of chastity very highly.[8] Thus Athenagoras says: "Thou wouldest find among us many, both men and women, growing old unmarried, in the hope of being nearer to God."[9] Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, wrote (about 170 A.D.) to the Christians of Cnossus in Crete, and exhorted their bishop Pinytus not to make chastity compulsory, but to have regard to human weakness. Pinytus replied, urging Dionysius next time he wrote to impart stronger food in the shape of more advanced teaching, lest the Cnossian Christians should grow up weak on a dietary calculated for children.[10] The sentiment which pronounced *second marriages* illegitimate or at least undesirable was even more generally held.[11]

Apart from these limitations, *the married state*, entered upon for the purpose of producing offspring, was normally regarded as legitimate and honourable.[12] The Christian household frequently

[1] *DCB* i. 275f.

[2] *DCB* iv. 587b: he taught that marriage and generation came from Satan.

[3] *DCB* iv. 85b: cf. the Gospel-fragment quoted by them, as given by Preuschen 12 (no sex in the next life).

[4] Harnack, *Marcion*, 186f.

[5] Tat. *frs.* 5 (1f), 10 (3): cf. Schwartz *TU* iv. 1. 51f and *DCB* iv. 803b.

[6] *DCB* i. 413a.

[7] *Act. Andr.* 4–8 (James 351ff).

[8] *GEg.* 1a (2); 2 Cl. xii. 5; Just. *1 Ap.* xv. 4, 6 (καὶ πολλοί τινες καὶ πολλαὶ ἑξηκοντοῦται καὶ ἑβδομηκοντοῦται, οἳ ἐκ παίδων ἐμαθητεύθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἄφθοροι διαμένουσι· καὶ εὔχομαι κατὰ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων τοιούτους δεῖξαι· the reference to virginity here is not quite certain, but may be considered probable in view of the quotation in 4 of Mt xix. 12, and the fact that there would be nothing extraordinary in many married persons having remained for years faithful to the marriage-tie), xxix. 2f (an Alexandrian Christian, Felix, being refused permission to have himself castrated, remained chaste), *Res.* 3 (218–222); Herm. *S* ix. xi. Cf. Lecky ii. 320ff.

[9] Athenag. *Legat.* 33 (172); cf. *Res.* 21 (274). The apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, which are catholic, not Gnostic (Harnack *C* i. 501; Krüger 370; Bardenhewer 103), represent chastity and virginity as specially virtuous and blessed (*Act. Thec.* 5–16).

[10] Eus. *HE* iv. xxiii. 6–8. Eusebius emphasizes Pinytus' orthodoxy.

[11] Herm. *M* iv. iv. 1f; Athenag. *Legat.* 33 (172) (ὁ γὰρ δεύτερος [γάμος] εὐπρεπής ἐστι μοιχεία, κτλ.): cf. Lecky ii. 326.

[12] *Diog.* v. 6; Just. *1 Ap.* xxix. 1, *Dial.* 110 (390); Athenag. *Legat.* 33 (170, 172), *Res.* 21 (274): cf. *Res.* 12 (232) on the desire for offspring and descendants. On continence in marriage, see Herm. *Vis.* ii. ii. 3 (cf. Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn iii. 19f). The Church appears as a bride in Herm. *Vis.* iv. ii. For Elkesai's favourable view of marriage, see *ERE* v. 263b.

appears in Hermas as a sort of religious unit.[1] Sacred, however, as were the claims and responsibilities of family life, they were regarded as distinctly subordinate to those of Christianity.[2]

All *sexual intercourse outside the limits of marriage* was sternly prohibited.[3] The Christians frequently inveighed against the excesses prevalent in the pagan world around them ;[4] and the fact that the Hellenic and other myths attributed such practices to Divine beings lent tremendous weight to the Christian onslaught on polytheism.[5] Marriage after *divorce* was generally reckoned as equivalent to adultery :[6] separation, without remarriage, was allowed in extreme cases.[7]

In regard to the *duties of parents*, Christians strongly condemned as murderous two customs of the time, those, namely, of abortion[8] and infanticide either by means of exposure or otherwise.[9] The duty of parents to teach and persuade their children to become Christians is explicitly recognized.[10] As bearing on the *duties of children*, we may notice the repetition of the command to honour father and mother,[11] and the horror with which the parricidal stories of the heathen gods were regarded.[12]

PROPERTY.—Christians felt it to be their duty not to be anxious concerning the *provision for their bodily needs*, but to rely as Jesus had bidden them on the Providence of God.[13] At the same time,

[1] Herm. *Vis.* I. i. 9, iii. 1f, *M* II. 7, v. i. 7, XII. iii. 6, *S* v. iii. 9, VII. 2f, x. i. 2, iii. 2.

[2] Arist. 15 (111) (*οὐ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ἀδελφοὺς ἑαυτοὺς καλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ψυχήν*) ; Just. *2 Ap.* ii. 1–8 ; Cels. ap. Orig. *Cels.* iii. 55 (where a description is given of the Christian propagandist of lowly rank seducing children of the upper classes from their filial obedience). Cf. Harnack *ME* i. 393–398.

[3] Arist. 15 (111 ; Syriac, 49) ; 2 Cl. iv. 3, xv. 1, etc. A few antinomian sects like the Carpocratians set aside such restrictions on principle.

[4] Arist. 11 (107) ; 2 P i. 4 ; 2 Cl. vi. 4 (*οὗτος [ὁ αἰὼν] λέγει μοιχείαν*) ; Herm. *M* IV. i. 9, XI. 8 (*ἐπιθυμίας ματαίας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*), *S* VI. ii. 3, iii. 3, VII. 2, VIII. xi. 3, x. i. 3 ; Just. *Dial.* 95 (344) (. . . *οὐχὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον πάντα τὰ ἔθνη φανήσονται ὑπὸ κατάραν ὄντα καὶ εἰδωλολατροῦντα καὶ παιδοφθοροῦντα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κακὰ ἐργαζόμενα ;*).

[5] Little purpose would be served by giving a list of passages in which the various forms of sexual vice are censured by Christian authors. Some references on the subject of the attribution of these vices to the gods have been given above on p. 245.

[6] Herm. *M* IV. i. 6–11 ; Just. *1 Ap.* xv. 3, 5 ; Athenag. *Legat.* 33 fin. (172, 174).

[7] Herm. *M* IV. i. 6 ; Just. *2 Ap.* ii. 1–8 (cf. Bigelmair 246f).

[8] *Apoc. Petr.* 26 (86), 2 (87f), 3 (88) ; Athenag. *Legat.* 35 fin. (180).

[9] *Apoc. Petr.* 1 (87) ; *Diog.* v. 6 ; Just. *1 Ap.* xxvii. 1, xxix. 1 ; Athenag. *Legat.* 35 fin. (120).

[10] Arist. 15 (Syriac, 49) ; Herm. *Vis.* I. iii. 1f, II. ii. 2–4, iii. 1 ; *M. Just.* iv. 6 (*ἀπὸ τῶν γονέων παρειλήφαμεν τὴν καλὴν ταύτην ὁμολογίαν*) : cf. Dobschütz 353.

[11] Arist. 15 (111) ; Athenag. *Res.* 23 (280).

[12] Arist. 8f (104) ; Just. *1 Ap.* xxi. 5.

[13] *Diog.* ix. 6 ; Just. *1 Ap.* xv. 14–16.

they disapproved of idleness, and commended labour.[1] They recognized that the needs of the body necessitated the use of goods, and therefore the *possession* of them.[2] They lived in houses,[3] and owned property.[4] They believed that God approved of *commerce*: Aristeides says that the wind "was created by God for the sake of men for the voyages of ships and the transport of foodstuffs and for their other needs."[5] They condemned *theft*[6] and the covetousness that leads to it.[7]

While recognizing the right of property, their best representatives preserved the traditional Christian attitude of cautious aversion to *wealth*,[8] and definitely denounced the love of money.[9] Occasion now existed within their own ranks for such warnings and denunciations; for during this period the number of well-to-do people in the Church seems to have perceptibly increased, and among them doubtless there would be some at least whose Christianity was subordinate to their business-interests.[10] The state of *poverty* was glorified as specially suitable for Christians:[11] it was,

[1] Just. *Dial.* 88 (324) (Jesus worked as a carpenter, *ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ τεκτονικὰ ἔργα εἰργάζετο ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὤν, ἄροτρα καὶ ζυγά· διὰ τούτων καὶ τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης σύμβολα διδάσκων καὶ ἐνεργῆ βίον*); *GP* xiv. 60 (20) (Simon and Andrew go fishing with Levi).

[2] Athenag. *Res.* 21 (274).

[3] 2 Cl. xvii. 3; and see above, p. 283 n 1.

[4] Meliton (Eus. *HE* iv. xxvi. 5) calls the enemies of the Christians *τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐρασταί* and says that they *φανερῶς λῃστεύουσι*.

[5] Arist. 5 (103, cf. Syriac, 39).

[6] Plin. *Ep.* x. 96 (ne furta, ne latrocinia . . . committerent); Presb. ap. Iren. iv. xxvii. 3 (ii. 243); Herm. *M* viii. 5; Just. *2 Ap.* ii. 16; Athenag. *Res.* 23 (280, 282). Plinius (*l.c.*) and Arist. 15 (Syriac, 48) say that Christians do not deny a deposit. Heathen gods were represented as guilty of theft (Arist. 8, 10, 13 (104f, 109)).

[7] Presb. ap. Iren. *l.c.*; Basileides ap. Cl. *Strom.* iv. xii. 86 (*τὸ μηδενὸς ἐπιθυμεῖν*); Arist. 15 (111); 2 P ii. 3, 14; Herm. *M* viii. 5, *S* i. 11, vi. v. 5; *Diog.* x. 5; 2 Cl. v. 6f. But the Greek word *πλεονεξία* often refers to illicit sexual passion.

[8] *Apoc. Petr.* 30 (86f); 2 Cl. v. 6f, vi. 1f, x. 3f, xx. 1, 4; Herm. *S* i., ii. 5, etc. etc.; Just. *1 Ap.* xv. 11; Tat. 11 (48) (*πλουτεῖν οὐ βούλομαι*); *Diog.* x. 5.

[9] *Apoc. Petr.* 31 (87) (the punishment of those who lent money on usury); 2 Cl. iv. 3, vi. 4; Just. *1 Ap.* xiv. 2. Tatianus (25 (102)) reproaches the philosophers for making money by their philosophy.

[10] Plin. *Ep.* x. 96 (multi enim omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus); Hadrianus, *Epist. ad Servianum* ap. Vopiscus, *Firmus*, etc. viii. 6f (*Hist. Aug.* ed. Peter ii. 225) (unus illis deus nummus est. hunc Christiani, hunc Judaei, hunc omnes uenerantur et gentes); Tat. 32 (124) (*φιλοσοφοῦσί τε* [i.e. as Christians] *οὐ μόνον οἱ πλουτοῦντες, κτλ.*). Hermas, no doubt, classed wealthy Christians in the main with the down-graders. Cf. Bigelmair 207–213 (". . . So fanden sich von Anfang an unter den Christen neben Armen, wenn auch in geringerer Anzahl Reiche und Gebildete. Das zweite Jahrhundert sah die Zahl der letzteren grösser werden").

[11] 2 Cl. v. 6, xx. 1; Herm. *S* i. 6 (*ὡς ἐπὶ ξένης κατοικῶν μηδὲν πλέον ἑτοίμαζε σεαυτῷ εἰ μὴ τὴν αὐτάρκειαν τὴν ἀρκετήν σοι*· cf. Holtzm. *GA* 47 and Weinel *Th.* 440); *Diog.* v. 13; Athenag. *Res.* 13 init. (238): cf. the voluntary poverty of Onesiphorus in *Act. Thec.* 23.

however, felt to be an abuse that some should suffer need while others had abundance, and there was consequently a demand, not only for social righteousness in general, as called for in the Old Testament,[1] but also for a more definite equalization of property by means of extended *charity*. "Rich is he," says the 'Preaching (?) of Peter,' "who has mercy on many, and who, in imitation of God, gives of what he has. For God giveth out of what He has created all things to all men. Understand then, ye rich, that ye ought to serve, for ye have received more than ye yourselves need. Learn that others lack what ye have in abundance. Be ashamed to hold on to what belongs to others. Imitate the equal fairness of God, and no one will be poor." [2] Justinus says that Christians shared their property with one another,[3] though he probably does not mean more than that the Christian poor were supported out of a common fund. Communism in the strict sense was apparently never attempted outside the primitive church of Jerusalem: [4] but almsgiving was constantly enjoined and extensively practised.[5]

SLAVERY.—Christian thought is still at a standstill on this subject. We learn little from the continuance of that metaphorical usage, which denominated men the slaves of God,[6] or Jesus,[7] or the devil or demons or pagan gods,[8] or the virtues,[9] or evil,[10] or Mamon.[11] We know that many Christians at this time were slaves;[12] and it appears that as a general rule they were willing to remain so.[13] There were also many Christians who owned slaves

[1] Just. *1 Ap.* xxxvii. 8, xliv. 3, lxi. 7, *Dial.* 15 (56), 34 (114), 64 (228): the last two passages quote Ps lxxii. 4, the others Isa i. 16–18, lviii. 6f.

[2] *Praedic. Petr.* ap. Hilgenfeld 57 (James 19). The passage is said to come from the *Teaching* of Peter, but this is probably to be identified with the *Preaching*: cf. Harnack, *Gesch. der altchr. Litt.* i. 25, 27. On almsgiving as the special duty of the rich, see Herm. *S* II. 5–10.

[3] Just. *1 Ap.* xiv. 2: *νῦν καὶ ἃ ἔχομεν εἰς κοινὸν φέροντες καὶ παντὶ δεομένῳ κοινωνοῦντες.*

[4] Uhlhorn *Ch.* 127f.

[5] Eus. *HE* III. xxxvii. 2 (the subapostolic disciples obeyed Christ's command, *ἐνδεέσι νέμοντες τὰς οὐσίας*); Arist. 15 (111); 2 Cl. xvi. 4; Herm. *Vis.* III. ix. 2–6, *S* I. 8, etc. etc.; *Diog.* x. 6; Just. *1 Ap.* xv. 10, lxvii. 1, 6f; *Test. XII Patr., Zeb.* vi.–viii. (Charles *APOT* ii. 330). On the whole subject, Bartlet *P* 98f.

[6] 2 Cl. vi. 1, xi. 1, xvii. 7, xviii. 1, xx. 1; Herm. *Vis.* I. ii. 4, IV. i. 3, etc. Aristeides ridicules the Hellenic myths representing certain gods as having been the slaves of men (Arist. 8 (104)): cf. Just. *Dial.* 134 (476, 478), where Christ is pictured as enduring slavery for the sake of men.

[7] 2 P i. 1; *M. Pol.* ix. 3, xx. 1.

[8] Herm. *M* XII. v. 4; *Diog.* ii. 5, 10; Just. *1 Ap.* xiv. 1, xliv. 12, *2 Ap.* v. 4.

[9] Herm. *Vis.* III. viii. 8, etc.

[10] 2 P ii. 19; Just. *2 Ap.* xi. 7.

[11] 2 Cl. vi. 1.

[12] Plin. *Ep.* x. 96 (ancillis); *M. Just.* iv. 3 (*Εὐέλπιστος, δοῦλος Καίσαρος*).

[13] Tat. 4 (18), 11 (50) (*δοῦλος ἐὰν ὦ, δουλείαν ὑπομένω*); Dobschütz 353–355.

themselves, sometimes in large numbers; and in times of persecution the evidence of these slaves was eagerly sought for by the persecutors.[1] A chance remark of Hermas, who argues that, "if the gentiles punish their slaves if one (of them) denies his own master," God also will punish the renegade Christian,[2] rather indicates that the unfaithfulness of a slave to a Christian master, and perhaps we may say also the punishment of a slave by a Christian master, were comparatively rare occurrences. Justinus mentions the endurance of evil on behalf of one's slaves as an example of that genuine goodness, which Christ enjoined in commanding us to love not only our friends but also our enemies.[3] He quotes the prophecy in which Canaan was sentenced to slavery,[4] and his words may perhaps be taken as implying a dim idea of the Divine sanction of the institution itself.

[1] Just. *2 Ap.* xii. 4; Athenag. *Legat.* 35 (178) (καίτοι καὶ δοῦλοί εἰσιν ἡμῖν, τοῖς μὲν καὶ πλείους, τοῖς δὲ ἐλάττους, οὐς οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων οὐδεὶς καθ' ἡμῶν τὰ τηλικαῦτα οὐδὲ κατεψεύσατο). A fragment of Irenæus, referring to the persecution at Lugdunum in 177 A.D., reads as follows: Χριστιανῶν γὰρ κατηχουμένων δούλους Ἕλληνες συλλαβόντες, εἶτα μαθεῖν τι παρὰ τούτων δῆθεν ἀπόῤῥητον περὶ Χριστιανῶν ἀναγκάζοντες (the syntax is faulty), οἱ δοῦλοι οὗτοι, μὴ ἔχοντες πῶς τὸ τοῖς ἀναγκάζουσι καθ' ἡδονὴν ἐρεῖν, παρόσον ἤκουον τῶν δεσποτῶν, τὴν θείαν μετάληψιν αἷμα καὶ σῶμα εἶναι Χριστοῦ, αὐτοὶ νομίσαντες τῷ ὄντι αἷμα καὶ σάρκα εἶναι, τοῦτο ἐξεῖπον τοῖς ἐκζητοῦσι. κτλ. (Iren. *fr.* 13 (ii. 482f.)).

[2] Herm. *S* ix. xxviii. 8.

[3] Just. *Res.* 8 (240). There *may* be an allusion to the Christian duty of redeeming slaves in Herm. *M* viii. 10: ἐξ ἀναγκῶν λυτροῦσθαι τοὺς δούλους τοῦ Θεοῦ.

[4] Just. *Dial.* 139 (490).

# PART V.—THE PERIOD OF THE GREAT THINKERS, 180–250 A.D.

## LITERARY INTRODUCTION

TAKING first the five great writers, who amply justify the title we have given to the period of Church history in which they wrote, we enumerate briefly those of their writings that have been used as sources for this period.

The work of *Irenæus* falls within the first twenty years of our period, the bulk of it within the first decade. His main production was the work in five books 'Against Heresies' (Ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀνατρ πὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως), extant for the most part only in a Latin translation.[1] We have also his treatise 'In Proof of the Apostolic Preaching' (Εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος), in an Armenian version which has been translated into German, and now more recently into English: it was written some time after the work 'Against Heresies.'[2] There are also some fragments.[3]

The writings of *Clemens of Alexandria* fall roughly between the years 185 and 210 A.D., and include the 'Sketches' (Ὑποτυπώσεις —extant only in fragments), the 'Exhortation to the Hellenes' (Προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας), the three books of the 'Instructor' (Παιδάγωγος), the eight books of 'Miscellanies' (Στρωματεῖς), and the small treatise entitled 'Who is the Rich Man who is being saved?' (Τ ί ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος;), and a few fragments.

The pertinent treatises of *Tertullianus* of Carthago cover the years from 197 to about 222 A.D. To determine their exact chronology is a task full of difficulties; but it is possible to arrange them provisionally in broad groups. To 197 A.D. belong 'Ad Martyres,' 'Ad Nationes,' 'Apologeticus,' and 'De Testimonio

[1] For the date, 181–189 A.D., see Harnack *C* i. 320, 381.

[2] Iren. *Demonstr.* 99 (150); Eus. *HE* v. xxvi.; Gwatkin *ECH* i. 196ff.

[3] Iren. *fr.* 1–46 (ii. 470–511). Four of these fragments (35–38) are strongly suspected of having been forged by Pfaff, their first editor. The case apparently cannot be proved either way (Krüger 152; Bardenhewer 123; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 111); but as the fragments contain nothing that is not given us by other authors, I have thought it best not to utilize them.

Animæ.' To the years 198–203 A.D. belong the following: 'De Spectaculis,' 'De Cultu Feminarum,' 'De Baptismo,' 'De Paenitentia,' 'De Patientia,' 'De Oratione,' 'Ad Uxorem,' 'De Idololatria,' 'De Praescriptione Haereticorum,' 'Adversus Hermogenem,' and 'Adversus Judaeos.' About 202 A.D. began his leanings towards Montanism, under the influence of which he appears to have written (203–206 A.D.) 'De Exhortatione Castitatis' and 'De Virginibus Velandis.' Then came his rupture with the Catholic Church, after which he wrote 'Adversus Valentinianos' (207–208 A.D.), 'De Pallio' (209–210 A.D.), 'De Corona Militis' (211 A.D.), 'De Fuga in Persecutione' (212 A.D.), 'Ad Scapulam' (212 A.D.), and 'Scorpiace' (213 A.D.). To the same period belong 'De Carne Christi,' 'De Anima,' 'De Resurrectione Carnis,' and the five books 'Adversus Marcionem.' Between 213 and 222 A.D. came 'Adversus Praxean,' 'De Monogamia,' 'De Jejunio,' and 'De Pudicitia.'[1] The Pseudo-Tertullianic fragment, 'De Execrandis Gentium Diis,' probably belongs to the fourth century (after the triumph of Constantinus),[2] and has therefore not been used.

The literary activity of *Hippolytus of Rome*, the opponent and rival of the bishop Callistus, covers the first third of the third century. The treatises with which we are concerned are the 'Concerning the Antichrist' (Ἀπόδειξις περὶ Χριστοῦ καὶ Ἀντιχρίστου, 200 A.D.), the commentary 'on the (book of) Daniel' (Εἰς τὸν Δανιήλ, 202–204 A.D.), the so-called 'Homily against Noëtus' (Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν αἵρεσιν Νοήτου τινός, about 200–210 A.D.), the 'Heads against Gaius,' of which only fragments remain (about 211–217 A.D.), and the 'Refutation of all the Heresies,' otherwise known as the 'Philosophoumena' (222–230 A.D.). A few of the fragments of Hippolytus' exegetical and other works, which cannot be exactly dated, are also useful. It is probable that the last two chapters of the Epistle to Diognetus also come from Hippolytus' hand.[3]

A word must be said here in regard to the problematic document known as the *Canons of Hippolytus*. It is one of a whole collection of documents and fragments in different languages and of different dates, but all related to one another and all dealing with rules and regulations to be observed in the government of the Church. Into the tangled question regarding the date and

[1] This is the scheme given by Harnack (*C* ii. 295f). The dates in the text are meant to be approximate only.
[2] Harnack *C* ii. 288 n: cf. Krüger 278; Bardenhewer 190.
[3] Harnack *C* ii. 232f; Bardenhewer 214.

mutual relationship of these various documents and fragments, I have neither the opportunity nor the ability to enter. We are apparently still far from any definite theory that adequately accounts for all the phenomena, and at the same time commands the general assent of scholars. Hippolytus is known to have interested himself in ecclesiastical regulations, and to have written *περὶ χαρισμάτων ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις*.[1] If these words be taken to indicate one work, then we are not justified in carrying back to Hippolytus any parts of the extant Church-Orders that do not deal with the subject of *χαρίσματα*, i.e. spiritual gifts, or personal endowments for the ministry of the Church.[2] If, on the other hand, two works are intended, then the title *ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις* may be that of a work on Church-procedure in its more general aspect. It then becomes a question whether any, and, if so, which, of the extant documents represents the Hippolytean work. Two documents are in question: firstly, the so-called 'Canons of Hippolytus,' which cannot have come from Hippolytus as they stand, and must in any case have been heavily interpolated;[3] and secondly, the so-called 'Egyptian Church-Order,'[4] which has recently been claimed as virtually a composition of Hippolytus himself.[5] If this last hypothesis could be accepted without question, our task would be considerably simplified. The acceptance of it, however, depends very largely on our being able to regard the *περὶ χαρισμάτων ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις* as two works, and not one. If that supposition is wrong, then we are warranted in regarding as dating from some part of the third century only those sections which the two documents have in common, and as Hippolytean only those of them which can fairly be construed as dealing with *χαρίσματα*, though exactly how much that term covers it is difficult to say. On the whole, it is not improbable that Hippolytus composed detailed regulations for Church-management; and, in view of this, and of the unsettled position of the problem, I have thought it best to quote both the documents in question for the period before us, and to make brief references to them (at least

[1] Harnack *C* ii. 501f. [2] Cf. *Const. Apost.* VIII. i.–iii.

[3] Achelis in *TU* VI. 4 gives (38–137) a Latin version of the *Canones Hippolyti*, and argues for the authorship (in the main) of Hippolytus. A German version from better manuscripts is given by Riedel, 193–230.

[4] Text in Funk *DCAp.* ii. 97–119 (*Constitutiones Ecclesiae Aegyptiacae*) and in *TS* VIII. 4. 175–194.

[5] By Dom Conolly in *TS* VIII. 4 (1916), see viif, 147f in that work. Of its various versions, Conolly declares the Latin to be on the whole the most useful (5f, 63). He regards the *Canons of Hippolytus* as a late (350–600 A.D.) and unskilful redaction of the Egyptian Church-Order (vii., 59, 62, 132f, 147).

to the Egyptian Church-Order) in the ensuing period.[1] It may be mentioned that the Church-regulations of Hippolytus must at a fairly early date have found their way to Egypt and Syria, where they became the basis of the 'Apostolic Constitutions' and of the 'Testament of our Lord' towards the latter part of the fourth century.[2]

The vast productions of *Origenes* were for the most part composed during the second quarter of the third century. Besides a few passages from his exegetical works, which will be specified as we come to them, the following works may be mentioned: 'On First Principles' (Περὶ ἀρχῶν, 220–230 A.D.), extant for the most part only in a Latin version, 'Concerning Prayer' (Περὶ εὐχῆς, about 233 A.D.), the 'Exhortation to Martyrdom' (Εἰς μαρτύριον προτρεπτικὸς λόγος, about 236 A.D.), the letters to those who censured his zeal in Hellenic studies (some time before 231 A.D.),[3] to Gregorius Thaumaturgus (236–237 A.D.), and to Julius Africanus (240 A.D.), and finally and most important of all, his great reply to Celsus, in eight books (Κατὰ Κέλσου, 246–248 A.D.).

Besides theses tars of the first magnitude, there are several authors and writings of minor importance that have to be consulted. These are: the three apologetic books addressed 'to Autolycus' by *Theophilus*, bishop of Antiochia, shortly after 180 A.D.;[4] the *Pseudo-Justinian* 'Address to the Hellenes' (Λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας, or 'Oratio ad Gentiles'), written possibly before the end of the second century;[5] the fragments of two Anti-montanists cited by Eusebius, an *unnamed Author* and *Apollonius*,[6] the former of whom wrote about 192 A.D., the latter about 197 A.D.; the letter addressed by *Polycrates*, bishop of Ephesus, to Victor, bishop of Rome, soon after 190 A.D.;[7] the *Muratorian Fragment* on the Canon; the *Inscription of Avercius*;[8] the fragments of *Gaius*, a learned ecclesiastic who probably belonged to the Church of Rome and wrote in the early years of the third century;[9] the *Pseudo-Melitonian Syriac*

[1] Cf., besides the authorities already quoted, Krüger 341f, Harnack *C* ii. 501–514; Funk *DCAp.* ii. xix.–xxviii.; Bardenhewer 219, 353–357; Maclean 156ff. See also below, p. 460.

[2] Conolly in *TS* VIII. 4. 35, 133: cf. Maclean 166.

[3] Eus. *HE* VI. xix. 11–14.

[4] Harnack *A* 282–298, *C* i. 319.

[5] Krüger 113; Bardenhewer 53: cf. Harnack *A* 155f, *C* i. 515–517.

[6] Eus. *HE* v. xvi.–xviii.

[7] Eus. *HE* v. xxiv. 1–8: for the date, Harnack *C* i. 323.

[8] Harnack *C* ii. 183 ("spätestens am Anfang des 3. Jahrh.").

[9] His fragments are collected by Routh (ii. 127–134). We gather further information as to his views from the fragments of Hippolytus' *Heads against Gaius*.

*Apology*, addressed either to Caracalla or Elagabalus in Syria;[1] the 'Chronographia' and 'Embroidered Girdles' (Κεστοί) of *Julius Africanus*, the former finished in 221 A.D.,[2] the latter dedicated to Alexander Severus (222–235 A.D.) in the earlier part of his reign;[3] the *Pseudo-Cyprianic treatises* 'De Montibus Sina et Sion,' composed somewhat about 210–240 A.D.,[4] and 'De Pascha Computus,' written shortly before Easter 243 A.D.;[5] the 'Panegyric on Origenes' (Εἰς Ὠριγένην) delivered by his pupil *Gregorius Thaumaturgus* at Cæsarea about 240–242 A.D.;[6] the dialogue 'Octavius' written (perhaps in or near Rome, or possibly in Africa) by *Minucius Felix*, probably during the last fifteen years of our period, though some place it before Tertullianus[7] (in any case we hardly need to put it outside the limits of our present period); the 'De Trinitate' of *Novatianus*; the fragments of the work of *Dionysius of Alexandria* 'On Nature' (Περὶ φύσεως)[8] and of his commentary on Ecclesiastes;[9] and three early works of *Cyprianus*, bishop of Carthago, viz. 'Ad Donatum,' 'Ad Quirinum testimoniorum (adversus Judaeos) libri tres,' and 'De Habitu Virginum.'[10] These works of the three last-named authors appear to have been written a few years before 250 A.D. The men belong, however, in the main to the next period.[11]

In addition to these writings we have to include certain *martyr-*

[1] The Syriac text is printed by Otto (*Corpus Apologet. Christ.*, ix. 501–511), with a Latin translation (*op. cit.* 423–432), introduction (379–386, 460), and notes (460–478): an English version appears in *ANCL* xxiib. 112–124. Cf. also Harnack *A* 261–264, *C* i. 522–524; *DCB* iii. 895.

[2] Routh ii. 238–309; Harnack *C* ii. 90.

[3] Gelzer i. 12ff. The fragments of the only part of the Κεστοί that concerns us, that, namely, which deals with the military art (στρατηγικά), are printed in *Veterum Mathematicorum . . . Opera*, Paris, 1693, 275–303 (see below, pp. 414f n 6). A summary and partial translation in French is given by Guischard (see above, p. xl.) (401–442), with an introduction (397–401). The termination of the eighteenth book is given by Grenfell and Hunt in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, iii. (1903) 36–41.

[4] Hartel iii. 104–119; Harnack *C* ii. 384.

[5] Hartel iii. 248–271; Harnack *C* ii. 381f.

[6] The best Greek text is that published by Koetschau, in the *Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften*, in 1894 (Freiburg and Leipzig (Mohr)). For the date, Harnack *C* ii. 95: cf. Bardenhewer 170f.

[7] *DCB* iii. 922–924 (234 A.D.); Harnack *C* ii. 330 (238–249 A.D.); Krüger 141 (reign of Marcus Aurelius); Bardenhewer 72 (beginning of Commodus' reign).

[8] Routh iv. 393–419.

[9] *ANCL* xx. 242–250.

[10] Harnack *C* ii. 363f, 366; Krüger 283f, 288: cf. Bardenhewer 194, 196.

[11] It is quite possible that some of the extant letters of Cyprianus were written before 250 A.D.; but it cannot apparently be proved that any of them were so. For the sake of simplicity, therefore, I reserve them all to the next period.

*acts*, those, namely, of the *Martyrs of Scilli* (condemned in July 180 A.D.),[1] of the senator *Apollonius* (180–185 A.D.),[2] of *Perpetua and Felicitas*, who were martyred with others, apparently at Carthago, in March 203 A.D.[3] We must also include the *Acts of Peter*[4] and the Gnostic *Acts of Thomas*:[5] with the latter, as emanating from the same Gnostic School (that of *Bardesanes*), must be taken the 'Dialogue on Fate,' otherwise known as 'The Book of the Laws of the Countries.'[6] The apocryphal literature of the period includes the Gnostic and heretical *Gospel of the Ebionites* (otherwise called the 'Gospel of the Twelve Apostles,' about 200 A.D.),[7] the fictitious *Correspondence between Paul and Corinth* (about 180–200 A.D.),[8] the fictitious *Correspondence between Jesus and Abgar*, King of Edessa, and the appended *Acts of Thaddæus*, the two last-named having been written in Syriac perhaps about the middle of the third century.[9]

The foregoing, together with certain information supplied by *Eusebius* in his 'Ecclesiastical History,' complete the list of original sources used in the ensuing study. In order to make the list a complete enumeration of the known Christian productions of the period, one would have to add those writings of which nothing now remains to us, those which contribute virtually nothing to the subject in hand (fragments of Rhodon, Serapion of Antiochia, Pantænus, Maximus, the Ophite 'Gospel of Eva,' Noetus of Smyrna, most of the literature dealing with the Paschal controversy, Clemens' 'Hymn to Christ,' the fragments of Ambrosius' letter to Origenes and of the letters of Alexander of Jerusalem, the letters of Julius Africanus to Origenes and Aristeides, and the fragments of the lost works of Tertullianus), and those which, on account of their great bulk and comparative irrelevance of

[1] *TS* i. 2. 112ff; Gebhardt 22–27.

[2] Gebhardt 44–60 (Greek and Latin); Conybeare 35–48 (English translation of the Armenian version).

[3] *TS* i. 2. 60ff; also Gebhardt 61–95. After going through Neumann's careful summary (*SK* 274–331) of the narratives found in the *Acta Sanctorum* referring to this period, I come to the conclusion that there is practically no reliable historical material to be derived from them, beyond what we have in the martyr-acts referred to in the text.

[4] Harnack *C* i. 549–560, ii. 170–172; Krüger 89f; Bardenhewer 88, 98–100; James 300.

[5] Harnack *C* i. 545; Bardenhewer 106–108; Krüger 92–94; James 364. We possess the Acts only in a Catholic recension.

[6] Krüger 76; Harnack *C* i. 534; Bardenhewer 78f. The book is preserved in Syriac; there is an English version in *ANCL* xxiib. 85–111. The date would be not much earlier than the middle of the third century.

[7] Harnack *C* i. 625–631, ii. 178; James 8–10.

[8] Harnack *C* i. 507.

[9] Eus. *HE* i. xiii. 5–20.

subject-matter, I have not explored in detail, viz. most of the exegetical writings and fragments of Hippolytus (except, of course, the great commentary 'on Daniel') and of Origenes, the Hexapla, Symmachus' version of the Septuagint, the 'Gnomes' of Sextus,[1] and the fragments of Theophilus' commentary on the Gospels.[2]

## CHAPTER I

## THE WORLD AND THE CHURCH

The Evil State of the World.—The Christian writers of this period, like their predecessors, paint the condition of the non-Christian world around them in very black colours. Theophilus mentions "the wickedness and sin which abounds in the world,"[3] and explains the vicious nature of certain wild beasts from the fact that they were made subject to sinful man.[4] Clemens speaks in Pauline terms of the futility, darkness, and profligacy of the gentile mind:[5] the majority of men, he says, are wrapped up like hedgehogs in their own excesses.[6] Quoting and commenting on the First Epistle of John, he says: "'The whole world is established in what is wicked,' not, (that is), the creation, but the men of this age who live according to their lusts."[7] Tertullianus adverts to the universal sinfulness in many passages of his writings. "Every soul is guilty."[8] "The age belongs to God, but the things of the age to the devil."[9] He speaks of the daily growing wickedness of the age.[10] Hippolytus sees in the Babylon of Daniel and Sosanna

[1] But see below, p. 328 n 7.

[2] The *sources* of the Περίοδοι Πέτρου, for which, see below, p. 457, belong to this period (Harnack *C* ii. 536–540), but they cannot now be disentangled from their present setting. On the *Letter of Peter to Jacob*, attached to one of the sources, see below, p. 457 n 4.

[3] Theoph. ii. 14. [4] Theoph. ii. 17.

[5] Cl. *Protr.* ix. 83 (quotation of E iv. 17–19).

[6] Cl. *Strom.* v. xi. 68; cf. *Paed.* II. x. 103 (where he explains τὰ ἔθνη τοῦ κόσμου of Mt vi. 32 as οἱ ἄτακτοι καὶ ἀνόητοι) and *Protr.* iv. 60f (where he makes a strong attack on the profligacy of pagan life).

[7] Cl. *fr.* (iii. 214) (1 J v. 19); cf. *fr.* (iii. 213) on 1 J iii. 1.

[8] Tert. *Test.* 6 (i. 412). [9] Tert. *Spect.* 15 fin.

[10] Tert. *Cul.* ii. 12 (i. 732); cf. *Pudic.* 1 (i. 791) (sed ut mala magis vincunt, quod ultimorum temporum ratio est, etc.) and *Marc.* v. 5 (ii. 287) (omne hominum genus per naturae dissimulationem et deliquerat, et rebellaverat adversus Creatorem).

a type of the world at large.[1] Origenes describes the devil as showing to Jesus "innumerable multitudes of men, who are held in his own sway." Jesus sees the reign of sin. "And in truth," Origenes adds, "if we will simply confess our wretchedness and misfortune, (we must admit that) the devil is king of nearly the whole world, whence he is called by the Saviour 'the Prince of that age.'"[2] He speaks of universal sinfulness as a generally accepted Christian doctrine.[3] The author of 'De Montibus Sina et Sion' says that the whole world is stained by the devil, and that no earthly thing can possibly be sacred.[4] Cyprianus bids Donatus behold the pitiable state of the world. "Look at the roads blocked by robbers, the seas obsessed with pirates, wars scattered everywhere with the bloody horror of camps. . . . Not the reason of innocence, but the magnitude of savagery, demands impunity for crimes."[5]

It was principally by contrast with the life of faith, that *the pre-Christian or unchristian state* appeared to merit censure. Clemens speaks of the Logos snatching men from the worldly custom in which they had been brought up.[6] "Look at all the nations," exclaims Tertullianus, "rising up out of the whirlpool of human error to God."[7] Christ came to cleanse the nations of the stain of the seven capital crimes—idolatry, blasphemy, murder, adultery, fornication, false witness, and deceit.[8] Gregorius speaks of being liberated from the erroneous customs of the heathen home in which he was brought up.[9] Origenes continually emphasizes the change from wickedness to goodness made in the character of men by their conversion from heathenism to Christianity.[10] Cyprianus speaks

[1] Hipp. *Dan.* I. xiv. 5, II. xxvii. 9, III. xxxi. 2: cf. *Diog.* xi. 2 (ὁ λόγος . . . ὑπὸ ἀπίστων μὴ νοούμενος).

[2] Orig. *Hom. in Lc.* 30 (v. 198f); cf. *Orat.* xxv. 1 (παντὸς δὲ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καταπυραννουμένου ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, ἐπεὶ πᾶς ἁμαρτωλὸς τῷ ἐνεστῶτι αἰῶνι πονηρῷ ᾠκείωται, κτλ.), *Cels.* ii. 9 fin. (τῷ μηδέπω τέλος ἔχειν τὴν τῆς κακίας βασιλείαν), iv. 93, vii. 17 (τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ διαβόλου, πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν νενεμημένου).

[3] Orig. *Cels.* iii. 63: . . . ἀποδεχόμενος τὸ λεγόμενον ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅτι "τίς ἄνθρωπος τελέως δίκαιος, ἢ τίς ἀναμάρτητος;"

[4] Ps-Cypr. *Mont.* 2.

[5] Cypr. *Donat.* 6. He then proceeds to attack various social and personal abuses one by one (7–13).

[6] Cl. *Paed.* I. i. 1: τῆς συντρόφου καὶ κοσμικῆς συνηθείας ἐξαρπάζων τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

[7] Tert. *Marc.* iii. 20 (ii. 149; cf. *Jud.* 12 init.).

[8] Tert. *Marc.* iv. 9 (ii. 175).

[9] Greg. Thaum. *Paneg.* v. 48: Ἀνατροφαὶ γὰρ αἱ πρῶται ἐκ γενέσεως ἦσαν ὑπὸ γονεῦσι, καὶ πάτρια ἔθη τὰ πεπλανημένα· ὧν ἡμᾶς ἐλευθερωθήσεσθαι οὔτε ἄλλος οἶμαι προσεδόκησεν, οὔτε καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐλπίς τις ἦν, παιδίῳ μὲν ὄντι καὶ ἀλόγῳ, ὑπὸ πατρὶ δὲ δεισιδαίμονι.

[10] Orig. *Cels.* i. 26, 64, 67 (αἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν μεταβαλόντων ἀπὸ μυρίων ὅσων κακῶν), v. 32, vii. 17 (the death of Christ wrought an ἀρχὴν καὶ προκοπὴν τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ διαβόλου, πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν νενεμημένου).

of the Christians' members as being purged by baptism "from all the filth of the old contagion."[1] *Heathen virtues* are indeed occasionally mentioned, but in most cases simply for the sake of the argument, either in order to parry malicious criticism of similar features in Christian life, or to shame Christians out of their laxity, or to be discounted in some other way.[2]

Without entering fully upon Christian theories of *the source of evil*, which would take us too far from our subject, it is worth mentioning here that the Christian writers of this period, rejecting determinism[3] as a denial of the goodness and providence of God, regard man as made in God's image, and as endowed with the elements of religious and ethical knowledge, and above all with a free will.[4] Irenæus traces the prevalence of sin to the fall of man related in Genesis.[5] Origenes, however, is the most original speculator on the subject. While God, he maintains, helps and improves men, He does not compel them to obey Him:[6] neither God, nor matter, but the free will of individuals, is therefore the sole cause of evil.[7] Satan and the demons are the prime agents in the production of sin.[8] While the demons are all wicked[9] and have no lawful charge over man and nature[10] and do not, strictly speaking, belong to God, yet God occasionally employs them in giving effect to His punitive and educational sentences.[11] The universe is a training-ground for souls; and evil, properly so called, while not created by God, has in a certain sense resulted from His work, and, like suffering, is used by Him for purposes of discipline.[12]

The evil customs of the world were often thought of in relation to the theory of the *distribution of the various races of men among various superintending angels*, a theory originally derived from the locus classicus in Deuteronomy and still generally accepted by the Christians of this period.[13] The multiplication and dispersion of the human race, as narrated in Genesis, was also looked upon as a

[1] Cypr. *Hab. Virg.* 2; cf. *Donat.* 3f (Cyprianus' reflections on his own life before conversion).

[2] Tert. *Apol.* 21 (i. 206) (Christ came in order that 'jam expolitos et ipsa urbanitate deceptos in agnitionem veritatis oculare'), *Pat.* 1f, 16, *Cast.* 13, *Virg.* 17, *Monog.* 17 (i. 787); Minuc. xxxvii. 3; Orig. *Cels.* iii. 25, vii. 53f, viii. 73.

[3] See below, p. 330 n 12.

[4] Theoph. ii. 27; Ps-Mel. 8 (119); Orig. *Cels.* iv. 3, 67, vi. 57.

[5] Iren. *Demonstr.* 15ff (83ff).

[6] Orig. *Cels.* i. 26, iv. 3, 40, vi. 57.

[7] Orig. *Cels.* iv. 65f.

[8] So also in Tert. *Apol.* 22, *Test.* 3.

[9] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 25.

[10] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 57–59.

[11] Orig. *Cels.* vii. 70, viii. 31f.

[12] Orig. *Princ.* i. vi. 3, *Cels.* vi. 44, 54–56.

[13] Iren. iii. xii. 9 (ii. 63–65); Cl. *Strom.* vii. ii. 6; Hipp. *Dan.* iii. ix. 10, iv. xl. 3f; *Gaius* (quoted by Haussleiter 78); Orig. *Princ.* i. v. 2, iii. iii. 2, *Cels.* iv. 8, v. 26, 29: cf. Deut xxxii. 8f (LXX).

part of the same general scheme.[1] We observe, however, that unlike the earlier Apologists, the writers of this period do not seem to have connected the theory of the rebellion and disobedience of certain angels with that of the angelic government of the nations, in order to explain the prevalence of evil customs. Clemens, on the contrary, says that it was through the superintending angels that the Logos dispensed His good gifts to all men, for example, philosophy to the Hellenes.[2] Origenes definitely denies that the evil angels, i.e. the demons, have any lawful charge over man or nature.[3] His answer to the plea of Celsus that national usages were derived from the angelic superintendents and could not therefore be altered without impiety, is of great interest. He feels it to be a difficult subject, and warns the reader that a deep and hidden meaning underlies his words. On the one hand, he admits that the angels were responsible for the various national customs; yet on the other hand he insists that many of these customs are mutually inconsistent and that some of them ought now to be given up as wrong. His theory is that, as a punishment for their audacity in the plain of Shinar, men were deprived of their unity of language, and led by angels of characters more or less severe to different parts of the earth according to their merits, to regions hot or cold, barren or fertile, infested with wild beasts or free from them, as the case might require. "On account of their sins they were given up 'to a reprobate mind' and 'to dishonourable passions' and 'in the lusts of their hearts to impurity,' in order that they might be satiated with sin, and hate it." Hence it is that national customs are often wicked, and the laws of Jesus supersede them all.[4] In the Bardesanic 'Book of the Laws of the

[1] Theoph. ii. 32; Iren. *Demonstr.* 23 (90) ("And so they were scattered and planted out, and took possession of the world, and dwelt in groups and companies each according to his language: whence came the diverse tribes and various languages upon the earth. So then, whereas three races of men took possession of the earth, and one of them was under the curse, and two under the blessing, the blessing first of all came to Shem," etc.); Orig. *Cels.* v. 29.

[2] Cl. *Strom.* vii. ii. 6: *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ διδοὺς καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὴν φιλοσοφίαν διὰ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων ἀγγέλων, κτλ.*

[3] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 57–59.

[4] Orig. *Cels.* v. 25–32, esp. 32: *ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ κινήσαντες ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν δι' ἃ ἥμαρτον παρεδόθησαν εἰς ἀδόκιμον νοῦν καὶ εἰς πάθη ἀτιμίας καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῶν καρδίων αὐτῶν εἰς ἀκαθαρσίαν, ἵνα κορεσθέντες τῆς ἁμαρτίας μισήσωσιν αὐτὴν, οὐκ ὑποκεισόμεθα τῷ Κέλσου ἀρέσκοντι φάσκοντος διὰ τοὺς νενεμημένους ἐπὶ πτας τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς γῆς τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις ὀρθῶς πράττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλόμεθα οὐκ ὅπῃ ἢ ἐκείνοις φίλον ποιεῖν τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων. ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ὅτι ὅσιον μὲν τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ τόπους νενομισμένα λύειν ἐστὶ νόμοις κρείττοσι καὶ θειοτέροις, οἷς ὡς δυνατώτατος ἔθετο Ἰησοῦς, ἐξελόμενος ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τῶν καταργουμένων.* See also below, pp. 301f n 15. On the divergence of national customs, cf. Orig. *Princ.* II. ix. 3, 5, IV. i. 1, and see below, p. 335.

Countries,' we find the theory of the angelic potentates combined with astrological and other speculations as to Fate, Nature, and Freedom. The relations between these are a little difficult to make out. The potentates are free, and are often at strife, the good assisting Nature, the evil opposing her. Fate as a power controlling men has been wrongfully assumed by the potentates. Men also, however, are free, and by virtue of their freedom often make laws in defiance of Fate.[1] In any case, from the Christian point of view, distinctions of nationality have no real validity.[2]

Characteristics of Christianity.—Christianity was believed by its adherents to be the exclusive, and at the same time the universal, means of salvation. Its *exclusiveness* is a matter that is taken for granted rather than expressly stated. The Christian divided the human race dichotomously into his co-religionists, who were saved, and unbelievers, who, unless they were converted, would be sentenced to eternal fire.[3] At the same time, Christianity was *universal*, inasmuch as the Church took the whole world as her parish.[4] The work of Jesus had been designed to be the salvation of all mankind, and Scripture-passages mentioning the call of the gentiles and promising world-wide dominion to the Messiah were employed in the evangelistic appeal of the Church.[5] Definite anticipations of the actual realization of these hopes, that is to say, of *the ultimate redemption of all*, occur only in Origenes. Men who had so much to say about hell-fire can hardly have expected that, when the time came, there would be no victims. Certainly Irenæus and Tertullianus did not think so.[6] Origenes regarded the fiery penalties as temporary and remedial,[7] and was thus able without incongruity to look forward to the final salvation of all.[8]

That the adoption of Christianity involved the acceptance of

[1] *ANCL* xxiib. 96, 99ff.

[2] Minuc. xxxiii. 1 (nos gentes nationesque distinguimus : Deo una domus est mundus hic totus) : cf. Orig. *Cels.* viii. 72 fin.

[3] See, e.g. Iren. *Demonstr.* 1 (70), 56 (119f), 96f (148), and also below, pp. 299, 308. Cf. Orig. *Hom. in Jos.* iii. 5 (xi. 34). In *Cels.* iv. 7f, Origenes points out that the coming of Christ was not God's first and only attempt to save men ; but as one prophet is better than another, so Christ is the best of all.

[4] Iren. II. xvii. 1 (i. 306f) ; Hipp. *Ant.* 3 ; Orig. *Cels.* iii. 9, viii. 52.

[5] Iren. III. i. 1 (ii. 2), xxii. 3 (ii. 123), IV. xxi. 3 (ii. 227), *Demonstr.* 35 (102), 41f (106f), 49f (113ff), 57 (121), 89 (142f) ; Tert. *Marc.* iii. 20f (ii. 149–152), iv. 1 (ii. 160) ; Cl. *Protr.* x. 110 ; Hipp. *Ant.* 3, 61, *Dan.* II. xxvi. 5, IV. xi. 1, lx. 2, *Diog.* xi. 3 ; Orig. *Cels.* i. 31f, 37, 53f, 59, ii. 11, 42, iv. 4, 9, 28, v. 33, 50, vi. 1, 78 ; Cypr. *Test.* i. 21, ii. 7, 17f. Contrast the particularism of *GEb* 5 (11) : *ὑμᾶς οὖν βούλομαι εἶναι δεκαδύο ἀποστόλους εἰς μαρτύριον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.*

[6] Iren. v. xxix. 1 (ii. 404) ; Tert. *Spect.* 30.

[7] See below, pp. 307f.

[8] Orig. *Princ.* I. vi. 1f, *Cels.* vi. 80, viii. 59, 72.

*a strict and lofty ethical standard*, as well as of a certain body of beliefs, is frequently repeated in the Christian literature of the time.[1] How far the Christian ethical ideal continued to be actually realized in the lives of believers, it would be hard to say. Irenæus, Clemens, and Origenes—the last-named indeed with great frequency—appeal confidently to the moral results achieved by conversion. They speak as if a man who became a Christian normally underwent a complete turnover from sin to righteousness.[2] While in the main the facts must have corresponded to this proud claim—otherwise it would have simply broken in the Apologist's hand—it has also to be borne in mind that in this period the silent process of moral *relaxation* (already begun long before) made itself more and more apparent. Long intervals of freedom from persecution made it ever easier for conversion to approximate rather to a nominal, than to a real and vital, change. This gradual lowering of the moral standard realizable within the Church presented some acute problems even in this period, and occasioned still more serious difficulty at the opening of the next.[3] One sign of the altered ethical outlook is the growing acceptance of the distinction (anticipated to some extent in earlier periods[4]) between obligatory Christian duty and optional Christian perfection.[5]

THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD.—In this period, the conception

[1] *P. Scill.* 2 (nunquam malefecimus, iniquitati nullam operam praebuimus), 6 (furtum non feci); Theoph. ii. 34f, iii. 9f; Ps-Just. *Orat.* 5 fin.; Tert. *Paen.* 2, 6; Cypr. *Test.* iii. 26f, 65, 98.

[2] Iren. *Demonstr.* 61 (125) ("For those who were before exceeding wicked, so that they left no work of ungodliness undone, learning of Christ and believing on Him, have at once believed and been changed, so as to leave no excellency of righteousness undone"); Cl. *Protr.* i. 4, iv. 59; Orig. *Cels.* i. 9, 26 fin., 43, 47, 63, 67f, ii. 48, iii. 29, 68. In *Cels.* iii. 65, Origenes says that men converted from moderately evil lives naturally outnumbered converts who had previously lived outrageously immoral lives: cf. iii. 78 (it is rather the ἁπλούστεροι and ἄκομψοι, than the altogether πονηροί, who are usually converted).

[3] Lecky ii. 11f, 16; Harnack *ME* i. 213–215 ("As the proof of 'the Spirit and of power' subsided after the beginning of the third century, the extraordinary moral tension also became relaxed, paving the way gradually for a morality which was adapted to a worldly life, and which was no longer equal to the strain of persecution," etc. etc.).

[4] See above, pp. 79 n 9, 148 n 2, and 214 n 1.

[5] The doctrine of merit earned by works of supererogation appears most clearly in Tertullianus: see the passages quoted and referred to by Franks, *Hist. of Doctr. of Work of Christ*, i. 104–106. Both he and Origenes lay stress on the distinction between venial and mortal sins (Rashdall, *Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology*, 254, 270 n). Rashdall (*op. cit.* 228) says of Clemens: "We may discover in him the beginning of that doctrine of two moral standards—one for the religious, the other for Christians in the world—which so deeply corrupted the later Church": he is alluding to Clemens' distinction between the Gnostic and the ordinary Christian. See below, p. 469 n 1.

of the oneness of all Christendom becomes more conscious, explicit, and prominent than before. The Church is now thought of as a single august community.[1] Her unity is implied in the terms and figures used to designate her (Paradise,[2] the Virgin-Mother,[3] the Mistress-Mother,[4] the Bride of Christ,[5] the Body of Christ [6]), and most clearly in the continual use of the simple term ἡ Ἐκκλησία [7] and of the phrase οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας as a designation for Christians.[8] That the Church should be divided was an insupportable idea: hence the strong antipathy felt against schismatics.[9] The Church's monopoly of salvation comes out in the comparison of her to a storm-tossed ship [10] and to the salt of the earth, holding together and preserving the constitution of the world.[11] In idea and largely, though not entirely, in fact also, she is holy and morally pure.[12] The Church is not a place, but the assemblage of the elect,[13] of those living in righteousness.[14]

A parallel conception, under which the unity of all Christians was expressed, was that of *a special or holy nation*.[15] The old appellation of "the third race" was still used to designate them. It had evidently been taken up by pagans, much to the annoyance of Tertullianus.[16] He protested against the phrase as absurd,

[1] Iren. I. x. 2 (i. 92ff); Cl. *Strom.* VII. xvii. 107; Tert. *Virg.* 2; Hipp. *Diog.* xi. 5f.

[2] Iren. V. xx. 2 (ii. 379). [3] Cl. *Paed.* I. vi. 42.

[4] Tert. *Mart.* 1 init.: domina mater ecclesia.

[5] Cypr. *Test.* ii. 19. [6] Orig. *Cels.* vi. 48.

[7] Iren. passim, etc. Cf. *Murat. Frag.* 66 (in catholicam ecclesiam), 69 (in catholica).

[8] Iren. I. vi. 2 (i. 54), III. xv. 2 (ii. 79), cf. *Demonstr.* 98 (150); Orig. *Cels.* vi. 37.

[9] Iren. I. xvi. 3 (i. 162), IV. xxxiii. 7, cf. 9 (ii. 261, 263f); Cypr. *Test.* iii. 86.

[10] Tert. *Bapt.* 12 (i. 631f); Hipp. *Ant.* 59: cf. Neumann *H* 39.

[11] Theoph. ii. 14; Orig. *Cels.* viii. 70. Irenæus combines with the figure of salt that of Lot's wife (IV. xxxi. 3 (ii. 254): sal terrae . . . statua salis). Cf. also the ideas expressed in Cl. *Protr.* ii. 27, iv. 63.

[12] Tert. *Pudic.* 18 (i. 832–834); Orig. *Orat.* xx. 1: in *Orat.* xxvi. 3 he suggests as an interpretation of the prayer, "Thy Will be done, as in heaven, so on earth," that heaven means Christ, and earth the Church. On the doctrine of the Church during this period, see B.-Baker *CD* 359–363.

[13] Cl. *Strom.* VII. v. 29: οὐ γὰρ νῦν τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκκλησίαν καλῶ.

[14] Hipp. *Dan.* I. xvii. 6f: "Denn nicht ein Ort wird die Kirche genannt . . . Was nun ist die Kirche? Die heilige Versammlung der in Gerechtigkeit Lebenden."

[15] Cl. *Protr.* iv. 59 (ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς περιούσιος, κτλ., quoting from 1 P ii. 9); Hipp. *Dan.* IV. ix. 2 (ἐποίησεν ἔθνος πιστῶν Χριστιανῶν, κτλ.). Origenes qualifies the idea by saying that God, on account of the sins of the Hebrews, chose out οὐχὶ ἔθνος ἀλλὰ λογάδας παντάχοθεν (Orig. *Cels.* ii. 78).

[16] Tert. *Scorp.* 10 (i. 523): populos nationum cum suo quidem circo, ubi facile conclamant, 'Usquequo genus tertium?'

and made use of it to score points against the pagans.[1] It had, however, as far as we can see, been introduced by the Christians themselves, and seems still to have remained in use.[2] It indicates the existence of *a quasi-political consciousness* in the Church, a feature which is still more clearly brought out in the comparison of Christianity to a country or fatherland,[3] and was further strengthened by the growth of a unified church-organization and administration.[4] Such an organization was bound to provoke comparison between itself and the political government.[5] It came, as we shall see, to be thought of as a sort of spiritual parallel or contrast to the imperial government, a second and independent world-power.[6]

PROPAGANDA.—The extension of the Gospel was felt to be one of the prime duties of the Christian life. Among the motives from which this sense of duty sprang was *an earnest and loving concern for unredeemed humanity* with all its blindness and sin. The way in which this sense of concern expressed itself was at times somewhat indirect. Theophilus touches on the sorrow of the prophets over the iniquity and error of men.[7] Irenæus, amid his weary examination of non-existing æons, reminds himself that the treatment of the subject had been entrusted to him, and that his wish and purpose was that all men might come to a knowledge of the truth.[8] He speaks of Christ's great love for the

[1] Tert. *Nat.* i. 8.

[2] Hippolytus (*Dan.* i. xiv. 6; cf. xv. 4) finds in the elders who waylaid Sosanna a type of τῶν δύο λαῶν τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, viz. Jews and gentiles, thus suggesting that the Church was herself the third. There are traces of the idea in other writings of our period; see Harnack *ME* i. 248–251, 266–278.

[3] Cl. *Protr.* x. 108 (οὐρανὸς μέν σοι ἡ πατρίς); Orig. *Cels.* viii. 47, 75 (ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει ἄλλο σύστημα πατρίδος κτισθὲν λόγῳ Θεοῦ ἐπιστάμενοι . . . οἱ καλῶς ἄρχοντες ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν πατρίδος (λέγω δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας)).

[4] Neumann *SK* 54 ("Die grosse Kirche ist indessen nicht mehr blos eine geistige Einheit; sie besitzt eine Organisation, auf deren Grunde auch die Einheit der Verwaltung erwachsen kann," u.s.w.), 57. Neumann is speaking of the time of Irenæus. The instrument and medium of the Church's unification was the episcopate.

[5] Neumann *SK* 250 ("Wahrscheinlich unter Philippus Arabs hat er," i.e. Pope Fabianus, "die Regionen der Stadt den einzelnen Diakonen zugewiesen, und so eine Art von kirchlicher Verwaltung Roms geschaffen"): cf. Orig. *Cels.* iii. 29f; Harnack *KS* 136–139, 147.

[6] Neumann *SK* 54 ("Die Kirche wird zum Staat im Staate"), 57; Harnack *ME* i. 256ff (on the political consciousness in the Church); Weinel *SUS* 34–37 (on the growth of the Church's disciplinary and juridical organization); Bartlet, in a review of Weinel's book in the *Review of Theology and Philosophy*, v. 79 ("as the Church developed into a legally organised institution, it became a sort of compromise between the gospel and the actual State").

[7] Theoph. ii. 35: πενθοῦντες τὸ ἄθεον γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

[8] Iren. II. xvii. 1 (i. 306f).

human race,[1] and of the gifts of Divine grace which the Church was daily exerting for the benefit of the heathen.[2] Clemens professes to write from his love for men ;[3] he says that God seeks like a bird to rescue His children from the serpent :[4] he quotes Jesus' wonderful appeal to men to come to him, and his longing to give them immortality.[5] Tertullianus declares that Christians are brothers not only of one another but of the heathen also,[6] and asserts that the parables of the Lost Sheep, the Lost Coin, and the Prodigal Son are meant to refer, not to errant Christians, but to unconverted pagans.[7] Hippolytus says that the Logos loves to teach the ignorant, and desires to save all.[8] Origenes says that whatever we learn from Wisdom we are under an obligation to impart to the whole human race ;[9] and more than once he speaks of the earnest desire of the Christians to convert all men to their faith.[10]

The propagandist work carried on on the basis of this concern for all mankind was continually receiving new impetus from the magnificent *success* which had hitherto attended it. In conformity with the universalistic promises of Scripture, a world-wide evangelistic charge had been given by Jesus to the apostles,[11] and had been thoroughly carried out.[12] Christianity had been diffused all over the inhabited world ; the Christian message was heard everywhere ;[13] and men out of every nation had accepted it.[14] Not only had there been numerous conversions in the past,[15] not only

[1] Iren. IV. xviii. 5 (ii. 99).

[2] Iren. II. xxxii. 4 (i. 375) : *οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸν εἰπεῖν τῶν χαρισμάτων, ὧν κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἡ ἐκκλησία παρὰ Θεοῦ λαβοῦσα . . . ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ τῇ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιτελεῖ, κτλ.*

[3] Cl. *Protr.* xii. 123 : *ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας.*

[4] Cl. *Protr.* x. 91.

[5] Cl. *Protr.* xii. 120.

[6] Tert. *Apol.* 39 (i. 261) : fratres autem etiam vestri sumus, jure naturae matris unius.

[7] Tert. *Pudic.* 7–9 ; Lc xv.

[8] Hipp. *Ant.* 3.

[9] Orig. *Orat.* xxviii. 3 fin.

[10] Orig. *Cels.* iii. 9, viii. 52 (*καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς προηγουμένως μὲν διὰ τὰ πείσαντα ἡμᾶς πολλὰ καὶ μυρία κατὰ χριστιανισμὸν βιοῦν πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὅση δύναμις ὅλοις τοῖς Χριστιανῶν λόγοις οἰκειοῦν βουλόμεθα*).

[11] Tert. *Apol.* 21 (i. 203), *Marc.* iv. 43 fin. (ii. 273) ; Hipp. *Noet.* 14 ; Orig. *Cels.* i. 11 fin., ii. 42 ; Cypr. *Test.* ii. 26 ; Novat. *Trin.* 8.

[12] Iren. III. i. 1 (ii. 2) ; Tert. *Fug.* 6, *Marc.* iii. 22 ; Hipp. *Diog.* xi. 3 ; Orig. *Cels.* i. 62, ii. 13, 42.

[13] Iren. I. x. 1f (i. 90, 92f), II. xxxii. 4 (i. 374f), *fr.* 29 (ii. 494) ; Cl. *Protr.* xi. 114 ; Tert. *Apol.* 21 (i. 204) ; Ps-Mel. 3 (114) ; Orig. *Cels.* i. 7, 29, 67, ii. 13, 79, v. 50 ; Novat. *Trin.* 8.

[14] Tert. *Nat.* i. 8 (i. 322), *Jud.* 7 (ii. 713f) ; Orig. *Cels.* i. 53, viii. 4.

[15] Orig. *Cels.* i. 26f, 29, 46, ii. 46, iii. 10, iv. 32, viii. 43. In his earlier *Commentary on John* (tt. vi.–xxxii. written 230–239 A.D.), t. xiii. 58 (ii. 122 : in A. E. Brooke's edn. (1896) i. 320), Origenes expresses the curious view that certain whole cities and nations had accepted Christianity on account of the improvement effected in their guardian-angels by the coming of Christ

were the existing numbers of the Christians immensely large,[1] but they were still multiplying daily.[2] Persecution, so far from checking Christianity, had resulted only in its spreading more widely.[3]

The knowledge of such facts as these must have acted as a wonderful stimulus in the *proselytizing work*, which Christians still felt it to be their duty to undertake.[4] It is to the period shortly after 180 A.D. that the missionary journeys of Pantænus to the East are probably to be assigned; and he was but one of many similar evangelists.[5] Origenes explained that Christians avoided public office, not in order to escape the burdens of service, but in order to "reserve themselves for the more Divine and more needful service of the Church of God, leading men, both of necessity and by right, in (the matter of their) salvation, and being concerned for all, both those within, that they may daily lead better lives, and those who seem to be without, that they may become (engaged) in the noble words and deeds of piety, and thus, worshipping God truly, and training as many as they can, they may be mingled with the Word of God and the Divine Law."[6]

As for the *methods by which conversions were effected*, some pagans were won over by the argument from the fulfilment of scriptural prophecies and by the anticipation of rewards and punishments announced in Scripture;[7] others by the evidence of miracles, notably the expulsion of demons.[8] The Christian example,[9] and

(ἐγὼ δὲ νομίζω καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντάς τι γίνεσθαι, μεταβαλόντας ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἐν τῇ Χριστοῦ ἐπιδημίᾳ, ὥστε τινὰς ὅλας πόλεις ἢ καὶ ἔθνη οἰκειότερον πολλῶν ἐσχηκέναι τὰ πρὸς τὸν Χριστόν). The context makes it clear that human rulers are not referred to. Cf. Neander, *Church History* (ET), ii. 247.

[1] Tert. *Nat.* i. 1, *Apol.* 1 (i. 115), 37 (i. 250f), *Scap.* 2 (i. 542), 5; Minuc. xxxiii. 1; Orig. *Cels.* iii. 24, 73. In *Scap.* 2, Tertullianus says that the Christians were 'pars paene major civitatis cuiusque.' His style is too rhetorical to permit us to take his statement as a serious estimate (Uhlhorn *C* 264); but, as Neumann (*SK* 121) remarks, even rhetorical exaggeration, in order to be effective, must be based on acknowledged facts.

[2] Tert. *Nat.* i. 1 (i. 305), 7 (i. 317); Minuc. ix. 1, xxxi. 7; Ps-Cypr. *Pasch.* 10; Orig. *Cels.* i. 43.

[3] Cl. *Strom.* vi. xviii. 167; Tert. *Apol.* 50 (i. 301), *Scap.* 5 fin.; Orig. *Princ.* iv. i. 2, *Cels.* ii. 79, iv. 32, v. 50, vii. 26. Cf. Harnack *ME* i. 366f.

[4] Tert. *Fug.* 6 (i. 472f) (Nobis autem et via nationum patet, in qua et inventi sumus, et usque in finem incedimus; et nulla civitas excepta est, quo per totum orbem praedicamus. . . . Nobis autem nulla Judaeae praefinitio competit praedicationis, in omnem jam carnem effuso Spiritu sancto); Hipp. *Diog.* xi. 1 (ἀποστόλων γενόμενος μαθητὴς γίνομαι διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν).

[5] Eus. *HE* v. x. 2f; *DCB* iv. 182b.

[6] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 75 (Greek transcribed below, p. 364 n 1).

[7] See below, p. 308.

[8] Orig. *Cels.* i. 46, viii. 47.

[9] Hipp. *Dan.* ii. ix. 5 (κατὰ γὰρ γενεὰν καὶ γενεὰν ἀνθρώπους ἁγίους ὁ Θεὸς προσάγει ἑαυτῷ, δι' ὧν εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον δοξασθῆναι); Tert. *Cul.* ii. 11, 13, *Pat.* 15 (i. 613) (gentilem invitat [sc. patientia]). Eusebius (*HE* vi. iii. 13) tells us that many were converted through seeing the asceticism of Origenes.

above all the impressive spectacle of Christian martyrdom,[1] were known to possess great efficacy as means of propaganda. But the obvious method of direct and urgent persuasion and appeal was doubtless the one habitually resorted to. Our literary sources naturally bear witness to the use of the written appeal rather than to that spoken by word of mouth : [2] but we cannot doubt that by far the greater number of conversions were the result of oral intercourse.[3] Thus Eusebius tells us of the conversions effected by Origenes : [4] and Minucius in his dialogue makes Octavius reproach him for not having previously converted Cæcilius, and represents the latter as ultimately convinced and won over by Octavius' arguments.[5] While the delivery of the Christian message was characterized in general principle by a certain indiscriminate *publicity*,[6] in actual practice it was thought right to *conceal* the fuller and deeper exposition of the faith from the public gaze, and divulge it only to the inner circle of the initiated : [7] in the same way, much of the Christian worship was conducted in secret.[8] This course was adopted partly in view of the incapacity of unsympathetic pagans to understand such exposition, and partly also in

[1] Hipp. *Dan.* II. xviii. 3, xxxviii., III. xxviii. 2 ; Orig. *Mart.* 30, 50. Conversions of soldiers employed in the imprisonment and execution of Christians are recorded, not only in fictitious martyr-acts (Neumann *SK* 288–290), but also in better attested narratives (Cl. *Hyp.* ap. Eus. *HE* II. ix. [story of Jacob, the son of Zebedæus] ; Eus. *HE* VI. v. [Potamiæna and Basileides—see below, p. 419] ; *Perpet.* xvi. 4 [cf. ix. 1], xxi. 1, 4f [Pudens]). Harnack says : "Dass übrigens der Soldat, der einen Christen zum Tode begleitet, bezw. der Angeber, selbst Christ wird, ist allmählich ein stereotyper Zug in den Märtyrergeschichten geworden, ist aber nicht immer legendarisch" (*MC* 75). Spectators in the crowd were at times similarly affected (*Perpet.* 17 ; Tert. *Scap.* 5 fin. : Uhlhorn *C* 169 ; Harnack *ME* i. 366f).

[2] Note the tone of Ps-Just. *Orat.* 5 ; Cl. *Protr.* title and i. 6–9, viii. 81, ix. 82–88, x. 92–96, 99–101, 103, 105f, xii. 121, *Paed.* I. i. 1 (ὁ Λόγος, ὁπηνίκα μὲν ἐπὶ σωτηρίαν παρεκάλει, προτρεπτικὸς ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἦν) ; Tert. *Nat.* i. 20, *Apol.* 21 fin., *Test.* 6 ; Hipp. *Dan.* I. xxii. 3, *Ref.* x. 31 fin., 34 (27, 30) ; Ps-Mel. 6, 8–10 (117–120).

[3] Orig. *Cels.* iii. 59–63 (cf. esp. 62 : τὰ προτροπῆς ἕνεκα εἰρημένα καὶ γεγραμμένα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς κακῶς βεβιωκότας καὶ καλοῦντα αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ μετάνοιαν καὶ διόρθωσιν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν). See also above, p. 301 n 15.

[4] Eus. *HE* VI. iii. 6f, 13.

[5] Minuc. iii. 1, xl.

[6] Iren. I. iv. 3 (i. 36) ; Orig. *Cels.* i. 7, 31 fin. ; cf. ii. 70. Cf. *Const. Eg.* xxxii. 31f (see below, p. 486 n 5).

[7] Cl. *Strom.* I. xii. 55f, v. iii. 18, iv. 19, 20, vii. 41, viii. 55, x. 61–66, *Quis Dives* 4 ; Hipp. *Ant.* 1 ; Minuc. xix. 15 (Deum . . . nunquam publice, nisi interrogati, praedicamus : on the reserve of Minucius, cf. *DCB* iii. 921f) ; Orig. *Cels.* i. 7, 12, 66 fin. (where Origenes refuses to discuss in his reply to Celsus the problem of the Divinity and humanity of Jesus, οὔσης τινὸς καὶ, ἵν' οὕτως ὀνομάσω, οἰκείας ζητήσεως τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸν τόπον), vi. 26. On the Arcani Disciplina, cf. E. T. Horn in *ERE* i. 675f.

[8] Tert. *Nat.* i. 7 (i. 316), *Praescr.* 41 ; Minuc. x. 1–4 (but cf. xxxii. 1).

view of the checks which pagan disfavour set to public expression of Christian beliefs.[1]

In the *admission of new members* to the Christian community, the greatest care was taken to ensure that no one should enter the Church who was not in real earnest in regard to his change of faith, whose life was not free from the grosser forms of immorality, whose calling made him an accomplice of idolaters, fornicators, and so on, and who had not been put through a careful course of training in Christian doctrine, especially adapted to his intellectual capacity. Those who failed to pass the moral tests were rejected, and could again seek admission only after amendment of life.[2]

## CHAPTER II

### ESCHATOLOGY

THE NEARNESS OF THE END.—Christian teachers still had to meet complaints, on the part of certain members of the Church, about the continual postponement of the final cataclysm. The celebration, in 248 A.D., of the thousandth anniversary of the foundation of Rome must have brought to the Christians a melancholy reminder of the non-fulfilment of their own millenary hopes.[3] Irenæus and Hippolytus both thought it was possible to calculate with some degree of accuracy the time when the end would come. Irenæus believed it would happen when the number of souls predetermined by God had come into existence: that number would then remain fixed, no further marriages or births taking place.[4] He does not get so far as to submit a definite calculation of the date; but that he regarded the end as imminent may be inferred from his use of phrases like "the latest times" to indicate the

[1] Minuc. xxxi. 6.

[2] Hipp. *Can.* x. 60–62, xi. 65, xii. 67–70, xiii. 71–73, xv. 76–79 (cf. *Const. Eg.* x.–xii., and see below, p. 476 n 1). Harnack regards these portions of the *Canons* as evidently containing very early matter (Harnack *C* ii. 510f). Cf. Orig. *Cels.* iii. 51, vi. 10; Harnack *ME* i. 391–393. The problem as to the possibility and the limits of forgiveness, and as to church-membership, in the case of gross sin committed after baptism, became acute in this period: but we are not directly concerned with it here.

[3] Neumann *SK* 251.

[4] Iren. II. xxxiii. 5 (i. 380); cf. Hipp. πρὸς Ἕλληνας 3 fin.

period of the Christian dispensation.[1] Of Hippolytus' elaborate scheme for calculating the date we shall speak later. Here it will suffice to take note of his brief explanatory rebuke addressed to those whom long delay had rendered impatient or dubious. "To say, as some do, 'When shall these things be?' is the speech of unbelievers, not of believers."[2] "For though now he tarries, not wishing to bring the judgment upon the world before the time, fulfilling his Father's ordinance, yet he will surely come with his wounds, and will render to each according to his works."[3] Clemens repeats the Pauline phrase, "The Lord is at hand."[4] Tertullianus frequently speaks as if the nearness of the end could be taken for granted.[5] Towards the end of the second century, a Christian in Syria, and another in Pontus, created a fiasco by deluding a number of brethren into believing that the Parousia and the Judgment were bound to occur within a very short time. Hippolytus attributed their error to a neglect or misunderstanding of Scripture.[6]

*Origenes' point of view*, on this as on other aspects of the subject of eschatology, was remarkably rational and unconventional. He opens his discussion of the consummation with some words of caution on the extreme difficulty of the subject, the impossibility of its being adequately treated by simple and unphilosophic minds, and the danger of criticizing the views of others with dogmatic prejudice: the matter, he says, is one for discussion, rather than for categorical statement.[7] His own views depart widely from the currently accepted ideas—generally speaking, in the direction of a rationalizing or spiritualizing interpretation. As to the time, he is very non-committal. "The end and consummation of the world," he says, "will be given when each one shall be subjected to penalties according to the merit of his sins: and this time God alone knows—(the time) when each one will pay what he deserves."[8] "The world prevails (only) as long as he who has overcome it" (i.e. Christ) "wishes."[9] The general persecution indicated by

[1] Iren. III. xviii. 1 (ii. 95), IV. xxvi. 1, xxvii. 3, xxxiv. 3, xxxv. 4 (ii. 235, 242, 270, 276), V. xviii. 3 (ii. 374); *Demonstr.* 30 (97) ("Christ . . . at the end of the times appearing to all the world as man").

[2] Hipp. *Dan.* IV. v. 6. [3] Hipp. *Dan.* IV. x. 4. [4] Cl. *Protr.* ix. 87.

[5] Tert. *Nat.* i. 1 (i. 306) (men of his own time going wrong 'pro extremitatibus temporum'), *Cul.* ii. 9 (i. 727f) (tempus in collecto est . . . nos sumus, in quos decurrerunt fines saeculorum), *Spect.* 29 (i. 61) (cursus saeculi intuere, tempora labentia, spatia dinumera, metas consummationis exspecta, . . . ad signum Dei suscitare, ad tubam angeli erigere, etc.), *Fug.* 12 (i. 487), *Bapt.* 12 (i. 632). In *Monog.* 16, he urges the near approach of the end as a reason why one should remain unmarried.

[6] Hipp. *Dan.* IV. xviiif. Cf. Bigelmair 12ff.

[7] Orig. *Princ.* I. vi. 1; cf. *Cels.* iv. 9.

[8] Orig. *Princ.* I. vi. 1. [9] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 70.

Jesus as a sign of the approaching end had not yet occurred.[1] Whereas it was usually assumed that there were only two 'ages' in the world's history, the present and the future (or at most three—for the Chiliasts), Origenes believed that many ages had passed and that many more were to come.[2] He does not seem to have expected any imminent cataclysm: the consummation was to him the completion of the redemptive discipline being meted out to all souls, and their consequent perfection.[3] "The end of existing things," he says, "is the destruction of evil; but whether or no (it will be destroyed in such a way) as never to be able to arise again anywhere, it is beyond our present purpose to teach."[4] Akin to the attitude of Origenes is that of Dionysius of Alexandria, who says: "No one can altogether grasp the works of God. And the world is (of) God's making. No one can find out what 'from the beginning even unto the end' of it means, that is to say, the time appointed for it and the limit determined for it; for God has put ignorance in our hearts. . . . Thus for our advantage the end of this age, that is to say, of the present life, is unknown."[5]

The Nature of the End.—While the broad outlines of eschatological belief remained much as before for the Church at large, the keen and daring mind of Origenes speculated freely in several new directions. It would be interesting to know more as to the extent to which his views were shared by the Christians of his time.

In regard to *the Parousia*, Westcott says, "Origen nowhere, as far as I have observed, dwells on the doctrine of Christ's return . . . The coming of Christ in glory is treated as the spiritual revelation of His true nature (*De Princ.* iv. 25), though Origen says that he by no means rejects 'the second presence (ἐπιδημία) of the Son of God more simply understood' (*in Matt.* tom. xii. 30)."[6] In replying to Celsus, he speaks of the two advents of Christ, but he in no way commits himself to the orthodox view of the latter of these. He says of it that it will be "glorious and entirely Divine, having no element of human weakness mixed up with its Divinity": he then goes off into extensive quotations from the forty-fifth Psalm.[7] In his treatise 'on Prayer,' he interprets "Thy Kingdom come" as a prayer for the setting-up of God's Kingdom in the petitioner's heart, for the obedient Christian is like a well-governed city.[8]

On the subject of the *resurrection*, we find as before a broad

[1] Orig. *Comm. in Mt. Series* 39 (iv. 269ff): cf. Neumann *SK* 225.
[2] Orig. *Princ.* II. iii. 5. [3] Orig. *Princ.* I. vi. 1. [4] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 72.
[5] Dion. Alex. *Comm. in Eccles.* iii. 11 (Feltoe 226).
[6] Westcott in *DCB* iv. 138b. [7] Orig. *Cels.* i. 56.
[8] Orig. *Orat.* xxv. 1. He bases his view on Lc xvii. 20f.

divergence between those who insisted on the bald doctrine of a simultaneous resurrection of the flesh or bodies of all as an essential of Christian belief, and those who were dissatisfied with it. Irenæus, Tertullianus, Hippolytus, and Minucius Felix, all lay stress on the resurrection of the body or of the flesh.[1] There were those who denied the resurrection as commonly understood ;[2] but these were generally regarded as heretics, and their title to the name of Christian challenged. We find Tertullianus contesting the theory that the resurrection took place not at the end of the world, but either on conversion, or immediately after death.[3] As for Origenes, he repeatedly affirms on the one hand the resurrection of the body,[4] which Celsus had attacked,[5] and dissociates himself from those who set it aside ;[6] on the other hand he never speaks of the resurrection of the flesh : he denies that Christians assert that " God will raise (men) from the dead with the same flesh and blood,"[7] and urges that ' going to God ' and ' seeing God ' are not bodily actions, but are to be understood figuratively,[8] and suggests that the desired union of all races under one law may be impossible while men are " still in bodies," but may become possible when they have been " released from them."[9] He believes that the soul after death must and will have a body of some sort, but it will not be the earthly body of flesh and blood, but a glorious spiritual body.[10]

Similarly in regard to *rewards and punishments*, while other authors retain the materialistic language and with it, presumably, the materialistic thoughts of future punishment as eternal or endless,[11] Origenes regards both rewards and punishments as

[1] Iren. v. ii.–xvi. (ii. 317–369), *fr.* 12 (ii. 481f) ; Tert. *Apol.* 48 (i. 290ff), *Marc.* v. 9–15, 18–20, *Res.* passim ; Hipp. πρὸς Ἕλληνας 2, *Dan.* II. xxviii. 4, IV. lvi. 1f (Hippolytus also wrote a treatise on the resurrection, the title of which is variously given, Harnack *C* ii. 215f) ; Minuc. xxxiv. 6, 10.

[2] Hipp. *Dan.* II. xxviii. 4 ; the apocryphal letter of the Corinthians to Paul (12) and the apostle's reply (23ff ; Pick 38, 41) ; *DCB* i. 251b, 254a, 259 (Bardesanes) ; Orig. *Cels.* v. 22.

[3] Tert. *Res.* 22 init. For the development of the doctrine of the intermediate state between bodily death and final resurrection, see Iren. II. xxxiv. 1 (i. 381) ; Tert. *Anim.* 54–58 ; Hipp. πρὸς Ἕλληνας 1 ; Eus. *HE* VI. xxxvii.

[4] Orig. *Princ.* Pref. 5, II. ii. 2, x. 1.

[5] Orig. *Cels.* ii. 77, v. 14, vii. 32.

[6] Orig. *Cels.* v. 22.

[7] Orig. *Cels.* vi. 29.

[8] Orig. *Cels.* vii. 34.

[9] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 72 fin.

[10] Orig. *Princ.* I. vi. 4, II. ii. 2, x. 1–3, 8, III. vi. 4–8, *Cels.* v. 17–24, vi. 29, vii. 32, viii. 49, and cf. the frags. of Origenes' treatise περὶ ἀναστάσεως in Migne *PG* xi. 91–100 and Lommatzsch xvii. 55–64.

[11] Theoph. i. 14 ; Iren. IV. xxx. 4 (ii. 251), v. xxix. 2 (ii. 405), etc. etc. ; Cl. *Protr.* ix. 83 ; Tert. *Apol.* 48 (i. 295), *Spect.* 30, *Paen.* 12 ; Hipp. *Dan.* IV. x. 3, xiv. 3, πρὸς Ἕλληνας 1, 3 ; Ps-Mel. 12 (123f) ; Minuc. xxxiv.

spiritual,[1] and looks upon the latter as remedial and therefore temporary.[2] Further, it continues to be regarded as one of the most cogent means of urging pagans to adopt Christianity, to set before them the awful alternative of everlasting bliss or everlasting fire. The two were constantly dangled before the eyes of unbelievers, and they were invited to take their choice between them.[3]

CHILIASM.—Several writers of this period supported the doctrine of a reign of Christ on earth and other ideas frequently associated with this view. The six days of Creation were taken as a sort of type-scheme of human history: each day represented a thousand years—on the strength of Psalm xc. 4: the last of these was now running its course, and its termination would be followed by the seventh day, a thousand years of Sabbath rest.[4] After the overthrow of Antichrist and the nations subject to him,[5] the fashion of this world would pass away; there would be a new heaven and a new earth and a resurrection; Christ would inaugurate his earthly Kingdom; Jerusalem would be rebuilt after the likeness of the heavenly Jerusalem, its walls and foundations being made of gold and precious stones; and the saints would inherit the earth and reign with Christ. They would lead a happy life, enjoying their bodily powers of eating and drinking, marrying and begetting children. They would be possessed of great wealth; the land would be exuberantly fertile, the animals docile and peaceable.[6] When the thousand years were over, the whole human race would

[1] Orig. *Princ.* II. x. 4, xi. 3–7, III. vi., *Cels.* iv. 13, v. 16 (but cf. *Princ.* II. x. 8, *Cels.* vi. 26).

[2] Orig. *Princ.* II. x. 5f, *Cels.* v. 15f, vi. 58.

[3] Theoph. i. 14, ii. 36; Cl. *Protr.* ix. 83, 85, x. 90, 93–95; Tert. *Apol.* 48 (i. 294f); Hipp. *Ref.* x. 34 (30); Ps-Mel. 9 fin. (120), 12 fin., 13 (124); Orig. *Cels.* i. 9, iii. 78–80, iv. 10, viii. 52. The same plea was of course used as a means of discipline within the Church (Tert. *Paen.* 10–12; Hipp. *Dan.* I. xxii. 3).

[4] Iren. v. xxviii. 3 (ii. 402f), xxx. 4 (ii. 410), xxxvi. 1f (ii. 427–429) (he adopts the scheme of 6000 years, but does not, so far as I have noticed, speak of a future Kingdom *limited* to 1000 years: there will be a new heaven and a new earth, embracing various stages of advancement, the blessed rising from one to another); Tert. *Marc.* iii. 24 (ii. 156–158), *Apol.* 48 (i. 294) (Tertullianus wrote a special treatise, *De Spe Fidelium*, in which he put forth chiliastic views: Bardenhewer 189); Hipp. *Dan.* IV. xxiii.: cf. Ps-Cypr. *Pasch.* 17. There is a reference to the millennial period (ἡ διαβόητος χιλιονταετηρίς) in Orig. *Orat.* xxvii. 13.

[5] As the beliefs about the Antichrist are intimately bound up with the Christian attitude to the Empire, I have reserved all discussion of them until the latter subject is being dealt with; see below, pp. 347f.

[6] Iren. v. ix. 4, xxx. 4, xxxii. 1–xxxv. 2 (ii. 344, 410, 413–426), *Demonstr.* 61 init.; Tert. *Marc.* iii. 24 (ii. 156f); Orig. *Princ.* II. xi. 2. Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, wrote a book maintaining that there would be "a certain millennium of bodily luxury upon this earth"; his work seems to have been fairly widely read (Eus. *HE* VII. xxiv.). Gaius of Rome, we know, criticized the materialistic views of the future held by Cerinthus (Eus. *HE* III. xxviii. 1f);

be raised for judgment, the world would be destroyed, Satan would be loosed, and cast with his followers into the eternal fire, while the righteous would enjoy eternal bliss.[1] The details of the picture were drawn from various Hebrew and Christian prophecies, which, it was urged, could not be interpreted allegorically, or applied to a purely celestial state.[2]

*Origenes criticizes the Chiliasts* somewhat severely, saying that they are people who refuse the labour of thinking, yield to their pleasures and lusts, and are disciples only of the letter of Scripture : they understand the Scriptures in a Jewish sense, and draw from them nothing worthy of the Divine promises.[3] He takes occasion several times to intimate that the promised rewards will be enjoyed, not on earth, but in heaven.[4] The earth which the gentle are to inherit is, according to him, not this earth, which was cursed as a result of Adam's sin, but a heavenly region.[5] Origenes was certainly justified in criticizing the crude detail with which the Chiliasts often drew their picture ; but on the single point of the hope of the establishment of the Divine Kingdom on earth, his view compares unfavourably with theirs. It appears further that the charge of lustfulness which he brought against them was not altogether merited. He seems here to have fallen into the very error with which he so often charges Celsus, namely, of selecting for criticism crude representations put forward by ignorant and simple-minded Christians without taking into consideration the light in which the stronger Christian intellects viewed the matter. That Irenæus, for instance, did not confine his expectation of rewards to bodily pleasures is clear. " The just shall reign on earth," he says, " growing (stronger) by the vision of the Lord, and through Him they shall become accustomed to receiving the glory of God the Father, and shall have in the Kingdom intercourse and communion with the holy angels and a unity with spiritual beings." [6] " We say," says Tertullianus, " that this (city) has

he appears to have rejected the Johannine Apocalypse on account both of its materialism and of its apparent departures from the teaching of Jesus and Paul, and to have referred certain eschatological passages in Scripture to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. (Hipp. *Gaius* 408 ; also the addl. extracts given by Achelis 243–246). Hippolytus controverted the views of Gaius, and in doing so speaks of the one glorious day lasting a thousand years, when Christ will reign see (Hipp. *Gaius*, esp. 403f) : in *πρὸς Ἕλληνας* 3 his view of the Kingdom rather resembles that of Irenæus (see p. 308 n 4).

[1] Tert. *Apol.* 48 (i. 294f), *Marc.* iii. 24 (ii. 156–158) ; Hipp. *Gaius* 404.

[2] Iren. v. xxxiii. 1 (ii. 416), xxxv. 1f (ii. 423, 425f). Nepos entitled his eschatological work *Ἔλεγχος ἀλληγοριστῶν* (Eus. *HE* vii. xxiv. 2).

[3] Orig. *Princ.* ii. xi. 2.

[4] Orig. *Princ.* ii. iii. 7, iv. i. 22, *Cels.* vi. 20, vii. 28–31.

[5] Orig. *Cels.* vii. 28f.

[6] Iren. v. xxxv. 1 (ii. 424).

been provided by God for receiving the saints on (their) resurrection, and refreshing them with abundance of all good things, certainly (utique) spiritual things, as compensation for those which in this life we have either despised or lost." [1]

## CHAPTER III

### GENERAL ATTITUDE TO HEATHEN SOCIETY

OTHERWORLDLINESS.—The whole setting of the Christian's world-view drew his longings and interests away from the present life to the life beyond. His citizenship was in heaven ; [2] and his main concern was to hasten forward to its enjoyment.[3] He regards himself as a pilgrim, with no desire to cling to the things he meets with or uses on his journey.[4] Hence not only has worldly glory no attractions for the genuine Christian,[5] but he must hold earthly pleasures and pains in contempt,[6] and beware lest the devil enmesh him with worldly attractions.[7]

ALOOFNESS FROM HEATHEN SOCIETY. — These otherworldly sentiments would almost have sufficed of themselves to make the Christian man somewhat of a recluse ; but there was another factor tending in the same direction, viz. the Christian's disapproval of many of the ordinary customs of heathen social life, and his consequent inability to take part in them.[8] The principle of avoiding

[1] Tert. *Marc.* iii. 24 (ii. 156).

[2] Tert. *Cor.* 13 (i. 451) (Sed tu . . . civis supernae Hierusalem. Noster, inquit, municipatus in caelis) ; Orig. *Cels.* viii. 5.

[3] Iren. *fr.* 11 (ii. 480) (*τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Χριστιανοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν, ἢ μελετᾶν ἀποθνήσκειν*) ; Tert. *Apol.* 41 (i. 272) (nihil nostra refert in hoc aevo, nisi de eo quam celeriter excedere), *Spect.* 15 (i. 46 : see next page, n 6), 28 (i. 60) (quod est aliud votum nostrum, quam quod et apostoli, exire de saeculo et recipi apud Dominum ? Hic voluptas, ubi et votum), 29.

[4] Cl. *Strom.* iv. xxvi. 166, vi. ix. 79, vii. xii. 78 ; Tert. *Cor.* 13 (i. 451) (tu peregrinus mundi hujus).

[5] Tert. *Idol.* 9 (i. 78) (. . . gloriae saecularis, quam Christus erat adempturus), *Cor.* 13 (i. 450) ; Orig. *Cels.* vii. 24 (forbidden both in O.T. and in teaching of Jesus *τὸ δόξης ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῆς παρ' ἀνθρώποις*).

[6] Cl. *Strom.* vii. xi. 63, xii. 78 ; Tert. *Spect.* 29 (i. 60) (quae major voluptas quam fastidium ipsius voluptatis, quam saeculi totius contemptus ?), *Cor.* 13 (i. 451) ; Orig. *Mart.* 49 ; Cypr. *Donat.* 14, *Hab. Virg.* 7.

[7] Tert. *Paen.* 7 (i. 657) (. . . animum illecebris saecularibus irretire), *Res.* 46 fin. (Paul addressed the words of C ii. 20 'ad eos qui desinere deberent mundialiter vivere').

[8] Ps-Just. *Orat.* 1 init. ; Cl. *Strom.* i. viii. 41 ; Hipp. *Ant.* 40 fin. (quotation of Ap xviii. 4f), *Dan.* i. xv. 5 ; Cypr. *Test.* iii. 34 (fidelem gentiliter vivere non

association with evil-doers, which had now come to have a recognized application within the Church itself,[1] had a still more obvious bearing on the Christian's relations with the pagan world. "We ought never," says Clemens, "to aim at pleasing the many: for the things that please them we do not practise, whereas the things that we know are remote from their disposition."[2] He warns the Christian against going with the crowd, "for wisdom shows itself among few, but disorder in a multitude": [3] he must not invite all and sundry to his house, for fear of the devil's snares; he must associate with the righteous, not with the lewd, for Scripture says, "Let righteous men be thy guests."[4] The Gnostic, he says, never surrenders himself to the rabble that rules in the theatres.[5]

Tertullianus, as might be expected, is emphatic on the point. After alluding to the pleasures of the public shows, he continues: "It is not enough for us that we do no such thing ourselves, unless we break all connection with those that do such things. . . . Would that we were not even detained in the world with them: anyhow we are separated from them in worldly things, for the world is God's, but worldly things are the devil's."[6] He quotes the separatist sayings of the Old Testament,[7] and says that the Prophets taught men to flee from contact with the wicked.[8] That Tertullianus was stricter than many of his fellow-Christians on the point of separation from the world, we may well believe;[9] but that a very wide gulf of separation actually existed between Christians and pagans it is scarcely possible to doubt. Thus Origenes, while repudiating the charge that Christians were seditious, admitted that "they do sever and break themselves away from those who are aliens to the commonwealth of God, and strangers to His covenants, in order that they may carry out their heavenly citizenship."[10]

oportere), 95 (bonis convivendum, malos autem vitandos). On the refusal to swear an oath, see below, p. 457 n 4.

[1] Clemens (*Paed.* II. i. 10) and Tertullianus (*Pudic.* 18) (i. 833) quote the warnings of 1 C v. 11. The former says that jesters ought to be ejected τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς πολιτείας (*Paed.* II. v. 45).

[2] Cl. *Strom.* I. viii. 41. Tertullianus in *Idol.* 14 (i. 91f) discusses the meaning of the Pauline teaching about pleasing men.

[3] Cl. *Paed.* III. iv. 27, cf. *Strom.* V. v. 31; Ps-Mel. I (113).

[4] Cl. *Paed.* III. iv. 29 (Sirach ix. 16); cf. xi. 75f.

[5] Cl. *Strom.* VII. vii. 36.

[6] Tert. *Spect.* 15 (i. 45f).

[7] Tert. *Pudic.* 18 (i. 832), quoting Isa lii. 11, Ps i. 1, etc.

[8] Tert. *Marc.* ii. 19 (ii. 107). His threat of a general secession of Christians from society (*Apol.* 37 (i. 251)) is rhetorical, and not meant to be taken seriously.

[9] Neumann *SK* 119. On Tertullianus' hostility to worldly institutions, cf. Boissier *FP* i. 221–239.

[10] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 5.

It appears that in this period certain Christians began on principle to cultivate a lonely life as hermits. Clemens speaks in terms of high praise of "those who haul themselves out of the surf of the world and ascend to safety, not wishing to seem holy, and ashamed if anyone call them so." [1]

MIXING WITH THE WORLD.—We have noticed in previous periods that the tendency towards a narrow separatism was continually checked, partly by the growing worldliness of many Christians, and partly also by a genuine sense of the duty of christianizing the rest of the world. It is in the period at which we have now arrived that the operation of these tendencies becomes a prominent feature in the life of the Church. On every hand we see signs of an increased willingness on the part of Christians to fraternize with their pagan fellow-men, and to enter into the general life of society.[2] Christian separatism served the useful purpose of retarding, if it did not altogether avert, an undue assimilation of the Church to the heathen society around her; but it did not in practice prevent a large measure of association between them. The same authors give their testimony both to the exclusiveness and to the sociability of the Christians. Clemens says that the Christian has to walk in wisdom toward them that are without,[3] that it is allowable to be a listener to Divine wisdom, and at the same time a citizen, decorously and in a godly way conducting worldly affairs.[4] The evidence of Tertullianus is the

[1] Cl. *Quis Dives* 36: he calls them "more elect than the elect," "the light of the world," "the salt of the earth," "the seed, image, and likeness of God." On the beginnings of Christian monasticism, cf. Robertson *RD* 162–165; Harnack *Monasticism: its Ideals and History* (E.T. from German), 24ff.

[2] On this rapprochement between the world and the Church, cf. Uhlhorn *Ch.* 206f; Ramsay in *The Expositor*, III. viii. 418f (commenting on Phrygian inscriptions of about 200 A.D. in which distinctively Christian features appear to have been purposely reduced to a minimum); Neumann *SK* 112ff, 200f; Harnack *ME* i. 311 n, *KS* 139f; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 180. Uhlhorn says: "That the Church should after its conquest of Montanism turn into this path, was a thoroughly necessary and right development. Nor is it to be accounted a fault, that it became milder in discipline, and made reconciliation possible to the fallen, that the whole idea of Christian life was somewhat lowered; for what the first enthusiasm had effected in the Church's youth, could no longer be required in the subsequent centuries." One may agree with Uhlhorn that the Montanization of the Church would have been a disaster: but it is very difficult to distinguish between the process of compromise of which he so warmly approves, and that large surrender of moral requirements which in the immediate sequel (207) he deplores. It need not be taken for granted that a Church with a strict standard of morals could not have permeated national and social life. The Christianization of the world might have taken longer, but it would have been deeper and more thorough than it actually was.

[3] Cl. *Paed.* III. xii. 95, quoting C iv. 5.

[4] Cl. *Paed.* III. xi. 78: for the Greek, see below, p. 395 n 4. On Clemens' view of the Christian attitude to the world, see Neumann *SK* 113–116.

more interesting—as he represents the extreme of Christian aloofness from the world. "We call each other brethren, . . ." he says to the pagans concerning himself and his fellow-Christians, "but we are your brothers as well, by the law of the one mother Nature."[1] "We are said to be useless in the business affairs (of life. But) how can men who live with you, (men) with the same food, clothing, habits, and necessitie(s) of life (as yourselves, be so)? For we are not Brahmans or Indian Gymnosophists, forest-dwellers and exiles from (social) life. We remember that we owe thanks to God (our) Lord (and) Creator: we reject no fruit of His works; though we exercise restraint, lest we use (them) excessively or wrongly. And so we dwell with (you) in this world, not without a forum, not without a provision-market, not without your baths, shops, workrooms, inns, weekly markets, and other places of business. With you we go on voyages, and serve as soldiers, and till the soil, and trade; we mingle (our) crafts (with yours); we make our work public for your use. I know not how we (can) seem useless for your affairs, living with you and by your help (cum quibus et de quibus) as we do."[2] In his treatise 'on Idolatry,' he discusses the meaning of the Pauline phrase "all things to all men," and distinguishes between permissible intercourse with pagans and illicit association with them in superstition and sin.[3] He speaks without

[1] Tert. *Apol.* 39 (i. 260f); cf. *Marc.* iv. 16 (ii. 195) (Haec Creator una pronuntiatione clusit per Esaiam: Dicite, Fratres nostri estis, eis qui vos oderunt. Isa lxvi. 5).

[2] Tert. *Apol.* 42 (i. 273f) (infructuosi in negotiis dicimur. Quo pacto homines vobiscum degentes, ejusdem victus, habitus, instructus, ejusdem ad vitam necessitatis? Neque enim Brachmanae aut Indorum gymnosophistae sumus, sylvicolae et exules vitae. Meminimus gratiam nos debere Deo Domino Creatori; nullum fructum operum ejus repudiamus; plane temperamus, ne ultra modum aut perperam utamur. Itaque non sine foro, non sine macello, non sine balneis, tabernis, officinis, stabulis, nundinis vestris, caeterisque commerciis cohabitamus in hoc saeculo. Navigamus et nos vobiscum et militamus et rusticamur et mercamur; [Oehler reads 'mercatus' and transfers stop to after 'miscemus'] proinde miscemus artes, operas nostras publicamus usui vestro. Quomodo infructuosi videamur negotiis vestris, cum quibus et de quibus vivimus, non scio). If *CIL* xiv. 251 (ll. 25f) and 1900 both refer to the same man, they show us a Christian, Marcus Curtius Victorinus, who was 'quinquennalis lenunculariorum,' i.e. president of the guild of sailors, at Ostia in 192 A.D. He would be a person of some little importance, some of his colleagues in office being 'equites Romani.'

[3] Tert. *Idol.* 14 (i. 91f): Proinde cum dicit, Omnibus omnia factus sum, ut omnes lucrifaciam (1 C ix. 22), numquid idololatris idololatres, numquid ethnicis ethnicus, numquid saecularibus saecularis? Sed etsi non prohibet nos conversari cum idololatris et adulteris et ceteris criminosis, dicens, Ceterum de mundo exiretis, non utique eas habenas conversationis immittit, ut, quoniam necesse est et convivere nos et commisceri cum peccatoribus, idem et compeccare possimus. Ubi est commercium vitae quod apostolus concedit, ibi peccare, quod nemo permittit. Licet convivere cum ethnicis, commori non licet. Convivamus cum omnibus; conlaetemur ex communione naturae, non superstitionis. Etc.

reproach of Christian women having to fulfil the claims of their friendships with gentiles and other duties owed to them.[1] Origenes speaks of the debts owed to citizens and to men as those which are due both from and to Christians.[2] He says that Christians see no good reason why they should leave the world, except when virtue and piety require it,[3] i.e. under certain conditions of persecution. Minucius in his dialogue represents himself and Octavius as associating in a free and friendly way with their pagan acquaintance Cæcilius. Gregorius tells us that at one time he thought he ought never more to associate with heathen philosophers, but he admits that this decision was probably a wrong one.[4]

Pagan Hatred and Christian Love.—The *hatred* with which the Christians were so generally regarded by their heathen associates[5] was such as to render friendly intercourse between the two sometimes impossible, often difficult, and generally precarious. The Christians did what they could to overcome the difficulty by conciliatory and loving behaviour and by appeals to reason. *The duty of love* lay at the basis of their whole ethic,[6] and the important scriptural corollaries enjoining love for enemies, and forbidding retaliation, vengeance, and anger, were constantly before their minds.[7] Tertullianus, indeed, somewhat smirches the

[1] Tert. *Cul.* ii. 11 (i. 731) (Ac si necessitas amicitiarum officiorumque gentilium vos vocat, cur non vestris armis indutae procedatis?); Bigelmair 229f.

[2] Orig. *Orat.* xxviii. 2 (*ἔστι τις καὶ πρὸς πολίτας ὀφειλὴ καὶ ἄλλη κοινὴ πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους*), 6 init. (*οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὀφείλουσιν ἡμῖν ὡς ἀνθρώποις οἱ δὲ ὡς πολίταις*).

[3] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 55.

[4] Greg. Thaum. *Paneg.* x. 128: . . . *οἷς διὰ τὸν λοιπὸν βίον οὐδὲ προσιέναι ἄξιον εἶναι ἐδόκουν, ἴσως οὐκ ὀρθῶς τοῦτο φρονῶν.*

[5] Tert. *Apol.* 7 (i. 137); Hipp. *Dan.* iii. xvi. 1–3, xix. 4, iv. x. 3; Orig. *Mart.* 39, 41, *Cels.* vi. 27f, viii. 70; Cypr. *Test.* iii. 29.

[6] Theoph. iii. 14; Iren. *Demonstr.* 87 (141), 95 fin. (147); Cl. *Strom.* vii. xi. 68, xii. 69); Tert. *Apol.* 36 (i. 249) (male enim velle, male facere, male dicere, male cogitare de quoquam ex aequo vetamur); Bardesanic *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (*ANCL* xxiib. 90f).

[7] *P. Scill.* 2 (nunquam maledixiimus, sed male accepti gratias egimus, propter quod imperatorem nostrum obseruamus); Theoph. iii. 14; Iren. ii. xxxii. 1 (i. 372), iii. xviii. 5f (ii. 99f), iv. xiii. 3, xxxiv. 4 (ii. 182, 271f), *Demonstr.* 96 (147); *Act. Apoll.* 37 (*ἐδίδαξεν γὰρ θυμὸν παύειν, . . . φιλίαν αὔξειν, . . . πρὸς ἄμυναν ἀδικούντων μὴ τρέπεσθαι, κτλ.*); Cl. *Strom.* ii. i. 2, xviii. 88, iv. xiv. 95, vii. xi. 62 (the Gnostic "never bears a grudge or is vexed with any one, even though he be worthy of hatred for what he does"), *fr.* (iii. 221) (Clemens' advice to the newly baptized, *μηδὲν ὀξυχολίας ἀνάπλεος ἔσο περὶ ὀργάς, . . . ἥπιά σοι πρὸς τοὺς ἁπαντῶντας ἔστω τὰ ῥήματα καὶ προσηγορίαι γλυκεῖαι*); Tert. *Apol.* 37 init., 39 fin., 46 (i. 284) (Christianus nec inimicum suum laedit), *Pat.* 10; Bardesanes' School in *ANCL* xxiib. 94 (vengeance lion-like and leopard-like); Orig. *Cels.* ii. 10, 30, v. 63, vii. 25f, viii. 35; Cypr. *Test.* iii. 22 (accepta iniuria remittendum et ignoscendum), 23 (uicem malis non reddendam), 49 (inimicos quoque diligendos), 106 (iniuria accepta patientiam tenandam et ultionem Deo relinquendam).

beauty of the Christian principle of the endurance of wrongs, by inviting the injured one to take pleasure in the disappointment which his patience inflicts upon the wrong-doer. The spirit of retaliation is kept, and ' coals of fire ' selected as the most poignant means of giving effect to it.[1] But his failure to catch the real spirit of Christian love renders his testimony to what was the normal Christian policy all the more unimpeachable. Both he and Clemens take it for granted that Christian principles would forbid a man to sue an enemy, whether Christian or heathen, in a court of law.[2] But this did not mean that the Christians did not concern themselves with checking the wrong-doing of others. They appealed by Christian love to the evil-doer's free will.[3]

The Apologies.—Nor were Christians in any way disposed to let the calumnies and criticisms of pagans go unanswered. Tertullianus insists on the duty of rebuking an erring brother ;[4] and we know that with him the word ' brother ' included pagan and enemy.[5] Christians, says Origenes, have learnt to be always ready to give an answer to every one who asks them a reason for the hope that is in them.[6] The apologetic literature of the period is very abundant ;[7] and we may safely conclude that the verbal discussions between Christians and pagans, of which we obtain glimpses in the written sources,[8] were also of very frequent occurrence. The replies made by martyrs when before the magistrates come properly under the heading of oral apologies. Of written apologies addressed or dedicated to rulers we have examples in

[1] Tert. *Pat.* 8. " Mercy is a word he understood no better than the Stoics " (Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 238). There is an interesting study of Tertullianus' views on non-resistance in *The Expositor*, viii. ix. 437–445 (May 1915) by Dr. Moffatt.

[2] For the evidence on this point, see below, pp. 364ff.

[3] Among the fragments attributed to Clemens is the following (ap. Maximus Confessor, *Serm.*, 55 (Migne *PG* xci. 965)) : Μάλιστα πάντων Χριστιανοῖς οὐκ ἐφίεται τὸ πρὸς βίαν ἐπανορθοῦν τὰ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων πταίσματα. Οὐ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνάγκῃ τῆς κακίας ἀπεχομένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς προαιρέσει, στεφανοῖ ὁ Θεός. Οὐ δυνατόν τινα ἀγαθὸν εἶναι βεβαίως, εἰ μὴ κατὰ προαίρεσιν οἰκείαν, κτλ. Stählin (*Clem. Alex.* iii. lxxiii f) includes the sentences among the *ungenuine* fragments, the first part (down to Θεός) being found in the works of Johannes Chrysostomus, the rest in *Clem. Hom.* xi. 8. The *sentiments* are certainly those of our period, and indeed of Clemens himself, and I am not sure that it is proved that Chrysostomus might not have been borrowing from him : but in deference to Stählin's authority, I have thought it best not to include the quotation in the text.

[4] Tert. *Marc.* iv. 35 init. (ii. 252) : cf. Cypr. *Test.* iii. 77.

[5] See above, p. 313 n 1.

[6] Orig. *Cels.* vii. 12.

[7] On the Apologists of the third century, cf. Uhlhorn *C* 391–393.

[8] Theoph. ii. 1, 38 fin. ; Minuc. passim ; see above, p. 303.

Tertullianus' 'Apologeticus,' which opens with an appeal to the provincial governors of the Empire,[1] and the Pseudo-Melitonian 'Apology' addressed to Caracalla (or Elagabalus) and preserved to us in Syriac.[2] Then there is the apologetic discourse written to the individual heathen friend, as exemplified in the three books inscribed by Theophilus of Antioch to Autolycus. Akin to this type are the explanatory discourses sent to Christian friends in order that the latter may use them in discussion with unbelievers,[3] or perhaps secure for them access to a wide circle of readers. Thus Origenes undertook his great reply to the 'True Word' of Celsus at the request of his friend Ambrosius, a man of wealth and rank: he dedicated his work to Ambrosius, but intended it also for the perusal of gentiles and Christians whose faith was weak.[4] Still more frequent, apparently, were the treatises addressed direct to the heathen public, e.g. the Pseudo-Justinian 'Address to the Hellenes,' a criticism of the Hellenic idea of God and religious customs; Clemens' 'Hortatory Address to the Hellenes,' a persuasive appeal to pagans to embrace Christianity;[5] Tertullianus' address 'to the Nations,' which is at once a protest against persecution, a reply (generally on 'tu quoque' lines) to the current charges of immorality, and a violent attack on the Roman religion; Hippolytus' book 'Against the Hellenes and against Plato, or, concerning the Cause of the Universe,' dealing with questions concerning the soul, matter, the future life, etc.; and Minucius Felix's dialogue 'Octavius,' describing the conversion of a pagan

[1] Neumann *SK* 111f, 119–154; Gwatkin *ECH* i. 206–210.

[2] That this was a written, not a spoken, address appears from 5 fin. (117) (" of which matter I will not write further "). It is a coolly reasoned statement on the nature of God, appealing to the Emperor and his sons to adopt the Christian belief in view of the approaching judgment. Eusebius (*HE* IV. xxx. 2) tells us that among the works of Bardesanes "there is his very able dialogue *on Fate* (addressed) to Antoninus, and the other things they say he wrote by reason of the persecution of that time." Eusebius wrongly puts Bardesanes in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, whom he means by Antoninus. *The Book of the Laws of the Countries*, which is identical with the Dialogue *on Fate*, was not written by Bardesanes himself, but by one of his school, and does not appear to have been addressed to any Emperor.

[3] Hipp. *Ant.* 1: . . . ὅπως . . . δυσωπήσῃς . . . δι' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀντιδιατεθεμένους καὶ ἀντιλέγοντας τῷ σωτηρίῳ λόγῳ: but he is anxious that his friend should not divulge these doctrines to the unworthy.

[4] Orig. *Cels.* Pref. 1, 3f, 6f, i. 37 (ἔτι δὲ πρὸς Ἕλληνας λεκτέον), ii. 16 (ὡς πρὸς ἀπίστους, κτλ.), v. 18, viii. 76.

[5] The *Paedagogus* and the *Stromata* were primarily intended for Christian readers, but the apologetic interest appears in *Strom.* II. i. 2 (where he proposes to present an ἔλεγχος ἀγαπητικός of the better philosophers, not by way of retaliation, but with a view to their conversion; ὃς δ' ἐλέγχει μετὰ παῤῥησίας εἰρηνοποιεῖ) and VI. i. 1 (Hellenes will learn from his pages the impiety of persecution: he will answer difficulties raised by Hellenes and barbarians over the Lord's Parousia).

after a discussion on the points at issue between paganism and Christianity.[1]

The *conditions calling for apologetic writing* were constant as long as there remained pagans to be convinced; but the threat or outbreak of persecution furnished, of course, special occasions for it. The approaching celebration of the thousandth anniversary of the foundation of Rome (248 A.D.), the consequent discouragement of the Christians, and the presumed likelihood of persecution breaking out again after the long peace, were, we may imagine, among the causes that prompted Ambrosius to ask Origenes for a reply to a heathen attack that had been made some seventy years earlier, and probably moved Minucius Felix also to produce his apologetic dialogue.[2] It was the object of both authors to make a helpful contribution to the cause of the Church at a time of special difficulty and danger.

In regard to the *manner and tone of the Christian apologetic*, the Apologists evince an intense willingness to make their replies to pagan objections complete and intelligible.[3] Origenes carefully guards against even the appearance of leaving any point raised by his opponent unanswered.[4] The tone of such controversies naturally varied a good deal. Theophilus reproaches Autolycus for his empty and boastful attacks[5] and for being hard upon him;[6] but on the whole their conversations had been very friendly.[7] Tertullianus, having to grapple with no individual heathen adversary, is uniformly trenchant and disrespectful. Origenes constantly utters reproaches against his long-deceased antagonist.[8] He accuses him of writing in an unphilosophic tone,[9] without a real love of truth,[10] but from sheer enmity to the Christians and their

[1] There is an interesting study of *Octavius* in Boissier *FP* i. 261–289.

[2] Neumann *SK* 251f. It is proper, however, to remind the reader that several scholars date Minucius Felix before Tertullianus.

[3] Theoph. iii. 1 ( . . . . ἔτι λῆρον ἠγῇ τυγχάνειν τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας . . . διὸ δὴ κἀγὼ οὐκ ὀκνήσω ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαί σοι . . . ); Minuc. xiv. 7 (diligenter quantum protest singula ponderemus), xvi. 4.

[4] Orig. *Cels.* Pref. 3, i. 28, 41, ii. 46, iv. 18, v. 1, 53, vii. 1. Note also his request at the end of his work (viii. 76) that Ambrosius would send him any later work of Celsus that he might refute it also. Other special points about Origenes' polemic are the occasional mention of his reliance on Divine help (iv. 1, v. 1, vii. 1, viii. 1, 76: cf. Theoph. iii. 1), his appeal to posterity (iv. 85), and his use, for purposes of illustration or argument, of pagan stories unlikely to appeal to any but pagan readers (i. 37, ii. 16).

[5] Theoph. i. 1: ἐπειδὴ οὖν, ὦ ἑταῖρε, κατέπληξάς με λόγοις κενοῖς καυχησάμενος ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς σου τοῖς λιθίνοις καὶ ξυλίνοις, κτλ.

[6] Theoph. ii. 1: σκληρῶς τὰ πρῶτα ἔχοντός σου πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

[7] *L.c.* they had parted μετὰ πλείστης φιλίας. [8] Patrick 118.

[9] Orig. *Cels.* i. 40, 71, ii. 40, iii. 42, iv. 41 (ἀφιλοσοφ-, etc.).

[10] *Op. cit.* ii. 3 fin., iv. 46, vi. 16, 77 fin. (not φιλαληθῶς); cf. vii. 14 fin.

faith,[1] and with a reckless desire to overthrow whatever they said as soon as he heard it.[2] He pours scorn on Celsus' work as unskilful,[3] as containing such weak,[4] superficial,[5] silly,[6] and frivolous[7] arguments, that only the feeblest believers would be shaken by them;[8] the book was not a 'True Discourse';[9] it was confused and disorderly;[10] it was like a schoolboy's exercise;[11] the author was a braggart;[12] he had made use of sophisms and rhetorical devices,[13] and had aimed at swelling out his book with many words:[14] he was ignorant of his subject,[15] and—worse than that—prejudiced,[16] shameless,[17] and dishonest,[18] not only wilfully ignoring or suppressing facts,[19] but guilty of downright falsehood,[20] even—so Origenes suggests—going so far as to invent statements concerning the Christians out of his own head for the purpose of criticizing them.[21] He did not write seriously,[22] but in a scoffing tone,[23] with irreverence,[24] mockery,[25] abuse,[26] and ridicule:[27] he was a jester or buffoon,[28] talking mere drivel.[29] He was an Epicurean, though he would not own it;[30] and his mind was darkened by demons.[31] Origenes speaks sarcastically of his skill,[32] and calls him "the most wise Celsus,"[33] "the weighty philosopher,"[34] and "our noble friend."[35] It is curious as well as disappointing that Origenes should have allowed himself to treat his opponent with so much disrespect, particularly as he prided himself somewhat on his Christian fair-mindedness,[36] disclaimed the use of all malignity and ridicule,[37] and professed himself ready to accept with-

[1] Orig. *Cels.* i. 16, 40, ii. 3, 47, iii. 36, 53, iv. 41, 46, 48, vi. 16, 77 fin. (ἐχθ-); iv. 48, vi. 16 (μισ-); i. 6, 16, 34, ii. 24, 49 (κακουργ-); iv. 37, 39 (κακοηθ-); iii. 59 (πικρότερον).
[2] *Op. cit.* ii. 3 fin.
[3] *Op. cit.* ii. 1.
[4] *Op. cit.* i. 39 (Celsus is like τῶν . . . οὐδὲν σπουδῆς ἄξιον λεγόντων), vii. 2.
[5] *Op. cit.* ii. 21, 45 (ἐπιπόλαιον).
[6] *Op. cit.* ii. 44 init. (εὐηθ-).
[7] *Op. cit.* ii. 20, vi. 37 (εὐτελεσ-).
[8] *Op. cit.* Pref. 3f.
[9] *Op. cit.* Pref. 4.
[10] *Op. cit.* i. 40f, v. 9, 54f, viii. 66, 71.
[11] *Op. cit.* v. 58.
[12] *Op. cit.* ii. 32, iv. 1, 73 (ἀλαζον-); cf. vii. 9.
[13] *Op. cit.* ii. 20, v. 53.
[14] *Op. cit.* vi. 60, vii. 57.
[15] *Op. cit.* i. 6, 49, ii. 1, 16, v. 54f; cf. v. 65, vii. 32.
[16] *Op. cit.* iv. 49 (he had not read Scripture ἀδεκάστως).
[17] *Op. cit.* vii. 14 fin.
[18] *Op. cit.* i. 8; cf. 71.
[19] *Op. cit.* i. 6, 49, v. 59 fin.
[20] *Op. cit.* ii. 21, 39, 46, iii. 52f, vi. 38, viii. 1.
[21] *Op. cit.* vi. 35 fin., viii. 15.
[22] *Op. cit.* i. 37, 39.
[23] *Op. cit.* i. 39, iv. 30, vi. 36, 74 (χλευ-).
[24] *Op. cit.* vi. 78.
[25] *Op. cit.* i. 39, ii. 36, vi. 74 (παιζ-).
[26] *Op. cit.* i. 39, iii. 54, 73, vii. 46, viii. 41 (λοιδορ-).
[27] *Op. cit.* iv. 30, 37, 39.
[28] *Op. cit.* i. 37, iii. 22, iv. 30, vi. 74 (βωμόλοχ-).
[29] *Op. cit.* vi. 74 fin., viii. 71 fin. (φλυαρία).
[30] *Op. cit.* v. 3.
[31] *Op. cit.* vi. 67, viii. 63, 66.
[32] *Op. cit.* i. 8 init. (δεινότης).
[33] *Op. cit.* ii. 20.
[34] *Op. cit.* iv. 30 (ὁ σεμνὸς φιλόσοφος).
[35] *Op. cit.* iv. 81, vi. 38 (ὁ γεννάδας).
[36] *Op. cit.* v. 55 (εὐγνωμονέστερον), vii. 46.
[37] *Op. cit.* iv. 39—though he himself once tries his hand at a joke (vi. 50).

out captious opposition any truths or sound reasonings put forward by unbelievers.[1] But despite such concessions, he represents the few correct statements uttered by Celsus as due to his catching glimpses of truth during lucid intervals in the course of his struggle with the demons.[2] It is distressing to find the greatest Christian apology of those early centuries—perhaps the greatest of the whole Christian era—marred by these traces of controversial bitterness. In criticizing the distinguished author for his failure in this respect, it will be fair to bear in mind that the style of the work to which he was replying was apparently hardly less provocative, and that the author of it had been long dead: we cannot believe that Origenes would have written in this way of any living opponent, particularly if the latter's attack had been characterized by reasonable courtesy and fair-mindedness. In respect of tone, the apology of Minucius forms somewhat of a contrast to that of Origenes. He represents the heathen Cæcilius as speaking with some heat,[3] but his Christian friend Octavius as replying to Cæcilius' arguments with studied mildness.[4]

## CHAPTER IV

## ATTITUDE TO HEATHEN LEARNING AND PHILOSOPHY[5]

Intellect in the Church.—It was a matter of common knowledge that Christianity had been embraced for the most part by simple-minded and unlearned people. The prophets of old,[6] Jesus himself, the converts of Jesus and Paul,[7] and the majority

[1] Orig. *Cels.* vii. 46, viii. 76 fin. (ἀφιλονείκως).
[2] *Op. cit.* viii. 63, 66.
[3] Minuc. v. 3f, viii. 1, xiv. 1, xvi. 1, 5, and see next note.
[4] Minuc. xvi. 1 (Et Octavius: Dicam equidem, ut potero pro uiribus, et adnitendum tibi mecum est, ut conuiciorum amarissimam labem uerborum ueracium flumine diluamus). Cf. Neumann *SK* 245 ("Zwischen Origenes und Minucius Felix bestehen keine grundsätzlichen Unterschiede; aber der römische Weltmann weiss seine Überzeugungen gefälliger und milder vorzutragen als der griechische Gelehrte. Und auch diesen würde seine grössere Schroffheit zu keiner Provocation verleitet haben").
[5] Cf. Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures, 1888*, Lect. V. 'Christianity and Greek Philosophy' (116–138); Harnack *KS* 141–143.
[6] Theoph. ii. 35 fin.
[7] Iren. II. xix. 7 (i. 320); Orig. *Cels.* i. 27, 29, 62, iii. 47f.

of living Christians,[1] were folk of this type. Such Christians, Origenes explained, could not be expected to understand fully the deeper doctrines of the faith (though some of them might claim to know everything[2]), and Christian teaching had consequently to be put in simple terms for them.[3] That there was, however, a considerable minority of well-educated, thoughtful, and intelligent believers, capable and even eager to enter into the philosophic side of Christianity, is abundantly clear, not only from the quality and quantity of contemporary Christian literature, but also from statements of fact which that literature contains.[4]

Unfavourable Criticism of Heathen Philosophy.—In championing the cause of a faith which contradicted in so many points the scientific views of the age, and the adherents of which were for the most part uneducated people, the Apologist's strongest plea undoubtedly was the obvious fact that the moral results achieved by Christian teaching in the lives of men were immeasurably superior to those secured by the pursuit of philosophy.[5] Even the philosophers themselves had in some cases been guilty of flagrant immoralities.[6] Unlike Christianity, the teachings of philosophy had not been widely accepted, nor had the philosophers undertaken any large mission for the betterment of mankind.[7] All men had not got the leisure and aptitude for philosophy ;[8] and not only was it perfectly possible for a man to enjoy the main

[1] Cl. *Strom.* I. xx. 99 (σχεδὸν οἱ πάντες ἄνευ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς, οἳ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ γραμμάτων, κτλ.) ; Minuc. v. 4, viii. 4f, xii. 7 ; Orig. *Cels.* i. 27, vi. 14.

[2] Orig. *Cels.* i. 12.

[3] Orig. *Cels.* i. 9f, 13, iii. 52f, iv. 10, v. 15f, 20, vi. 1f, 13, vii. 60, viii. 23.

[4] During this whole period, the catechetical school of Alexandria was at the height of its fame. Cf. also *Perpet.* ii. 1. (Vibia Perpetua, honeste nata, liberaliter instituta) ; Greg. Thaum. *Paneg.* i. 3 (general commendation of philosophers), v. 56 (Gregorius' own 'gentle' birth, and education in rhetoric), vi. 75–85, xi. 133–135, 141 (Origenes instils his passion for philosophy into his pupils), xiii. 151ff, xiv. 170ff, xv. 182 (comprehensive range of philosophic study allowed and commended by Origenes to his pupils) ; Orig. *Cels.* i. 26f, 29, iii. 19, 44, 47f, 52f, 57, v. 28, vi. 14 : Harnack *ME* ii. 33–42 (an interesting section on "the spread of Christianity among the aristocratic, the cultured, the wealthy, and the official classes" before Constantinus).

[5] Cl. *Strom.* I. xvi. 80 (ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ φιλοσοφία . . . ἐξασθενεῖ πράττειν τὰς κυριακὰς ἐντολάς) ; Tert. *Apol.* 49 ; Greg. Thaum. *Paneg.* ix. 124f, xi. 133–135 ; Orig. *Princ.* iv. i. 1, *Cels.* i. 18, 64, iii. 57, 75, vii. 49, 59–61.

[6] Tert. *Apol.* 46 (i. 282–285) ; Minuc. xxxviii. 5 ; Orig. *Cels.* vii. 47, 49. Tertullianus disparaged even the virtues of philosophers ; note his treatment of patience (*Pat.* 1, 2 [. . . affectatio humana caninae aequanimitatis stupore formata . . .]).

[7] Cl. *Strom.* vi. xviii. 167 ; Greg. Thaum. *Paneg.* xiv. 158–160 ; Orig. *Princ.* iv. i. 1, *Cels.* vi. 1.

[8] Orig. *Cels.* i. 9.

spiritual and moral benefits of Christianity without being learned,[1] but also it was far better for him to possess these benefits without philosophy than to be a philosopher and lack them.[2] Further than this, the philosophers, despite their pretensions to wisdom,[3] had not for the most part abandoned the gross polytheism, idolatry, and error of heathenism, and had done little or nothing to discountenance them: such changes as some of them had advocated (e.g. atheism) were not improvements.[4]

These two charges of moral impotence and religious error constituted in Christian eyes a most damning indictment, sufficient to account for that marked *aversion from all heathen learning* which characterized much, if not the whole, of contemporary Christian thought. Passages from the Pauline Epistles, in which human wisdom was slightingly spoken of, were often quoted,[5] though authors interested in the cultivation of Christian learning strove to limit the application of such passages to sophistry, false doctrines, etc., and contended that they implied no censure against intellectual study of the right sort.[6] It is clear that less educated Christians were often very sweeping in their rejection of the philosophic habit of mind.[7] Christians generally seem to have paid but *scant respect to the philosophers* themselves and their doctrines. Apollonius, when making his defence before the Senate, was mildly rebuked by a Cynic philosopher, and told him in reply that he was a blind and senseless dissembler.[8] Theophilus says that the philosophers

[1] Cl. *Protr.* xi. 112, *Strom.* I. xx. 99, IV. viii. 58; Hipp. *Ref.* x. 5 (1); Minuc. xvi. 5f; Orig. *Cels.* i. 9–14: but cf. Cl. *Strom.* I. vi. 35 (ἀλλὰ καθάπερ καὶ ἄνευ γραμμάτων πιστὸν εἶναι δυνατόν φαμεν, οὕτως συνιέναι τὰ ἐν τῇ πίστει λεγόμενα οὐχ οἷόν τε μὴ μαθόντα ὁμολογοῦμεν) and Greg. Thaum. *Paneg.* vi. 79 (οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ εὐσεβεῖν ὅλως δυνατὸν εἶναι ἔφασκεν [sc. Ὠριγένης], ὀρθῶς λέγων, μὴ φιλοσοφήσαντι).

[2] Iren. II. xxvi. 1 (i. 345); Ps-Just. *Orat.* 5; Cl. *Strom.* VII. ii. 11; Orig. *Cels.* i. 9.

[3] Tert. *Anim.* 2 init. (ii. 558).

[4] Theoph. ii. 8, iii. 7f; Tert. *Nat.* ii. 3f; Cl. *Protr.* v. 64–66, vi. 67, *Strom.* I. xi. 52, VI. vi. 44; Orig. *Cels.* i. 21, ii. 13, v. 43, vi. 4, 17, vii. 44, 66, viii. 38.

[5] Iren. II. xxvi. 1 (i. 345); Cl. *Strom.* II. xi. 48; Hipp. *Dan.* III. ii. 2–5, *Diog.* xii. 5; Orig. *Orat.* xxi. 2, *Cels.* vi. 12; Cypr. *Test.* iii. 69; Dion. Alex. on Eccles i. 18 (Feltoe 212).

[6] Iren. II. xxvi. 1 (i. 345); Cl. *Strom.* I. iii. 22–24, viii. 39–42, xi. 50f, xviii. 88f; Orig. *Princ.* III. iii. 1–3, *Cels.* i. 13, iii. 47f, vi. 4. Cf. Greg. Thaum. *Paneg.* vii. 106–108 for a severe criticism of the 'rhetors.'

[7] See above, p. 238, for the allegations of Celsus himself, and cf. Cl. *Strom.* I. ix. 43 ("Ενιοι δὲ εὐφυεῖς οἰόμενοι εἶναι ἀξιοῦσι μήτε φιλοσοφίας ἅπτεσθαι μήτε διαλεκτικῆς, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὴν φυσικὴν θεωρίαν ἐκμανθάνειν, μόνην δὲ καὶ ψιλὴν τὴν πίστιν ἀπαιτοῦσιν). In Hipp. *Dan.* IV. iii. 6 the Hellenes as a race are represented as a leopard because they are "sharp in mind and resourceful in reasoning and bitter in heart."

[8] *Act. Apoll.* 33f: . . . ὁμολογεῖ δὲ ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἡ ἐν σοὶ τὴν ἀβλεψίαν τῆς καρδίας σου, εἰ καὶ προελεύσῃ εἰς πλῆθος ἀργολογίας· τοῖς γὰρ ἀνοήτοις ἡ ἀλήθεια ὄντως λοιδορία νομιστέα.

were inspired by demons, and asked what profit or benefit they reaped from their doctrines.[1] The power of the Logos, says Pseudo-Justinus, does not produce poets or philosophers or clever rhetors, but confers immortality.[2] Tertullianus and, to a somewhat lesser degree, Hippolytus speak of philosophers and their doctrines more or less regularly in terms of studied disrespect.[3] The philosophers were stigmatized, not only for the two prime defects already mentioned, but also in more general terms for their ignorance of the truth : [4] and miscellaneous points on which they were considered to be in error were frequently brought to notice.[5] Even Clemens and Origenes, whose philosophic sympathies were in some ways very marked, offered criticisms along the lines already indicated, though in milder terms.[6]

The Christian attitude to heathen learning in general and philosophy in particular involved the question as to how far it was right for Christians *to study and to teach heathen classical literature.* A perusal of the works of the great Hellenic poets formed a part of the liberal education of the day, and the poets were continually associated with the philosophers in Christian criticism, and their mythological tales of the gods offended the Christian religious feeling still more acutely than did the theories of the philosophers.[7] Might a Christian read these poems and other classical writings ?

[1] Theoph. ii. 8, iii. 2.

[2] Ps-Just. *Orat.* 5.

[3] Tert. *Apol.* 22 (i. 207), 46, *Pat.* 1 (i. 588) (philosophi . . . qui alicujus sapientiae animalia deputantur, etc.), *Spect.* 30 (i. 62) (Tertullianus invites Christians to look forward to seeing the philosophers in hell-fire), *Anim.* 2 (per contra, see below, p. 325 nn 3 and 6) (Guignebert 433–443) ; Hipp. *Ref.* passim, esp. ix. 31 (26), x. 5 (1), *Dan.* III. ii. 2ff. Cf. also the view of certain Christians—controverted by Clemens—that philosophy was originated by the devil (Cl. *Strom.* I. i. 18, xvi. 80). For expressions of pagan indignation at the Christian contempt for philosophy, see Aristeides (the pagan rhetorician) *Orat.* 46 (ed. Dindorf ii. 402ff) (quoted by Neumann *SK* 35–37), Minuc. v. 3f.

[4] Theoph. iii. 30 ; Iren. II. xiv. 2–7 (i. 289–300) ; Tert. *Herm.* 18 (ii. 354). Their disagreement is criticized in Theoph. iii. 3 and Tert. *Nat.* ii. 2, *Pat.* 1 (i. 588). Cf. also Dion. Alex. *περὶ φύσεως* (Feltoe 131ff), for a criticism of the metaphysics of Democritus and Epicurus.

[5] Iren. *l.c.* ; Theoph. ii. 32f, iii. 16, 18f ; Tert. *Anim.* passim, esp. 54 ; Hipp. *Ref.* ix. 31 (26).

[6] Cl. *Protr.* vii. 74, *Strom.* I. i. 7 (*τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν . . . φιλοσοφίαν, ἣς καθάπερ καὶ τῶν καρύων οὐ τὸ πᾶν ἐδώδιμον*), xi. 53 (the philosophers are *νήπιοι* unless they are made men by Christ), xvi. 80, xix. 95, xx. 98f, II. vi. 27, v. xi. 70, xiv. 134, VI. v. 39f, x. 83, xv. 117f, xvii. 153 ; Orig. *Cels.* iii. 80f, iv. 83, vi. 8, 41 : he is fond of pointing out that the truths stated by the philosophers are still better stated in Scripture, *Cels.* vi. 17f, vii. 42, 49. Gregorius criticizes the philosophers somewhat apologetically for their faulty views of God (*Paneg.* x. 127f, xiv. 165, 169).

[7] For the Christian antipathy to the poets, see Theoph. ii. 5f ; Ps-Just. *Orat.* 1, 5 ; Cl. *Protr.* i. 1–3 ; Minuc. xxxi. 3 ; Orig. *Cels.* iv. 38 : per contra, Cl. *Protr.* vii. 75f, *Strom.* I. xiv. 59, xix. 91, v. i. 9, xi. 70, VI. x. 83.

might a Christian schoolmaster teach them, a Christian scholar learn from them? Tertullianus declared for a complete abstention from pagan literature,[1] though when he came to consider the obvious necessities of education, he relaxed somewhat the rigour of his separatism. He runs over the various idolatrous accompaniments of a schoolmaster's life, and comes to the conclusion that a Christian may legitimately learn heathen literature, but not legitimately teach it.[2] The status of the Christian schoolmaster is dealt with in the 'Canons of Hippolytus.' The ruling seems to be that, if such a man can earn his living in another way, he must do so; if he knows no other trade, he may continue to teach, but must daily assure his pupils that there is but one God, and that the so-called gods of the gentiles are demons.[3] Origenes, at an early point in his career, gave up teaching 'grammatical science' as out of keeping with theology;[4] but we learn that later he encouraged his pupils to include every branch of learning in their studies, excluding only the productions of atheists.[5]

The hostility of the Church to philosophy was embittered by the recollection of the fact that *philosophy was, directly or indirectly, the parent of heresy*.[6] With heresy and the way in which it was dealt with we are not, strictly speaking, concerned here; but inasmuch as it was regarded as the offspring of heathen philosophy and as the ally of paganism and Judaism, all being equally outside the true Church,[7] it is perhaps in place to glance briefly at the Christian attitude towards it. That the Church recognized in heresy an extremely formidable antagonist is clear from the number and length of the treatises put forward during this period with a

[1] Tert. *Test.* 1 (i. 400) (Jam igitur nihil nobis erit cum literis et doctrina perversae felicitatis, cui in falso potius creditur quam in vero). *Spect.* 17 (i. 49) ( . . . doctrinam saecularis litteraturae, ut stultitiae apud Deum deputatam, aspernamur).

[2] Tert. *Idol.* 10: cf. Neumann *SK* 132f; Guignebert 469–480.

[3] Hipp. *Can.* xii. 69 (Γραμματικός, qui parvos pueros instruit, si aliam artem non novit, qua victum quaerat, vituperet, quandocunque in iis, quos instruit, aliquid apparet, et sincere confiteatur eos, qui a gentibus dii vocantur, daemones esse dicatque coram illis quotidie: Non est Deus nisi pater et filius et spiritus sanctus), 70 (let him convert his scholars to the true faith if he can): cf. *Const. Eg.* xi. 5 (Si parvulos erudit, bonum quidem est eum desinere; sin artem non habet, ignoscatur ei).

[4] Eus. *HE* vi. iii. 8.

[5] Greg. Thaum. *Paneg.* xiii. 151ff, xiv. 170, xv. 182. On pagan education and the Christian attitude to it, cf. Boissier *FP* i. 145–218; Bigg *CE* 1–31, esp. 24ff.

[6] Iren. ii. xiv. 2–7 (i. 289–300); Tert. *Apol.* 47 (i. 288f), *Praescr.* 7, 30 init., *Anim.* 3, 23; Hipp. *Ref.* i. pref., 26 fin. (23) iv. 7 (7), v. 6 (1), vi. 21 (16), vii. 30f (18f).

[7] Hippolytus said (*Dan.* i. xxi. 2) that the Church was afflicted and oppressed, not only by Jews and pagans, but by some who were called Christians, but who were not really such.

view to disproving its various doctrines. The long and elaborate works of Irenæus, Tertullianus, and Hippolytus at once occur to the mind. Theophilus compares heresies to barren rocky islands which wreck ships and destroy lives.[1] Their existence was of course put down to the demons ;[2] and heretics were of course doomed to Divine punishment.[3] Christians were gravely warned against being misled by them.[4] Hippolytus bids his readers stop their ears, as Odysseus did when passing the Seirenes.[5] The company of heretics was to be studiously avoided.[6] Yet this attitude, severe and bitter though it often was, was not necessarily an attitude of hatred. Every effort was made to refute heresy by open discussion. Tertullianus speaks of the duty of reproving an erring brother :[7] Irenæus considered that the mere exposure of heretical views was a sufficient refutation,[8] but he composed his refutation with the object of winning them back to the Church.[9] Others might laugh over their absurdities, but he himself regarded their errors and their schism as worthy of lamentation.[10] Clemens sadly suggests that the Logos was comparing philosophers with heretics when he said : " Better is a friend that is near, than a brother that dwelleth afar off."[11] Origenes says that Christians do not revile or hate sectarians who differ from them, but try gently and peaceably to convert them,[12] and he gives the heretics and pagan teachers the credit of sincerely believing what they taught.[13]

The existence of heretical sects, some of them avowedly anti-

[1] Theoph. ii. 14. [2] Tert. *Apol.* 47 (i. 289).
[3] Iren. I. xxii. 1 (i. 189), IV. xxvi. 2 (ii. 236).
[4] Iren. III. xvii. 4 (ii. 94f), *Demonstr.* 100 (151).
[5] Hipp. *Ref.* vii. 13 (1). On Hippolytus' attitude to heresy, cf. Neumann *H* 110–117.
[6] Iren. I. xvi. 3 (i. 162), III. iii. 4 (ii. 13f), iv. 2 (ii. 16f) ; Cl. *fr.* (iii. 215) (commenting on 2 J 10f, against giving hospitality to, or fraternizing with, heretics, Clemens remarks : 'Arbitror autem, quia et orare cum talibus non oportet, quoniam in oratione, quae fit in domo, postquam ab orando surgitur, salutatio gaudii est et pacis indicium') ; Tert. *Praescr.* 12 ( . . . haereticos . . . ad quos vetamur accedere) ; Cypr. *Test.* iii. 78 (cum haereticis non loquendum). Eusebius (*HE* VI. ii. 14) tells how the youthful Origenes, " abominating, as he said, the teachings of the heresies," refused to join with a heretic even in prayer, though he could not help associating with him as the fellow-guest of his patroness). Cf. Orig. *Cels.* v. 63 (quotation of T iii. 10) ; Lecky i. 425.
[7] Tert. *Marc.* iv. 35 init. (ii. 252). [8] Iren. I. xxxi. 3f (i. 243).
[9] Iren. I. xxxi. 3 (i. 343), v. pref. (ii. 313f) ; cf. II. xvii. 1 (i. 306f).
[10] Iren. I. xvi. 3 (i. 162). [11] Cl. *Strom.* I. xix. 95 ; Prov. xxvii. 10.
[12] Orig. *Cels.* v. 63f.
[13] Orig. *Princ.* III. iii. 3. The interplay between Christian charity and the 'odium theologicum' comes out in the apocryphal *Acts of Peter* (14, 28, 32). Simon is turned out of the house of the Christian Marcellus with blows and insults : Peter forbids the Romans to burn him, on the ground that Christians must love their enemies ; but later on he prays to God that Simon may fall and break his leg in three places, and the prayer is granted ! (Pick 8of, 103f, 111).

nomian, but all professing themselves Christian, added to the difficulty of the Apologists' task. Tertullianus met the charge that certain Christians led evil lives, by boldly asserting that such people, though they might call themselves Christians, had no real right to the name. He and others argued that the existence of diverse sects no more proved anything against the genuine Christian community than similar divisions discredited any other religion, philosophy, or scientific study.[1] They protested against any ignorant identification, on the part of pagans, of Christianity with any heretical sect. Origenes often had to complain that the accusations of Celsus held good, not against the genuine Christians, but only against some body of heretics.[2]

The Testimony of Philosophy to Christian Truth.—While debiting the philosophers with their general ignorance and error, their toleration of polytheism and idolatry, their moral weakness and their responsibility for heresy, Christian writers were not unwilling to make apologetic capital out of the many striking agreements between the utterances of the philosophers—and incidentally the poets also—and the teaching of Scripture, principally on such subjects as the unity and providence of God, the folly of idols and temples, the future resurrection and judgment, the punishment of the wicked and the conflagration of the world,[3] but not excluding matters of ethical principle also.[4] Such agreements were sometimes accounted for by the rational theory of the light of nature given by God to all men;[5] occasionally this explanation was put forward in somewhat grudging terms as being over-complimentary to the heathen.[6] It was more usual to point

[1] Tert. *Nat.* i. 5; Cl. *Strom.* vii. xv.; Orig. Cels. iii. 11–13, v. 61.

[2] Orig. *Cels.* ii. 27, vi. 11, 24, 28f, 33, 38, vii. 40.

[3] Theoph. ii. 8, 37f; Iren. iii. xxv. 5 (ii. 135f); Cl. *Protr.* iv. 50, vi. 68, 71f, vii. 73f, *Strom.* v. xiv. 90; Tert. *Nat.* i. 10 (i. 329f), *Apol.* 21 (i. 198), *Test.* i init., *Anim.* 5, 16, *Res.* 1, 3; Orig. *Princ.* i. iii. 1, *Cels.* i. 5, 15, ii. 14, v. 29, cf. iii. 40; Minuc. xix., xx. 1f, xxxiv. 1–5, 9, xxxv. 1f.

[4] Cl. *Paed.* ii. i. 18, iii. 36; Orig. *Cels.* i. 4f.

[5] Cl. *Protr.* vii. 74 (*εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐναύσματά τινα τοῦ λόγου τοῦ θείου λαβόντες Ἕλληνες ὀλίγα ἅττα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐφθέγξαντο, προσμαρτυροῦσι μὲν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς οὐκ ἀποκεκρυμμένην*); Orig. *Cels.* i. 4 (*πάντων ἐχόντων κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς ἐννοίας πρόληψιν ὑγιῆ περὶ τοῦ ἠθικοῦ τόπου. διόπερ οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν τὸν αὐτὸν Θεὸν ἅπερ ἐδίδαξε διὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐγκατεσπαρκέναι ταῖς ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς*), 5 (*σαφὲς οὖν ὅτι καὶ περὶ τούτου τοῦ δόγματος γέγραπται ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων γράμμασι Θεοῦ τὸ πρακτέον*). Sibylla, the supposed authoress of the *Sibylline Oracles*, figures in Christian writings as a genuinely inspired prophetess among the Hellenes (Theoph. ii. 9, 36, 38; Cl. *Protr.* iv. 50, vi. 71 ["prophetess of the Hebrews"], *Strom.* vi. v. 43).

[6] Theoph. ii. 8 (*ἐνίοτέ τινες τῇ ψυχῇ ἐκνήψαντες ἐξ αὐτῶν*), 38 (*καίπερ ἄκοντες ἔφασαν· ἠλέγχοντο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας*); Tert. *Nat.* i. 10 (i. 329) (philosophis, quos . . . nonnullus . . . afflatus veritatis adversus deos erigit), *Res.* 3.

out that the heathen philosophic and religious systems belonged to a later period of history than Moses and the other Biblical authors,[1] and that the philosophers and poets borrowed without acknowledgment, or rather pilfered, various doctrines from Scripture,[2] often misunderstanding and perverting them in the process.[3]

The Alexandrians' Esteem for Philosophy.[4]—It is Clemens of Alexandria who enjoys the distinction of having been the first to work out in some detail the theory that Hellenic philosophy held a place of prime importance in the Divine education of the human race.[5] As we have seen, he, in common with others, quoted the testimony of the philosophers to some of the great Christian truths, and accused them of plagiarizing the Hebrew Scriptures; but he went much further than this. He quoted with approval various pieces of philosophic teaching.[6] He denied that Hellenic philosophy was originated, as some maintained, by the devil:[7] like all useful things, it was the gift of God,[8] bestowed upon the Hellenes in the same way that the Mosaic Law and the Old Testament revelation generally had been bestowed upon the Hebrews, viz. as a propædeutic to the full truth of Christianity.[9] Nay more, philosophy was the "clear image of truth,"[10] one of the causes of the compre-

[1] Theoph. ii. 30, iii. 1, 20–30; Cl. *Strom.* i. xiv. 60, 64, xv. 72f, xvi. 78f, xxi. 101, 109ff, 129f; Tert. *Apol.* 19, *Test.* 5; Orig. *Cels.* i. 16 init., vi. 7, 19, 23 fin., 43 (cf. Hipp. *Ref.* x. 31 (27)).

[2] Theoph. i. 14, ii. 37; Cl. *Protr.* vi. 70f, *Strom.* i. xix. 93, xx. 100, ii. i. 1, v. 20–24, xviii. 78, v. i. 10, v. 27f, xiv. 90, 135, vi. ii. 4f, 27, iii. 28; Tert. *Nat.* ii. 2, *Apol.* 47 init., *Test.* 5 (i. 410); Orig. *Princ.* iii. vi. 1.

[3] Theoph. ii. 12; Cl. *Strom.* i. xvii. 87; Tert. *Apol.* 47; Minuc. xxxiv. 5f; Orig. *Cels.* iv. 12. In Clemens, the charge of plagiarism is often put thus: that the Hellenic philosophy was borrowed from that of the barbarians (Cl. *Strom.* i. xv. 66–71, xvi. 74, xx. 100, ii. i. 1, v. xiv. 140), of whom the Jews were the oldest (i. xv. 72), and compared with whom the Hellenes were a juvenile race (i. xxix. 180): the Hellenes borrowed from Moses laws (i. xxvi. 170: cf. Tert. *Apol.* 45), letters (i. xxiii. 153), generalship (i. xxiv. 160–163), and almost every art (i. xvi. 74).

[4] On the divergence of the Christian Apologists in their estimate of heathen philosophy, cf. Harnack *ME* i. 294f. For Clemens and Origenes, cf. Ziegler 181f n; Neander, *Church History* (ET), ii. 224–266. When Irenæus (iii. xxv. 5 (ii. 135f)) says that Plato is more religious than the heretics, it is more in condemnation of the latter than in commendation of the former. On the general question of the Christian attitude to heathen learning, cf. Troeltsch 144–146: "Gegenüber dieser von allen Seiten her sich zeigenden Fremdheit der Kirche gegen die Welt ist nun freilich an einem Punkte eine fast völlige Verschmelzung von Kirche und Welt anzuerkennen," u.s.w.

[5] Neumann *SK* 117f; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 165–174.

[6] Cl. *Protr.* xi. 112, *Strom.* ii. xx. 107f, v. i. 8, v. 27–31.

[7] Cl. *Strom.* i. i. 18, xvi. 80, vi. xvii. 159.

[8] *Op. cit.* i. i. 18, ii. 20, iv. 25–27, v. 28, vii. 37, vi. v. 42, viii. 67, xvii. 153.

[9] *Op. cit.* i. v. 28, xvi. 80, vi. v. 42, viii. 67, xvii. 153, 160, vii. iii. 20.

[10] *Op. cit.* i. ii. 20.

hension of truth : [1] the Hellenes who philosophized accurately saw God.[2] Before the coming of Christ, philosophy represented the righteousness and justification of the Hellenes ; [3] by it God was glorified among them.[4] The Christians brought together and gathered up the gifts bestowed by God both on Hellenes and Hebrews.[5]

Yet there are a good many *qualifying clauses in Clemens' eulogy.* In speaking of philosophy as a Divine gift, he uses language indicating rather a random or accidental, than a direct, bestowal : [6] he says, for instance, in one place, that philosophy was maliciously stolen by the devil and given to men, and that God, knowing about it, and knowing also that the gift was not hurtful, did not intervene to prevent it, but directed the issue of Satan's audacity to human advantage.[7] Nor, in appraising philosophy in this way, does he mean his remarks to apply to the whole of it, but limits his commendation, now to the good and true things said by all schools,[8] now to the philosophy " of which the Socrates in Plato speaks." [9] He does not, of course, regard the false conclusions of philosophers as Divinely bestowed.[10] In various ways he brings out the imperfection of the philosophical as compared with the Christian method of arriving at the truth.[11]

As for *the function of philosophy under the Christian dispensation,* Clemens maintains that it does not ruin life or drag us away from the faith,[12] but is still useful for piety,[13] and he does not shrink from embodying what is best in it in his own work.[14] In any case it is needful that the writings of the philosophers should be studied and quoted, for the purpose of full Christian knowledge, apologetics, and propaganda.[15]

*Origenes* seems to have taken the main position of his great predecessor in regard to Hellenic philosophy for granted. What

[1] Cl. *Strom.* I. xx. 97. [2] *Op. cit.* I. xix. 94.

[3] *Op. cit.* I. v. 28 (ἦν μὲν οὖν πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου παρουσίας εἰς δικαιοσύνην Ἕλλησιν ἀναγκαία φιλοσοφία), xx. 99 (καίτοι καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐδικαίου ποτὲ καὶ ἡ φιλοσοφία τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ εἰς τὴν καθόλου δὲ δικαιοσύνην, εἰς ἣν εὑρίσκεται συνεργός), VI. vi. 44 (τοῖς δὲ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν δικαίοις οὐχ ἡ πίστις μόνον ἡ εἰς τὸν Κύριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀποστῆναι τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας ἔλειπεν).

[4] *Op. cit.* VI. v. 42.

[5] *Op. cit.* VI. v. 42, xvii. 160. [6] *Op. cit.* I. v. 28, vii. 37.

[7] *Op. cit.* I. xvii. 81, 83. [8] *Op. cit.* I. vii. 37 ; cf. i. 15, xiii. 57.

[9] *Op. cit.* I. xix. 92 : ἐκείνην περὶ ἧς καὶ ὁ παρὰ Πλάτωνι λέγει Σωκράτης.

[10] *Op. cit.* I. vii. 37 fin.

[11] *Op. cit.* I. xvi. 80, xviii. 89, xix. 95, xx. 97–99, V. v. 29, VI. v. 39f, xv. 117.

[12] *Op. cit.* I. ii. 20. [13] *Op. cit.* I. v. 28. [14] *Op. cit.* I. i. 15.

[15] *Op. cit.* I. i. 15, ii. 19, vi. 35, ix. 43–45. Cf. Minuc. xxxix. (Minucius rejoices because Octavius 'maleuolos isdem illis quibus armantur philosophorum telis retudisset').

he says is in harmony with the teaching of Clemens, though he does not argue the subject out at such length or in such detail. He is very ready to recognize points in common between Christian and philosophic teaching:[1] he offered to "testify cordially" to anything good or true that Celsus might be found to have written on practical life.[2] He commends the philosophers for abandoning superstitious food-taboos and other irrational customs.[3] He speaks of the Hellenes generally as wise men—men of no small learning.[4] He thought it possible that Plato knew deeper doctrines than he wrote.[5] His pupil Gregorius tells us of the passionate devotion to philosophic study with which the great master inspired his pupils.[6] He asked Gregorius to extract from the writings of the philosophers a collection of passages which might serve as a course of study in preparation for Christianity.[7] He defended himself in a letter against some who criticized him for his proficiency in Hellenic learning.[8]

CHRISTIANITY AS A PHILOSOPHY.—Christianity itself was, in fact, becoming more of a philosophy than ever. We have seen that the Church now included numbers of well-educated and intellectual people, who were keenly alive to the deeper problems of theology and ethics. The need of meeting the attacks of pagan thinkers—as well as the natural propensity of the human mind—drove Christian leaders to make the philosophical habit of mind their own. Great thinkers like Clemens and Origenes were masters of Hellenic philosophy. Clemens' work was dependent on that of the Roman philosopher Musonius Rufus:[9] he chose, as a designation for the fully developed Christian the term 'the Gnostic':[10] he maintained that, while learning was not necessary to a believer, it was highly beneficial, nor could all the things declared in the

[1] Orig. *Cels.* i. 4f, vii. 58f; cf. viii. 52.
[2] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 76; cf. iii. 49.
[3] Orig. *Cels.* v. 35. [4] Orig. *Princ.* II. ix. 5. [5] Orig. *Cels.* vi. 6.
[6] Greg. Thaum. *Paneg.* i. 3, vi. 75–85, xi. 133–135, 141: see other references on p. 320 n 4.
[7] Orig. *Epist. to Greg.* 1. The *Gnomes* of Sextus or Xystus—a collection of moral and religious passages of a philosophic kind, containing only two distinctively Christian sentences, but either compiled or adapted by a Christian before the time of Origenes (*DCB* iv. 1202f; Harnack *C* ii. 190–192)—is a further indication of the growing tendency to appropriate philosophy for Christian purposes.
[8] Eus. *HE* VI. xix. 11–14. Gregorius (*Paneg.* x. 127f, xi. 139, xiv. 162) and Dionysius of Alexandria (*περὶ φύσεως* 1, Feltoe 131f: the universe seems to be a unity to *ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς σοφωτάτοις Ἑλλήνων Πλάτωνι καὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς καὶ Ἡρακλείτῳ*) spoke of certain of the Hellenic philosophers in terms of great respect.
[9] Neumann *SK* 114: on the general subject, Harnack *KS* 141f.
[10] Cl. *Strom.* II. x. 46, etc.; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 174f.

faith be understood without it.[1] Not only does the Gnostic prefer Hellenic philosophy to any other form of recreation, and feast on it as on a kind of dessert at supper,[2] but philosophy is also the Christian's serious business, alike for women as for men.[3] "Is it not needful," asks Clemens, "for him who longs to attain to the power of God to discuss intellectual subjects philosophically?"[4] In Minucius' dialogue, Octavius is represented as arguing that poverty and humble rank do not disqualify men for philosophy.[5] Dionysius of Alexandria speaks of the great pleasure of philosophizing.[6] Of Origenes' respect for Hellenic philosophy and his interest both in studying and teaching it, mention has already been made.[7] He taught philosophy and other studies as an aid to the understanding of scriptural and religious truth.[8] He denied the charge that Christians had no respect for wisdom and called only the unlearned;[9] and he heartily agreed with Celsus that an education is no hindrance to the knowledge of God.[10] He admitted that, while he tried to help the uneducated, he sought by preference those who were more intellectual as better materials for building up the Christian community.[11] Most significant of all he was the first to attempt the truly philosophic task of presenting the whole substance of Christian doctrine in the form of a methodically articulated system.[12]

## CHAPTER V

## ATTITUDE TO HEATHEN RELIGION

THE DIVINE NATURE.—Behind most of the points of difference between Christianity and paganism lay the fundamental difference of their views as to the nature of the Deity. The Christians con-

[1] Cl. *Strom.* I. vi. 35f.
[2] Cl. *Strom.* VI. xviii. 162.
[3] Cl. *Strom.* IV. viii. 62.
[4] Cl. *Strom.* I. ix. 44.
[5] Minuc. xvi. 5f.
[6] Dion. Alex. περὶ φύσεως (Feltoe 158f).
[7] Cf. also Eus. *HE* VI. ii. 8, 15, xviii. 4, xix. 3, 11–14 (his training in the various branches of Hellenic learning); Orig. *Cels.* vi. 24 (. . . κατὰ τὸ φιλομαθὲς ἡμῶν).
[8] Eus. *HE* VI. xviii. 4, xxx. Cf. pp. 320, 323, 327f; also Orig. *Cels.* vi. 7, 37. On the question of the Christianity of the philosopher Ammonius, the master of Origenes, cf. Eus. *HE* VI. xix. 7–10, *DCB* i. 102f.
[9] Orig. *Cels.* iii. 45–48.
[10] Orig. *Cels.* iii. 49.
[11] Orig. *Cels.* iii. 74: συστῆσαι τὸ Χριστιανῶν ἄθροισμα,
[12] Harnack *KS* 142.

tinually insisted on this matter as one of the very first importance.[1] They constantly asserted (in opposition to the usual pagan view) that God is one,[2] invisible,[3] incorporeal;[4] that He cannot be localized or confined to one place at a time;[5] that He is not subject to human passions;[6] that He is not to be confounded with the things which He has created and by which He is known;[7] and that the latter are not to be accorded the worship due to Him alone.[8] They would not admit the pagan pleas that it was a matter of indifference by what name the Divine Being was called,[9] and that it was wisest to remain in contented ignorance of the Divine nature[10] (though of course in certain respects they regarded God as incomprehensible[11]): nor would they allow the philosophic ideas of Fate[12] or chance[13] to pass uncriticized and unchallenged. The blindness of the pagan mind to the nature of God[14] was due to sin,[15] in fact was itself a sin,[16] and due also to the work of demons.[17] The recognition of the true God was not merely possible, but urgently necessary.[18] Christians were never weary of pointing the finger of scorn at the foolish, unworthy, and often grossly indecent

[1] Ps-Mel. 2 (113), 6 fin. (118) ("And know that the chief of thy good works is this: that thou know God, and serve Him"), 10 fin (121) ("from error arise all those evils . . . ; but the greatest of all errors is this: when a man is ignorant of God, and in God's stead worships that which is not God").

[2] Theoph. ii. 35; Cl. *Protr.* x. 103, *Strom.* vi. xviii. 163; Orig. *Cels.* viii. 2–8, 11–14: on the testimony of the unprejudiced human consciousness to the oneness of God, cf. Tert. *Test.* 2; Minuc. xviii. 11.

[3] Theoph. i. 5; Orig. *Cels.* vi. 69; Minuc. xviii. 8.

[4] Cl. *Strom.* vii. v. 29; Orig. *Cels.* i. 21, vi. 69, vii. 27.

[5] Theoph. ii. 3; Cl. *Strom.* vii. v. 28f, vi. 30.

[6] Cl. *Strom.* vii. iv. 22, vi. 30.

[7] Theoph. i. 5f; Cl. *Protr.* x. 98.

[8] Theoph. i. 10, ii. 35; Cl. *Protr.* ii. 26, 39, iv. 63, v. 64–66, vi. 67; *Act. Apoll.* 18, 21; Tert. *Nat.* i. 11–14, ii. 5f, 8, 15, *Apol.* 16; Ps-Mel. 2, 3 fin. (113f), 10 fin (121); Hipp. *Ref.* iv. 43 (43); Orig. *Mart.* 7, *Cels.* i. 20, iii. 17–19, v. 6–13, vi. 4, viii. 66f; Minuc. xxviii. 7–9.

[9] Orig. *Mart.* 46, *Cels.* i. 25, v. 45.

[10] Minuc. xiii., xvii.; Orig. *Cels.* vi. 65.

[11] Ps-Mel. 2 (113); Minuc. xviii. 8ff; Orig. *Cels.* vi. 65.

[12] Theoph. iii. 7 (theory of automatism and denials of providence); Orig. *Cels.* i. 8, 21, iv. 67f, vii. 68; Minuc. xxxvi. 1f: cf. the Bardesanic *Book of the Laws*, etc.; also Orig. *Cels.* vi. 71, where Origenes differentiates between the Christian and the Stoic doctrine of God as a Spirit.

[13] Minuc. xviif.

[14] Theoph. i. 7; *Act. Apoll.* 33f; Ps-Mel. 1–3, 9 (112–114, 120); Orig. *Cels.* iii. 77, vi. 67, vii. 52 (lameness).

[15] Theoph. i. 2; Iren. iii. vii. 1 (ii. 26) (Deus excaecavit mentes infidelium).

[16] Minuc. xxxv. 4: eos autem merito torqueri, qui Deum nesciunt, ut impios, ut iniustos, nisi profanus nemo deliberat, cum parentem omnium et omnium dominum non minoris sceleris sit ignorare quam laedere.

[17] Theoph. ii. 8; Tert. *Nat.* ii. 13, *Idol.* 3; Hipp. *Dan.* ii. xxvii. 10; Orig. *Cels.* viii. 63.

[18] Ps-Mel. 3, 8–10 (113f, 119ff), etc.

legends told concerning the heathen gods.[1] They pointed out how the gods were in various ways slighted and dishonoured by their very worshippers.[2] They denounced the objects of heathen worship—now as ancient men (kings, heroes, inventors, discoverers, benefactors, etc.),[3] or even (as in the case of Antinous) men of more recent times,[4] now as demons,[5] now as mere senseless and material idols.[6] They did not pause to consider how far these three representations were mutually consistent. Of the three the last was the most striking and obvious : hence the incessant attacks on *the folly of idol-worship*,[7] and the strenuous and persistent refusal on the part of Christians to offer sacrifice in any form to the pagan gods.[8] God, they maintained, does not need animal or other material sacrifices : [9] they have been demanded simply in order to satisfy the greed of the demons.[10]

This fundamental Christian position in regard to idolatry involved abstention from more than the mere act of sacrifice. A large number of social usages were connected in various degrees of closeness with idolatry ; and Christians were much concerned to determine where they should draw the line. There were extremes of rigorism, and extremes of compromise. Besides the actual offering of sacrifice, the eating of food that had been offered to the

[1] Theoph. i. 9, ii. 7f, iii. 3, 8 ; Ps-Just. *Orat.* 2–4 ; Cl. *Protr.* ii. 15–20, 32–39, iv. 59f, *Strom.* vii. iv. 22 ; Tert. *Nat.* ii. 7, 10, 12f, *Apol.* 9, 14 ; Ps-Mel. 5 (115) ; Minuc. xx.–xxiii. ; Orig. *Cels.* i. 17, iv. 48, 50, v. 2, 57, vi. 42, viii. 66. On the Pseudo-Tertullianic fragment *De Execrandis Gentium Diis* (Migne *PL* ii. 1115–1118 ; Oehler ii. 766–768), see above, p. 288.

[2] Tert. *Nat.* i. 10, *Apol.* 13–15. For more general indictments of the heathen gods, cf. Theoph. i. 10, ii. 3–6 ; Cl. *Protr.* ii. 28f, 38f, iii. 44 ; Tert. *Nat.* ii. 1, 9ff, *Apol.* 5, 41.

[3] Theoph. i. 10, ii. 34 ; *Act. Apoll.* 22 ; Cl. *Protr.* ii. 24, 28–30, 38, iii. 45, iv. 54f ; Tert. *Nat.* ii. 7, 9, 12–14, 16, *Apol.* 10–12, *Idol.* 15 (i. 93) ; Ps-Mel. 4 init., 5 (114ff) ; Minuc. xx.–xxiii., xxix. 3–5 ; Orig. *Cels.* iii. 22f, 34, 42f, viii. 63.

[4] Cl. *Protr.* iv. 49, 54, x. 96f ; Tert. *Apol.* 13 fin. ; Minuc. xxix. 5 ; Orig. *Cels.* iii. 26–28, 36f, viii. 9, 63.

[5] Theoph. i. 10 ; Iren. iii. vi. 3 (ii. 23), iv. xxiv. 2 (ii. 232) ; *Act. Apoll.* 22 ; Cl. *Protr.* ii. 40f, iii. 42f, iv. 55, x. 103 ; Tert. *Apol.* 23f, *Scap.* 2 ; Minuc. xxvii. ; Orig. *Cels.* iii. 28f, 34f, v. 46, vii. 5, 35, 62, 64, viii. 9, 33f, 36, 54, 60–64.

[6] Theoph. i. 10, ii. 2, 34, 36 ; *Act. Apoll.* 19 ; Cl. *Protr.* iv. 46–48, 51–53, 56, 62, x. 102 ; Tert. *Nat.* i. 12, *Apol.* 12, 16, 29 ; Ps-Mel. 3 init., 4, 6, 7 (113ff), Minuc. xxiii. 9—xxiv. 2 ; Orig. *Cels.* vii. 52 ; Cypr. *Test.* iii. 59.

[7] Theoph. ii. 34 ; *Act. Apoll.* 16–21 ; Cl. *Protr.* iv. 57, x. 96, 101, *Strom.* vi. vi. 44, xviii. 163, vii. v. 28 ; Tert. *Idol.* passim ; Hipp. *Dan.* ii. xxvii. 10 ; Ps-Mel. 3 fin., 4, 10f (113ff) ; Minuc. xxiv. ; Orig. *Cels.* iii. 76, vi. 14, vii. 62–66.

[8] Tert. *Apol.* 27 init., 28 init., *Scap.* 2 ; Orig. *Mart.* 45, *Cels.* vii. 64, viii. 33–35. Cf. Neumann *H* 107–109.

[9] Iren. iv. xvii. (ii. 193–200) ; Cl. *Strom.* vii. v. 29, vi. 30 ; Ps-Mel. 6 fin. (118) ; Minuc. xxxii. 2f ; Orig. *Cels.* vi. 70. Cf. *GEb* 7 (12) : ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὰς θυσίας, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ παύσησθε τοῦ θύειν, οὐ παύσεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἡ ὀργή.

[10] Tert. *Apol.* 22 ; Orig. *Cels.* iii. 29, vii. 5, 56.

gods was shunned by virtually all who bore the Christian name,[1] though there were certain Gnostic Christians who regarded both of these actions as 'indifferent,' on the ground that the heathen gods did not really exist at all.[2] In regard to the unintentional consumption of idol-meat, Clemens repeats the advice of Paul, viz. that the Christians should buy freely meat that was exposed for sale, asking no questions for conscience' sake.[3] In other matters the question tended to become very complicated. Tertullianus contended that a Christian might lawfully enter an idol-temple, if he were about some business not connected with idol-worship ;[4] but he would apparently have regarded feasting in an idol-temple as illegitimate.[5] A Christian might, however, according to him, attend a heathen feast at which sacrifice was offered, provided that the feast was held for the sake of some private or social solemnity (such as marriage) and not for the sake of the sacrifice.[6] Clemens regarded it as permissible, though undesirable, for Christians to accept invitations to heathen feasts.[7] Origenes is very emphatic on the duty of shunning the table of demons.[8] Christians had been known to carry their hostility to idol-worship so far as to insult in public the statues of heathen gods, and boast of having done so with impunity. Such action was evidently rare, for Origenes had never known a case : if such had occurred, he said, it must have been the action of a most ignorant and lawless Christian ; he condemned it on the ground that Scripture forbids us " to revile the gods " or any one else, bidding us bless and curse not, and he pointed out that such contemptuous boasting would have no effect in removing current notions about the gods.[9] Ter-

[1] Cl. *Paed.* II. i. 8 ; Minuc. xxxviii. 1 ; Orig. *Cels.* viii. 24, 28–31.

[2] On the Gnostic view of Christian responsibility in regard to heathen sacrifice, cf. Iren. III. xviii. 5 (ii. 99) ; Cl. *Strom.* IV. vii. 42 ; Tert. *Scorp.* passim ; Orig. *Mart.* 45, *Cels.* i. 8 : also Eus. *HE* VI. xxxviii. (the Elkesaites). On eating *εἰδωλόθυτα*, cf. Iren. I. vi. 3, II. xiv. 5 (i. 55, 296).

[3] Cl. *Paed.* II. i. 10, quoting 1 C x. 25 (but cf. *Strom.* IV. xv. 97f) : Neumann *SK* 116.

[4] Tert. *Spect.* 8 (i. 33) (Nulla est praescriptio de locis. Nam non sola ista conciliabula spectaculorum, sed etiam templa ipsa sine periculo disciplinae adire servus Dei potest, urgente caussa simplici duntaxat, quae non pertineat ad proprium ejus loci negotium vel officium) : though in *Apol.* 15 fin. (written perhaps a little earlier), he says : 'Christiani enim templa nec interdiu norunt,' etc.

[5] Tert. *Cor.* 10 (i. 441) : si in idolio recumbere alienum est a fide, quid in idoli habitu videri ? quae communio Christo et Beliae ? et ideo fugite.

[6] Tert. *Idol.* 16.

[7] Cl. *Paed.* II. i. 10 : *καὶ εἴ τις ἡμᾶς καλεῖ τῶν ἀπίστων καὶ πορεύεσθαι κρίνομεν (καλὸν γὰρ μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι τοῖς ἀτάκτοις), πᾶν τὸ παρατίθεμενον κελεύει* [sc. *Παῦλος*] *ἡμῖν ἐσθίειν, κτλ.* Cf. 1 C x. 27.

[8] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 24.

[9] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 38, 41. In the *Acts of Peter* (11), a youth cured of a

tullianus devoted a special treatise to the Christian's danger of being implicated in idolatry through the circumstances of his social, commercial, or professional life. He ruled out on this ground a number of common human avocations and practices. He had little patience with those who favoured caution, unobtrusiveness, and compromise. There must be no dissembling.[1] The shunning of idolatry was the great Christian law; better leave the world altogether than fail in that. As the ark contained unclean animals, the Church may contain faulty Christians; but the analogy does not warrant the Church in retaining idolaters.[2] The 'Canons of Hippolytus' excluded from Church-membership, among others, those who made idols or other representations of gods, or were priests of idols, or took part in scenic performances or other callings tainted with idolatry.[3]

Disparagement of Heathen Religious Customs.—All Christian writers—but especially those who, like Tertullianus, felt least sympathy with heathenism—were liable to disparage in a somewhat wholesale and indiscriminate way certain heathen religious observances,[4] more particularly astrology and divination,[5] orgiastic mysteries,[6] festal assemblies,[7] and oracles.[8] Origenes criticizes the gentiles for praying "without any idea of great or heavenly petitions, (but) putting up every prayer for bodily and external things."[9] We come across many traces of the curious Christian aversion to the semi-religious custom of wearing garlands.[10]

demon kicks a statue of Cæsar to pieces; the owner of it, by sprinkling water on it at Peter's bidding, makes it whole again.

[1] Tert. *Idol.* 22 (i. 104): Multi dicunt: 'Nemo se debet promulgare': puto autem, nec negare. Negat enim quicunque dissimulat, in quacunque caussa pro ethnico habitus, et utique omnis negatio idololatria est, sicut omnis idololatria negatio, sive in factis, sive in verbis.

[2] Tert. *Idol.* 24. On the whole subject, cf. Harnack *ME* i. 303–311, and on the particular question of the Christian attitude to heathen art, cf. Bigelmair 322–330.

[3] Hipp. *Can.* xi. 65f, xii. 67, 69f; *Const. Eg.* xi. 3–5, 8, and see below, n 5.

[4] Tert. *Apol.* 15, *Bapt.* 5, *Paen.* 1, *Orat.* 15f, *Praescr.* 40.

[5] Hipp. *Ref.* iv. 27 (27); Hipp. *Can.* xv. 76 (magus, astrologus, hariolus, somniorum interpres, etc., not to be admitted to Church-membership: cf. *Const. Eg.* xi. 13); Orig. *Princ.* III. iii. 1–3, *Cels.* iv. 92f, 95, v. 42; and cf. passages quoted below in n 8.

[6] Cl. *Protr.* ii. 12–14, 20–24, 34, xii. 119f; Orig. *Cels.* viii. 48.

[7] *πανηγύρεις.* Ps-Just. *Orat.* 4; Tert. *Apol.* 35, *Idol.* 13. Cf. Neumann *SK* 252 (relative to the Christian abstention from the Roman millennial celebrations of 248 A.D.).

[8] Cl. *Protr.* ii. 11; Tert. *Apol.* 22 (i. 209); Minuc. xxvi.; Orig. *Cels.* iii. 25, vii. 3f, 35, viii. 45f, 48, 62.

[9] Orig. *Orat.* xxi. 1f.

[10] Ps-Just. *Orat.* 4; Cl. *Paed.* II. viii. esp. 72; Tert. *Spect.* 18, *Cor.* passim; Hipp. *Can.* xiii. 72 (about soldiers refusing crowns: but there is no parallel in *Const. Eg.*); Minuc. xii. 6, xxxviii. 2–4: Bigelmair 233–236. On the

Miscellaneous Points of Conflict with Heathenism.—Christians protested against the contented *ignorance* of the heathen public in regard to what Christianity really stood for,[1] and offered *defensive explanations* of the main facts in connection with Christian belief,[2] method of worship,[3] and practical and theoretical morals.[4] Tertullianus strongly repudiated the prevalent pagan notion that the Christians were *the cause of public calamities*: [5] he claimed for them, on the contrary, the dignity of public benefactors,[6] who could, if they were allowed free scope, rid the world of demons and of all the evil they caused.[7]

*Scripture*, of course, figured largely in religious and other disputes between Christians and pagans. Christians appealed to the fulfilment of Scriptural prophecies,[8] and, besides basing their own doctrinal statements on the authority of Scripture, referred the pagans to its pages both for verification of what was quoted from them, and for their own help and guidance.[9] It was urged that the Old Testament had been translated into Greek through the providence of God, in order that the Greeks might benefit by its light and be without excuse.[10] The veracity of the Old Testament history of the creation and of early times was eagerly defended, and various methods of interpretation were proposed.[11] The prophecies that were regarded as referring to the life of Jesus,[12] and the Evangelists' accounts of that life,[13] were made the subjects of special apologetic treatment.

Another matter that figures largely in the polemical literature

compensations offered by Christian worship for the absence of pagan usages, cf. Harnack *KS* 143–145.

[1] Tert. *Nat.* i. 1f, 4 init., 7 init., *Apol.* 1 (i. 111ff), 2 fin. (i. 122); Orig. *Cels.* i. 12, viii. 53 (per contra, i. 49).

[2] Theoph. i. 3ff, ii. 10ff, iii. 9; Cl. *Protr.* vi. 69; Tert. *Apol.* 17f, 21; Orig. *Cels.* iv. 5f, 14–21, 69.

[3] Tert. *Nat.* i. 12–14, *Apol.* 39; Minuc. xxviii.f; Orig. *Cels.* vi. 27.

[4] Theoph. iii. 4–6, 15; *Act. Apoll.* 26; Tert. *Nat.* i. 2, 4f, 7, 15f, 20, *Apol.* 1 fin. (i. 115f), 4, 7f, 39, 44f; Minuc. viii. 4, ix., xxviii.; Orig. *Cels.* iii. 29f, vi. 27, 40, vii. 49, viii. 17–20, 23. Accusations of Θυεστεῖα δεῖπνα and Οἰδιποδόδειαι μίξεις were still bandied about, and Christian denials were often accompanied by vigorous rejoinders.

[5] Tert. *Nat.* i. 9, *Apol.* 40, *Scap.* 3. [6] Tert. *Apol.* 40, Scap. 4.

[7] Tert. *Apol.* 37 fin. For the Christian power over demons, cf. Tert. *Apol.* 43; Orig. *Cels.* i. 6, viii. 73.

[8] Theoph. iii. 17; Tert. *Apol.* 20; Orig. *Cels.* i. 2.

[9] Theoph. ii. 34, iii. 15; Cl. *Strom.* vi. xviii. 163; Tert. *Apol.* 18 fin.

[10] Cl. *Protr.* viii. 77 (γραφαὶ δὲ αἱ θεῖαι, εἰ καὶ πολιτεῖαι σώφρονες σύντομοι σωτηρίας ὁδοί), *Strom.* i. vii. 38, xxii. 148f; Tert. *Apol.* 18.

[11] Theoph. iii. 17; Orig. *Cels.* i. 14–23, iii. 6, iv. 41–51, v. 59.

[12] Orig. *Cels.* i. 49–55.

[13] Orig. *Cels.* i. 32–39, 43–48, 58–71, ii. passim, iii. 41f, v. 57f, vi. 73–77, vii. 55–57.

of the time, particularly in connection with fundamental religious questions, is *the authority of custom.* The pagans felt in a specially strong way that deep reverence which men generally are disposed to feel towards institutions and habits, particularly those of a religious nature, which have been handed down to them by their forefathers from a remote antiquity, and have established themselves in general usage. Custom was not, indeed, regarded as the final or absolute test of worth, but it carried, especially in religious matters, an immense weight. The Christians themselves were, of course, largely governed by apostolic tradition and the usages that Christian parents had taught them; and they did not hesitate to appeal to this seat of authority in contesting the innovations of heretics. But in arguing their case with pagans, who often pleaded—no doubt with much sincerity—the grave authority of custom as a reason why they could not embrace the new faith, Christians were prepared to discount that authority altogether. Many things, they said, were customary to us as children, which now we have given up. If a man's ancestors were afflicted with lack of education, or poverty, or lameness, or blindness, or any other disease, that is no reason why the man himself should be similarly afflicted. The pagans themselves as a matter of fact—so the Christians urged—had in very many ways already departed from custom when they saw reason to do so. Custom blinds men to the truth, deceives them, and leads them into danger. It is transient and temporary, while the Divine guidance is an eternal possession. Christians describe themselves as men who had deserted their ancestral customs, which the laws of Christ had superseded.[1]

## CHAPTER VI

## ATTITUDE TO THE STATE[2]

CHRISTIAN DISAPPROVAL OF RULERS AND GOVERNMENTS IN GENERAL.—The old Christian view of kings and governors in

[1] Cl. *Protr.* x. 89, 96, 99, 101, 109, xii. 118, *Paed.* i. vii. 54; Tert. *Nat.* i. 10 (i. 324) (divortium ab institutis majorum), ii. 1 (i. 350) (adversus haec igitur nobis negotium est, adversus institutiones majorum, auctoritates receptorum, leges dominantium, argumentationes prudentium, adversus vetustatem, consuetudinem, necessitatem, etc.), *Virg.* 1 init., *Cor.* 13; Ps-Mel. 12 (122f); Minuc. vi., xx.; Orig. *Princ.* II. ix. 3, 5, IV. i. 1, *Cels.* i. 46, 52, ii. 1, 13, 52, v. 25–40, viii. 57. On the subject of differing national customs, see pp. 295–297.

[2] Cf. the brief summary in Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 118f.

general as *typically evil men* survives vigorously in the literature and thought of this period. It is the counterpart in the political world of the traditional Christian censure passed upon the race as a whole. Thus Tertullianus boldly states: "All the powers and dignities of this age are not only alien, but also hostile, to God."[1] Even the milder Origenes describes Christ's vision of the kingdoms of the earth as a vision of the devil's kingdom and of human sin.[2] Minucius speaks of those who possess wealth or hold positions of honour and power as "those who know not God."[3] Hippolytus says that the rulers of the world slay and cock men, as a cook slays and cooks animals:[4] he draws an elaborate parallel between the tree of Daniel's vision and Nebuchadnezzar, bringing out the far-reaching extent of his dominion and his vast wealth and military power; the wild beasts that live under the tree are the warriors who adhere to the king and do his bidding, "ready to make war and destroy and tear men asunder like wild beasts":[5] he depicts the kingdoms of the world in general as wild beasts that destroy mankind.[6]

Frequent references are made in particular to the habitual *luxury and licentiousness of royalty*. Clemens quotes the Gospel-saying about the luxurious and gorgeously clad living in kings' courts,[7] and the passage in 'Baruch' which speaks of "the rulers of the nations and the lords of the wild beasts that are upon the earth, who sport among the birds of heaven, who treasure up the silver and the gold on which men have relied, and there is no end to their property, who fashion the silver and the gold, and are anxious."[8] Tertullianus bitterly remarks that no one would

[1] Tert. *Idol.* 18 (i. 100): hoc te commonefaciat omnes hujus saeculi potestates et dignitates non solum alienas, verum et inimicas Dei esse, quod per illas adversus Dei servos supplicia consulta sunt, etc.

[2] Orig. *Hom. in Lc.* 30 (v. 199) (see above, p. 294). In *Comm. in Mt.* t. xiii. 11 (iii. 232), Origenes describes kings and their sons and receivers of taxes as being "not of a praiseworthy nature." References to the ruler or rulers of this age generally refer, not to a human sovereign or sovereigns, but to the devil and the demons: the terms, however, imply, if they do not express, an unfavourable judgment on human rulers: see Tert. *Marc.* v. 18 (ii. 329f); Orig. *Princ.* I. v. 2, II. vi. 4, *Orat.* xxi. 2, *Cels.* iv. 93, v. 32, viii. 36.

[3] Minuc. xxxvii. 7: nisi forte uos decepit, quod Deum nescientes diuitiis affluant, honoribus floreant, polleant potestatibus.

[4] Hipp. *Dan.* II. iv. 2.

[5] Hipp. *Dan.* III. viii. 3–10; cf. IV. iii. 2f, on the savagery and tyranny of the Persian Empire.

[6] Hipp. *Dan.* IV. ii. 1 ( . . . δείκνυσιν τὰς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ ἐπαναστάσας βασιλείας, ὥσπερ θηρία διαφθείροντα τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα), 3. In III. xxviii. 2 Hippolytus mentions it as an extraordinary achievement for a righteous man that a king should grieve and fast for him, as Darius did for Daniel.

[7] Cl. *Paed.* II. x. 109: . . . τοῖς ἐπιγείοις βασιλείοις λέγει, τοῖς φθαρτοῖς, κτλ. (Lc vii. 25).

[8] Cl. *Paed.* II. iii. 36 = Baruch iii. 16–19.

recognize Physcon and Sardanapalus as kings, were it not for their pre-eminence in lust.[1] He praises Anacharsis, the king of Scythia, for laying aside diadem and sceptre in favour of the philosopher's mantle.[2] Hippolytus says: "All kings of men and great ones plant gardens for themselves to serve as places of amusement in lands and among nations," etc.[3]

Censure is poured on the habit of flattering kings and on the other *arts of the courtier*. "Flattery," says a fragment ascribed to Clemens, "is the disease of friendship. Most men are accustomed to pay court to the prosperity of rulers, rather than to the rulers themselves."[4] Origenes specifies blood-guiltiness, licentiousness, savagery, impiety against God, and unmanly servility of speech, as typical methods of conciliating royal favour.[5]

Earthly kings and rulers are further thought of as forming *a standing contrast to Christ*. Tertullianus remarks that Christ turned away from all regal pomp as diabolic and idolatrous.[6] In speaking of his universal royalty, the same author says: "A king with him does not get greater favour, nor any barbarian lesser joy: no one's dignities or pedigrees earn special distinction."[7] Origenes contrasts Christ's methods of collecting his followers with those of a tyrant or robber.[8] He says that Jesus was "destined to be a king, not in the way that Herodes thought, but in the way in which it became God to bestow a kingdom, (namely) for the benefit of those who were governed by him who was to benefit his subjects, so to say, with no ordinary or unimportant benefit, and was to train and subject them to laws that were truly God's. And Jesus, knowing this, and denying

[1] Tert. *Pall.* 4 (i. 938): Physconem et Sardanapalum tacendum est, qui nisi insignes libidinum, alias reges nemo nosset. Cf. the bitter remark of Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 8) about the Jewish kings: 'fugas civium, urbium eversiones, fratrum, coniugum, parentum neces aliaque solita regibus ausi superstitionem fovebant.'

[2] Tert. *Pall.* 5 init.

[3] Hipp. *Dan.* i. xviii. 1.

[4] Cl. *fr.* ap. Antonius Melissa, *Loci Communes*, i., *Serm.* 52 (Migne *PG* cxxxvi. 941). The sentences are reckoned by Stählin (*Clem. Alex.* iii. lxxii) among the *ungenuine* fragments, apparently because both are also found in different places in the writings of Philo.

[5] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 65: Ἡμῖν μέντοι γε καταφρονητέον ἐξευμενισμοῦ ἀνθρώπων καὶ βασιλέων, οὐ μόνον ἐὰν διὰ μιαιφονιῶν καὶ ἀσελγειῶν καὶ ὠμοτάτων πράξεων ἐξευμενιζώμεθα αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν διὰ τῆς εἰς τὸν Θεὸν τῶν ὅλων ἀσεβείας ἢ τινος μετὰ δουλοπρεπείας καὶ ταπεινότητος φωνῆς, ἀλλοτρίας ἀνδρείων καὶ μεγαλοψύχων ἀνδρῶν, κτλ.

[6] Tert. *Idol.* 18 (i. 100): Quis enim magis his usus fuisset quam Dei Filius? quales et quanti eum fasces producerent! qualis purpura de humeris ejus floreret! quale aurum de capite radiaret, nisi gloriam saeculi alienam et sibi et suis judicasset! Igitur, quae noluit, rejecit; quae rejecit, damnavit; quae damnavit, in pompa diaboli deputavit.

[7] Tert. *Jud.* 7 fin. (ii. 714).

[8] Orig. *Cels.* i. 30.

that he was a king in the way that the many expected, but teaching the superiority of his own kingdom, said, 'If my kingdom were of this world, my servants would strive, in order that I might not be handed over to the Jews. But now my kingdom is not of this world.'" [1] Later on he says: "The Christ of God, in that he passes over everyone's territories, and calls (men) to himself from all territories, shows that he is superior to all rulers." [2]

The normal antagonism evinced in *persecution* supplied Christian writers with a constant suggestion of the inherent iniquity of all governments. They represent earthly kings as having been from the first regular and in a way ex officio persecutors of Christ and his Church. Tertullianus sums up the point thus: "All the powers and dignities of this age are . . . hostile to God, because by their agency punishments are designed against the slaves of God." [3]

*The instability and transience of kings and kingdoms* formed the natural corollary of the unfavourable character ascribed to them. Clemens asks, in the words of 'Baruch,' where the princes and their works have all gone to? and the answer is that they have disappeared into Haides.[4] Hippolytus describes the gifts and honours conferred by kings as full of danger to those that receive them.[5] "The glory of those who enjoy supremacy is like dry leaves, which flourish for a little while, but straightway wither": [6] Nebuchadnezzar, for instance, was overthrown by the angels at the command of the Logos as a punishment for his pride; [7] and Belshazzar lost his kingdom by the judgment of Him "who appoints and removes kings." [8] Hippolytus remarks that the Chaldæan astrologers cause kings to vanish by developing cowardice in them.[9] Tertullianus, Origenes, and Novatianus all refer to Old Testament passages foretelling the clash of kingdoms and the

[1] Orig. *Cels.* i. 61 (J xviii. 36). On the eternal royalty of Christ, cf. Iren. *Demonstr.* 36 (102f), 41 fin. (107): on the fear of Antipas that Jesus was to be a temporal king, *op. cit.* 74 (134).

[2] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 4: see below, p. 340 n 2.

[3] Tert. *Idol.* 18 (for the Latin, see above, p. 336 n 1). Cf. also Iren. II. xix. 7 (i. 320), III. xviii. 5 (ii. 98), *Demonstr.* 74 (134); Cl. *Strom.* VI. xviii. 167; Tert. *Marc.* iii. 22 (ii. 152), iv. 42 (ii. 270), *Res.* 20, *Scorp.* 9 (i. 517), *Prax.* 28; Hipp. *Dan.* I. xiv. 6, III. xxxi. 2f; Orig. *Princ.* IV. i. 2, *Mart.* 34, 36, *Cels.* i. 3, 27, ii. 13, 42, iii. 8, vii. 26. These representations frequently allude to such passages as Ps ii. 1f; Mc xiii. 9.

[4] Cl. *Paed.* II. iii. 36 = Baruch iii. 16–19.

[5] Hipp. *Dan.* III. vi. 5–7; Neumann *H* 104f.

[6] Hipp. *Dan.* III. vi. 9.

[7] Hipp. *Dan.* III. iv. 1–4, ix. 6–10, x.

[8] Hipp. *Dan.* III. xvii. 6, xviii.: other historical instances (Antiochus Epiphanes and Sennacherib), III. iv. 5–8.

[9] Hipp. *Ref.* iv. 7 (7).

downfall of their rulers.[1] Minucius, speaking of the wealthy and governing classes, says: "Miserable men, they are raised higher to this end, that they may fall to a greater depth. For they are fattened like victims for execution; they are crowned like sacrificial animals for the penalty: to this end, indeed, some are raised up in positions of rule and dominion, that their minds, ruined by the licence of power, may without restraint barter their character. . . . Art thou a king? Yet thou fearest as much as thou art feared; and, though thou art surrounded with a numerous retinue, yet thou art alone in the face of danger. . . . Dost thou boast in fasces and purple? it is a vain error of man and an empty worship of (official) dignity, to be resplendent in purple (and) sordid in mind."[2] Cyprianus uses very similar rhetorical language about the insecurity of those who think themselves guarded by royalty, office, or wealth.[3]

CHRISTIAN DISAPPROVAL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND ITS RULERS.—While the criticisms just quoted may in many cases have been made with an eye to the failings of the government of the day, they were couched for the most part in general terms. We have now to take account of a number of similar accusations spoken explicitly against the imperial government of Rome. Thus, on the special point of *luxury and lustfulness*, Tertullianus adds to his bitter gibe about the royal lustfulness of Physcon and Sardanapalus a broad hint that some of the Roman Emperors were as bad or even worse.[4] Both he and Hippolytus refer to the Roman State as a harlot.[5] Cyprianus points out to his friend the vain

[1] Tert. *Apol.* 20 (i. 193) (quidquid agitur, praenuntiabatur; . . . quod regnis regna compulsant); Orig. *Princ.* I. v. 5 ('movebat reges,' said of Lucifer, Isa xiv. 16), *Cels.* i. 37 (*προφῆται ἦσαν ἐν Ἰουδαίοις, προλέγοντες . . . τὰ περὶ βασιλειῶν κοσμικῶν, κτλ.*: cf. i. 59: at great crises special stars arise *σημαίνοντας ἢ μεταστάσεις βασιλειῶν ἢ πολέμους, κτλ.*), viii. 72 (quoting Zeph iii. 8, announcing the gathering together of kings and peoples, and the pouring-out of God's wrath upon them; Origenes regards it as a prophecy of the destruction of evil), 74 (quoting Ps lxxxii. 7); Novat. *Trin.* 20 (quoting the same passage).

[2] Minuc. xxxvii. 7–10.

[3] Cypr. *Donat.* 13 (he concludes: 'faenore quodam nocendi quam fuerit amplior summa dignitatis et honorum, tam maior exigitur usura poenarum'); cf. *Test.* iii. 112 (grauius iudicari de his qui in saeculo plus habuerint potestatis).

[4] Tert. *Pall.* 4 (i. 938) (Tacendum autem, ne quid et illi [i.e. Physcon and Sardanapalus] de Caesaribus quibusdam vestris obmussitent, pariter propudiosis, ne caninae forte constantiae mandatum sit, impuriorem Physcone et molliorem Sardanapalo Caesarem designare, et quidem subneronem). Cf. the Inscription of Avercius, telling how he went to Rome *βασιλῆ ἀναθρῆσαι, καὶ βασίλισσαν ἰδεῖν χρυστόστολον χρυσοπέδιλον.*

[5] Tert. *Cul.* ii. 12 (i. 732) (illa civitas valida, quae super montes septem et plurimas aquas praesidet, prostitutae appellationem a Domino meruit, etc.); Hipp. *Ant.* 29 (*ἴδωμεν τοίνυν τὰ συμβησόμενα ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἐπὶ τὴν πόρνην τὴν ἀκάθαρτον ταύτην*), cf. 34, 36.

pomp, extravagance, and flattery of those who in his own day were *seeking public office*, and the ultimate disappointment and impoverishment which they suffer.[1] Origenes compares the municipal rulers, councils, and assemblies in the various cities of the Empire with those of the Church, very much to the disadvantage of the former.[2]

*The contrast or antithesis between Christ and the Roman Emperor* is brought out by Irenæus, who, in connection with a prophecy uttered by Moses, says of the Jews who brought about Jesus' death, that "the eternal King they disavowed, and they acknowledged as their king the temporal Cæsar."[3] In very similar terms Hippolytus says that Moses foreknew "that the people would reject and cast away the true Saviour of the world, and take part with error, choosing an earthly king, and would reject the heavenly (king)."[4] A probably genuine fragment of the same writer contains the following remarkable speech: "Thou art king over six hundred thousand (men) only, but Christ (is king) over all creatures. Thou art king over earthly men, but Christ over the heavenly, earthly, and subterranean. Thou art king as a man of the temporary world; Christ, however, remains the eternal and perfect king, now and always and for ever and ever."[5]

The sovereigns, senate, and governors of the Empire had amply fulfilled the ruler's *characteristic function of persecution*.[6] Although during this period the Christians enjoyed long intervals of practical toleration, although individual Emperors and governors favoured them and protected them from the hatred of the mob and from the penalties legally their due,[7] although by getting themselves en-

[1] Cypr. *Donat.* 11.

[2] Orig. *Cels.* iii. 30. The passage is quoted in extenso by Harnack (*ME* i. 264f) as very important. But in *Comm. in Mt.* t. xvi. 8 (iv. 24), Origenes casts it as a reproach upon some of the Christian leaders of his time—particularly those in the larger cities—that they were as proud, pompous, overbearing, and unapproachable (especially to the poor) as evil and tyrannical gentile rulers were.

[3] Iren. *Demonstr.* 95 (146).

[4] Hipp. *Ant.* 58 init.

[5] Hipp. *frag.* ap. Bonwetsch *TU*(*NF*) VIII. 2 (no. 3). 7 and 10f: cf. Harnack *C* ii. 245.

[6] Tert. *Apol.* 31 (i. 235) (Qui magis inimici et persecutores Christianorum quam de quorum majestate convenimur in crimen ?), *Spect.* 30 (i. 62) (praesides persecutores dominici nominis) (cf. Guignebert 185–187); Hipp. *Ant.* 37f, 42 fin.; Orig. *Cels.* ii. 79 (Christ is able κρείττων γενέσθαι πάντων τῶν ἀντιπραττόντων τῇ νομῇ τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ, βασιλέων τε καὶ ἡγουμένων καὶ συγκλήτου βουλῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν πανταχοῦ ἀρχόντων καὶ δήμου), iv. 32, v. 50 (διὸ πολλὰ βουληθέντες Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἐπὶ τῷ κωλῦσαι αὐτοὺς ἔτι εἶναι οὐ δεδύνηται), *Hom. in Jos.* ix. 10 (xi. 100) (quoted by Harnack in *ME* ii. 11).

[7] Cf. Tert. *Scap.* 4.

rolled as burial-clubs the Christian communities obtained in an indirect way a measure of State-recognition, yet the legal relation between the Christians and the Empire had not altered in any essential since the end of the first century. Christians had long come to regard State-persecution as a normal experience.[1] Irenæus speaks of it as a characteristic of the times preceding the judgment.[2] As for the causes of persecution, behind the calumnies and malice of Jews and pagans lies the wickedness of the devil and the evil demons: [3] but behind that again lies the overruling providence of God, who uses it as a means of discipline [4] and, despite appearances, helps and cares for the sufferers.[5] This fact, however, of the Divine superintendence did not exculpate the more immediate agents of persecution, of whom Christians speak, both among themselves and to the general public, in terms of strong censure.[6]

Postponing, however, for the present further details in regard to the Christian opposition to persecution, we turn now to the more general question of *the iniquity of the Empire as such.* Tertullianus challenges the superstitious idea of the pagans, that the Romans became possessed of the lordship of the world as a result of their religious devotion to the gods. The gods, he contended, could not confer empire: if so, why did Minerva allow Athens to be taken, and Apollo Delphi, and Jupiter Crete, and Juno Carthago? Moreover, Rome's concern for the gods had developed since she obtained her empire. War, and not religion, was the means by which the Empire was acquired and enlarged: not only the subject peoples, but their gods also, had suffered from the victors. The sacrileges committed by the Romans were therefore as numerous

[1] Tert. *Scorp.* 8–12; Hipp. *Dan.* I. xiv. 6, xv., xxi. 2; Orig. *Mart.* 12, 17, 36: in *Cels.* iii. 15, Origenes anticipates an early persecution as the outcome of the calumnies attributing the frequency of rebellions to the multitude of the Christians.

[2] Iren. II. xxii. 2 (i. 327), V. xxviii. 4, xxix. 1 (ii. 403f).

[3] Tert. *Apol.* 27, *Scorp.* 1 (i. 498); *Perpet.* xx. 1; Hipp. *Dan.* I. xv. 4, III. xxiv. 7; Orig. *Mart.* 32, *Cels.* iii. 29, iv. 32, viii. 43f, 54, 55 fin.; Minuc. xxvii. 7f, xxviii. 7, xxxi. 1.

[4] Iren. V. xxviii. 4 (ii. 403); Tert. *Apol.* 50 (i. 301f), *Fug.* 1–3, *Scorp.* 2, 5–8; Hipp. *Dan.* II. xxix. 2, III. xxvi.; Orig. *Mart.* 6, *Cels.* iii. 8, viii. 70; Cypr. *Test.* iii. 15.

[5] Cl. *Strom.* IV. xi. 78, 80, xii. 81f; Hipp. *Dan.* II. xxxvf; Orig. *Cels.* viii. 39–42.

[6] Anti-montanist ap. Eus. *HE* V. xvi. 12 (asks what Montanist *ὑπὸ παραν όμων ἀπεκτάνθη; οὐδείς*); Cl. *Strom.* VII. iii. 21; Hipp. *Dan.* I. xx. 3, xxiii. 3, II. xxix. 1 (*παραδοθέντες βασιλεῖ ἀνόμῳ καὶ πονηροτάτῳ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν*); Orig. *Cels.* viii. 44 (judges distressed at Christians' endurance of torture, but *οὐδὲ διὰ δοκοῦσαν αὐτοῖς φιλανθρωπίαν ταῦτα ποιοῦσι*, but because demons long for Christians to deny): cf. Neumann *H* 98.

as the triumphs they had celebrated.[1] Minucius Felix also spoke in strong terms of the crimes that had marked the growth of Roman power. He too took up the assertion that Rome owed her prosperity to her worship of all the deities. "But, (ye say), that very superstition gave empire to the Romans, increased it, established it, since they were strong not so much through bravery as through religion and piety. Of course the famous and noble Roman justice began from the very cradles of the Empire at its birth! Were they not in their origin gathered together by crime, and did they not grow, protected by the terror of their excess? For the first populace was collected together at a place of refuge: there flowed together ruined men, criminals, profligates, assassins, traitors. And Romulus himself, imperator and ruler, in order to surpass his own people in crime, committed parricide. These are the first auspices of a religious state! Soon, without precedent, he seized, violated, and made a mock of foreign maidens already betrothed, already assigned in marriage, and some who were married women; and he waged war with their parents, that is, with his own fathers-in-law, (and thus) shed the blood of kinsmen. What is more irreligious, more audacious, more disgraceful, than actual confidence in crime? And further, to drive neighbours from their land, to overthrow adjoining states with (their) temples and altars, to carry off captives, to grow to manhood by the losses of others and by one's own crimes, is the regular practice (disciplina) common to Romulus and to other kings and to later rulers (ducibus). And so, whatever the Romans hold, cultivate, possess, is the spoil of audacity. All temples (are built) out of booty, that is (to say), out of the ruins of cities, out of the spoils of the gods, out of massacres of priests. . . . Thus the Romans committed impiety as often as they triumphed: they had as many spoilings of the gods as trophies over the nations. The Romans therefore (became) so great, not because they were religious, but because they committed sacrilege with impunity."[2] Minucius proceeded further to refute the superstitious idea in question with the same arguments as Tertullianus had used, and he went on to quote cases in which the Romans had suffered defeat despite favourable auspices, and other cases in which they had won successes in the teeth of forbidding omens.[3]

[1] Tert. *Nat.* ii. 17, *Apol.* 25f. The Bardesanic *Book of the Laws of the Countries* mentions the Romans as perpetually seizing upon other countries, and instances the recent annexation of Arabia and the abolition of its existing laws (*ANCL* xxiib. 107f), referring apparently to the events either of 195–196 A.D. or of 217–218 A.D. (*DCB* i. 257a).

[2] Minuc. xxv. 1–6; cf. vi.f; Harnack *C* ii. 328.

[3] Minuc. vii., xxv.f.

These charges are summed up in the great culminating indictment of Hippolytus, who represents *the Roman Empire as a Satanic Beast-power*. After describing the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, he proceeds to apply its teaching to his own times. "How then should we not understand the things that were prophesied long ago in Babylon by Daniel, and are now being fulfilled in the world?" He then explains that the golden head of the image represented the Babylonians, the silver breast the Persians, the brazen belly and thighs Alexander and the Hellenes. "After these (came) the Romans, being the iron legs of the image, being strong as iron."[1] Later on, he identifies the Roman Empire with the last of the four beasts described in the vision of Daniel vii. After remarking that the beasts all represent kingdoms, which like wild beasts destroy mankind,[2] he describes them in detail, and identifies the first three, as before, with the Babylonian, Persian, and Hellenic Empires.[3] He then goes on: "It is clear to all that, after the kingdom of the Hellenes, no other kingdom has arisen except that which now has power and stands firm, which has iron teeth for the purpose of taming all men and tearing by its own strength like iron. But the (words): 'It trod down the rest with its feet' (are used) because no other kingdom has been left after this one."[4] "After this, he speaks of iron legs, to indicate the terrible and fearful beast, which has iron teeth, which is the Romans, who now have power, being strong as iron."[5] "Nor will we pass over this, with what meaning the blessed prophet likened all these former kingdoms to wild beasts, but did not declare, in the case of the kingdom that exists now, what kind of beast it was. . . . For having said that the kingdom of the Babylonians was a lioness, and that of the Persians a bear, and that of the Hellenes a leopard, why did he not say, of that of the Romans, what beast it was, but says, '(one) fearful and exceedingly terrible, its teeth iron and its claws brass'?"[6] He then explains that each

[1] Hipp. *Dan.* II. xi. 3—xii.; cf. *Ant.* 25, 28.
[2] Hipp. *Dan.* IV. ii. 1–3.
[3] Hipp. *Dan.* IV. ii. 4—iv.
[4] Hipp. *Dan.* IV. v. 1f; cf. vi. 4, x. 2, xiii. 3 (*τὸ θηρίον τὸ τέταρτον βασιλεία τετάρτη ἔσται ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἥτις ὑπερέξει πάσας τὰς βασιλείας, καὶ καταφάγεται πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, καὶ συμπατήσει αὐτὴν καὶ κατακόψει*), xvii. 7 (*ἔτι τοῦ τετάρτου θηρίου μόνου κρατοῦντος*), *Ant.* 33 (*ἴδε κρατεῖ νῦν ὁ σίδηρος, ἴδε "δαμάζει πάντα καὶ λεπτύνει," ἴδε ὑποτάσσει πάντας τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας*), 50 (*φανερὸν δὲ πᾶσίν ἐστιν ὅτι οἱ κρατοῦντες ἔτι νῦν εἰσι Λατεῖνοι*), *Ref.* x. 34 (30) (*οἱ στρατηγοῦντες Λατῖνοι*). Cf. also Iren. v. xxv. 3 (ii. 392) (Bestia quarta regnum quartum erit in terra, quod eminebit super reliqua regna et manducabit omnem terram, et conculcabit eam, et concidet (=Dan. vii. 23)); Tert. *Cul.* ii. 12 (i. 732) (illa civitas valida, etc.).
[5] Hipp. *Dan.* IV. vii. 4.
[6] Hipp. *Dan.* IV. viii. 1f.

of the first three kingdoms represented a single nation,[1] and continues: "But now the beast which now has power is not one nation; but from all tongues and from every race of men, it gathers to itself and prepares an army (*δύναμιν*) for the marshalling of war: they are all called Romans, though they are not all of one country."[2] And then, after describing Daniel's terror at seeing the fourth beast,[3] he goes on: "For as the Lord was born in the forty-second year under Augustus Cæsar, since whom the kingdom of the Romans has been in full bloom (*ἤκμασεν*), and as the Lord by means of the Apostles summoned all nations and all tongues, and made a nation of faithful Christians, bearing the new name of the Lord in their heart, in the same way the kingdom which now has power 'according to the working of Satan' has imitated (him), and itself likewise collecting the noblest men from all nations, prepares them for war, calling them Romans. And the first enrolment happened under Augustus, when the Lord was born in Bethlehem, for this cause, in order that the men of this world, being enrolled by an earthly king, might be called Romans, while those who believe in the heavenly King might be named Christians, bearing on their forehead the sign of victory over death."[4] Here we have the Melitonian parallelism between Christianity and the Empire put to a very different use from that made of it by Meliton: the Empire is represented, not as the legitimate complement or supplement of the Church, but as its coeval imitator and rival "according to the working of Satan."[5]

CHRISTIAN ANTICIPATIONS OF THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE.—Corresponding to the conventional view as to the instability of all worldly rule, we find several prophecies of the approaching downfall of the Roman Empire. About 195 A.D. certain successes won by the Parthians and others against the imperial armies occasioned the insertion of some lines in the 'Sibylline Oracles,' foretelling

[1] Hipp. *Dan.* IV. viii. 3–6.
[2] Hipp. *Dan.* IV. viii. 7 (Greek below, on p. 405 n 1).
[3] Hipp. *Dan.* IV. viii. 8f.
[4] Hipp. *Dan.* IV. ix. 2 (Greek below, on p. 405 n 1), 3 (*καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πρώτη ἀπογραφὴ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Αὐγούστου, ἡνίκα ὁ Κύριος ἐν Βηθλεὲμ ἐγεννήθη, ἵνα οἱ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἄνθρωποι ἐπιγείῳ βασιλεῖ ἀπογραφόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι κληθῶσιν, οἱ δὲ τῷ ἐπουρανίῳ βασιλεῖ πιστεύοντες Χριστιανοὶ ὀνομασθῶσιν, τὸ τρόπαιον τὸ κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου ἐπὶ μετώπῳ βαστάζοντες*).
[5] Cf. Holtzmann *RS* 26f, 36; Neumann *H* 24–28, 32f, 39, 43f, 68ff; Harnack *ME* i. 262f ("... The œcumenical range of the Roman empire is, therefore, a Satanic aping of Christianity. As the demons purloined Christian philosophy and aped the Christian cultus and sacraments, so also did they perpetrate a plagiarism against the church by founding the great imperial state of Rome! This is the self-consciousness of Christendom expressed in perhaps the most robust, but also in the most audacious form imaginable!"), *KS* 145.

the early end of the Roman dominion.[1] Tertullianus spoke to Scapula of the vengeance which Christians expected God would inflict on the imperial government in return for the persecutions ;[2] and he revelled in the prospect of beholding monarchs and provincial governors in the nether darkness and the fires of hell at the end of the age.[3] With Hippolytus the approaching break-up of the Empire in favour of the Kingdom of Christ was given with his close application of the prophecies of the Book of Daniel and the Apocalypse to the conditions of his own time.[4]

Wishes, opinions, and calculations as to *the time when* the Empire would fall were in most cases connected with views on the subject of the coming of Antichrist, whose reign would immediately precede the Parousia of Jesus. It was always taken for granted, on the basis of 2 Thess. ii. 6f, that as long as the Empire as a whole should last, Antichrist would not come.[5] Such was the basal fact. Various views were held as to the nearness or otherwise of the cataclysm. Irenæus ventures on the general statement that created things will come to an end in six thousand years from the date of their creation,[6] but he does not take it upon himself to say how soon that period will have elapsed. Eusebius tells us

[1] *Sib. Orac.* viii. 145–150 (cf. Neumann *SK* 112f) :

> οὐκέτι νικήσειε πέδον Ῥώμης ἐριθήλου,
> ὁππόταν ἐξ Ἀσίης κρατέων ἔλθῃ σὺν Ἄρηι.
> ταῦτα δὲ πάντ' ἔρξας ἥξει κρηπισθὲν ἐς ἄστυ.
> τρὶς δὲ τριηκοσίους καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ
> πληρώσεις λυκάβαντας, ὅταν σοι δύσμορος ἥξῃ
> μοῖρα βιαζομένη τεὸν οὔνομα πληρώσασα.

[2] Tert. *Scap.* 2 fin. (i. 542) : ultionem . . . quam a Deo exspectamus.

[3] Tert. *Spect.* 30 (i. 61f) : quid admirer? quid rideam? ubi gaudeam? ubi exsultem, spectans tot ac tantos reges, qui in coelum recepti nuntiabantur, cum ipso Iove et ipsis suis testibus in imis tenebris congemiscentes! item praesides, persecutores dominici nominis, saevioribus quam ipsi flammis saevierunt insultantibus contra Christianos liquescentes!

[4] Hipp. *Ant.* 29 (ἴδωμεν τοίνυν τὰ συμβησόμενα ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἐπὶ τὴν πόρνην τὴν ἀκάθαρτον ταύτην, ὁποία δὲ καὶ ποταπὴ κατὰ χόλον Θεοῦ ἐπελεύσεται αὐτῇ πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως μερικὴ βάσανος), *Dan.* II. xiii. 2, xxvii. 9, IV. x. 3 (ὃς μεταστήσει πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τὰς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ καὶ ἀλοήσει καὶ λικμήσει καὶ διασπερεῖ αὐτάς, κτλ.). Cf. *Act. Petr.* 24 (alter propheta dicit : . . . ' Lapis praecisus est sine manibus et percussit omnia regna.' Dan ii. 34).

[5] Tert. (see the passages quoted on next page, n 5, also) *Res.* 24 (ii. 498f) (quotation of 2 Th ii. 1ff, with comments) ; Hipp. *Ant.* 63 (quotation of 2 Th ii. 1–12), *Dan.* IV. x. 2 (ἐὰν καὶ τοῦτο [i.e. the Roman Empire] μεταρθῇ, παύεται λοιπὸν τὰ ἐπίγεια, ἄρχεται δὲ τὰ ἐπουράνια), xvii. 7 (τοῦ οὖν βδελύγματος [i.e. Antichrist] μηδέπω παραγενομένου, ἀλλ' ἔτι τοῦ τετάρτου θηρίου μόνου κρατοῦντος, πῶς δύναται ἡ ἐπιφάνεια τοῦ Κυρίου γενέσθαι ;), xxi. 3 (τίς οὖν ἐστιν ὁ κατέχων ἕως ἄρτι, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ τέταρτον θηρίον, οὗ μετατεθέντος καὶ ἐκ μέσου γεναμένου ἐλεύσεται ὁ πλάνος ;) ; Orig. *Cels.* ii. 50 (quotation of 2 Th ii. 3b, 4, 6–12), vi. 46 (quotation of 2 Th ii. 1–12). Cf. Guignebert 9f ; Neumann *H* 24, 27.

[6] Iren. v. xxviii. 3 (ii. 402f).

of a certain Judas, who "wrote a discourse on the seventy weeks in Daniel, and brought down the chronology to the tenth year of the reign of Severus:[1] he also thought that the appearance of the Antichrist which was much talked about was then near. So greatly had the agitation caused by the persecution of our people at this time upset the thoughts of many."[2] Tertullianus takes up a curiously inconsistent attitude. On the one hand, when he is writing for Christian readers only, he speaks of their impatient longing for the end of all things,[3] and describes the appearance of Antichrist as imminent.[4] On the other hand, when he is addressing pagans, he represents the Christians as praying for the continuance and stability of the Roman Empire, in the knowledge that it is the one bulwark between them and the suffering, distress, and turmoil of the Last Days.[5] Hippolytus, though more than once he piously deprecates any attempt to arrive at an exact date, counselling his readers both to retain their belief in the prophecies and to pray that the fulfilment of them may not occur in their lifetime,[6] yet ventures himself upon a very definite time-calculation. Starting from the usual chiliastic view of six thousand years as the period of the continuance of created things, and deducing from the dimensions of the ark built by Moses (!) that five thousand five hundred years had elapsed between the Creation

[1] I.e. 202–203 A.D.

[2] Eus. *HE* VI. vii: cf. Kruger 223f; Harnack *C* ii. 23.

[3] Tert. *Orat.* 5 (i. 560) (198–202 A.D.) (Itaque si ad Dei voluntatem et ad nostram suspensionem pertinet regni dominici repraesentatio, quomodo quidam protractum quemdam in saeculo postulant, cum regnum Dei, quod ut adveniat oramus, ad consummationem saeculi tendat? Optamus maturius regnare, et non diutius servire, etc.), *Spect.* 29 (198–202 A.D.) (see above, p. 305 n 5), *Res.* 22 (ii. 494) (208–213 A.D.) (vota nostra suspirant in saeculi hujus occasum, in transitum mundi quoque ad diem Domini magnum, etc.).

[4] Tert. *Fug.* 12 (i. 487) (212 A.D.) (antichristo iam instante).

[5] Tert. *Apol.* 32 (i. 236) (197 A.D.) (Est et alia major necessitas nobis orandi pro imperatoribus, etiam pro omni statu imperii rebusque Romanis, qui vim maximam universo orbi imminentem ipsamque clausulam saeculi acerbitates horrendas comminantem Romani imperii commeatu scimus retardari. Ita quae nolumus expediri, ea dum precamur differi, Romanae diuturnitati favemus), 39 (i. 255f) (Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum et potestatibus, pro statu saeculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis), *Scap.* 2 (i. 541) (212 A.D.) (imperatoris, quem sciens a Deo suo constitui, necesse est ut [sc. Christianus] et ipsum diligat, et revereatur, et honoret, et salvum velit, cum toto Romano imperio, quousque saeculum stabit. Tamdiu enim stabit). Cf. Bigelmair 87f.

[6] Hipp. *Dan.* IV. v. 4–6, vi. 1–3, xii. 2, xv.–xxii. (esp. xv. 1, xviii. 7, xxi. 4 [ἀλλὰ πάντως ζητεῖς περίεργος ὢν πόσα ἔτη περιλείπεται τῷ θηρίῳ, ἵνα μεταρθῇ, μὴ νοῶν, ὅτι ταῦτα ζητῶν ἑαυτῷ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπιζητεῖς καὶ τάχιον τὴν κρίσιν ἰδεῖν ἐπιθυμεῖς], xxii.). In xviiif, he gives some interesting accounts of Christian fanatics who acted unwisely on the assumption that Christ was coming immediately: cf. Neumann *H* 72–75.

and the birth of Christ, he had no difficulty in concluding that the End would come five hundred years after the latter event. The five hundred years were apparently to be followed by a brief interval of seven years, the first half of which would be occupied by the reign of the ten kings and the witness of Elijah and Enoch, and the second half by the reign of Antichrist, whose downfall would synchronize with the Parousia.[1]

In describing the anticipated *character and doings of Antichrist*, the person by whom the downfall of Rome would be effected, Irenæus and Hippolytus travel over pretty much the same ground, the latter however entering into more detail than the former.[2] Tertullianus alludes to some of the traditional features, and a few references occur in Origenes also.[3] The prelude to the coming of Antichrist is the partition of the Empire among ten kings (Hippolytus calls them also 'democracies'![4]), who will be of one mind and will give their strength to the Beast (presumably the imperial system and spirit), will persecute the Christians, and will be defeated by the Lamb. In the midst of these ten 'horns,' will arise the little horn, the Antichrist—a Jew of the tribe of Dan. His first exploits will be to overthrow and slay the three kings of Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia, to take Tyrus and Berytus by storm, and to subject the remaining seven kings to himself. Edom, Moab, and Ammon are mentioned as his first adherents. He will aspire to universal rule, and carry on destructive conquests. He will gather together the dispersed Jews, make Jerusalem the capital of his empire, build there a stone temple, and blasphemously claiming Divine honours sit in it and receive the worship due to God alone. He is depicted as "the man of sin," an unjust tyrant, an impious and lawless apostate, a contrast in every way to Christ, a deceitful and lying worker of wonders, the son, agent, and representative of Satan, and so forth. He will contemplate changing "the times and the law." He and his seven vassal kings will take and destroy Rome. He will institute a terrible and world-wide persecution of the Christians, slaying the two witnesses Elijah and Enoch, who testified during the three and a half years preceding his accession, and ordering all, on pain of death, to worship

[1] Hipp. *Dan.* IV. xxiiif, xxxv., l. 2 : cf. Neumann *H* 29ff, 75 ff.

[2] Cf. Neumann *H* 54–58 (Irenæus' teaching), 31–50 (Hipp. *Ant.*), and 80–107 (Hipp. *Dan.*).

[3] For references, see next page. Cf. also Cypr. *Test.* iii. 118: 'De Antichristo quod in homine veniat.' A brief reference to Antichrist and his deeds occurs in Ps-Cypr. *Pasch.* 14f.

[4] Hipp. *Ant.* 27, *Dan.* II. xii. 7.

the image of the Beast. His reign will last three and a half years, thus forming with the similar period occupied by the two witnesses (and the ten kings?) the final 'week' of seven years which would intervene between the conclusion of the six thousand years from the Creation and the Parousia of Jesus. His name was represented in Scripture by the number 666 (the alternative suggestion of 616, preferred by some, being dismissed), and, while no pretence was made at certainty, 'Lateinos' and 'Teitan' were both suggested as probable equivalents for this figure. The former suggestion preserves in some measure that connection or resemblance between Antichrist and Rome, which appears in another form in the theory of Nero Redivivus. Ultimately Christ will descend from heaven, overthrow and slay Antichrist, casting him into a fiery lake or furnace, and will hand over to the saints a kingdom that will never be destroyed.[1]

Christian Criticism of Human Laws.—We have so far considered the unfavourable judgment passed by Christians upon rulers in general and the imperial rulers in particular, and the forecasts which they framed of the future downfall of the Empire.

[1] These details are derived from the accounts of Irenæus III. vi. 5, vii. 2 (ii. 24, 26), IV. xxix. 1 (ii. 247), V. xxvf (ii. 390–397), xxviii. 2 (ii. 400–402), xxixf (ii. 404–410); Hipp. *Ant.* 6, 14–18, 25–29, 38–43, 46–58 63–65, *Dan.* IV. v. 2f, vi. 4, x. 1, 3, xii. 3–5, xiii. 3, xiv. 1–3, xxiv. 7f, xxxv. 3, xlviii.–lvii., *Gaius* 402 (Hippolytus here, on the strength of Ap ix. 15, makes a rather obscure reference to the unloosing of four nations by their angels at the coming of Antichrist: cf. also the additional extracts given by Achelis 243–246); Tert. *Praescr.* 4, *Marc.* v. 16, *Res.* 22, 24f, 27. The passages about the capture of Rome by Antichrist and the seven kings are in Iren. v. xxvi. 1 (ii. 394) (et vastabunt Babylonem, et comburent eam igni, et dabunt regnum suum bestiae); Tert. *Res.* 22 (ii. 496) (nemo adhuc fugit antichristum: nemo adhuc Babylonis exitium flevit), 25 (ii. 499) (souls of martyrs have learnt to wait 'ut prius et orbis de pateris angelorum plagas suas ebibat, et prostituta illa civitas a decem regibus dignos exitus referat,' etc.); Hipp. *Ant.* 29 (quoted above, p. 345 n 4), 39–43 (quotation of Ap xvii. 15–xviii., ending with the comment *περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν βασάνων καὶ τῆς ἐπερχομένης αὐτῇ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ὑπὸ τῶν τότε ἐσομένων τυράννων μερικῆς κρίσεως σαφέστατα ἐν τοῖς ῥητοῖς τούτοις δεδήλωται, κτλ.*); cf. *Dan.* II. xiii. 2, IV. x. 3 (Christ will do away with all the kingdoms of this world), xlix. 5 (Antichrist will be *ὑπὲρ πάντας βασιλεῖς . . . ἐπαρθείς*).

The view of Origenes in regard to Antichrist is hard to make out, and cannot be discussed in detail here. The passages are *Cels.* ii. 50, vi. 45f. On the one hand, he believes in Antichrist and accepts what Scripture says about him (quoting 2 Th ii. 1–12 and Dan viii. 23–25, ix. 27b in full): on the other hand, he had his own spiritualizing and allegorical way of interpreting Scripture, and could not easily have found a place in his system for a king of the type described by Irenæus and Hippolytus. He says that Paul speaks of him *μετά τινος ἐπικρύψεως* (*Cels.* vi. 45). As the extreme ideal of virtue is given in Jesus, so the opposite extreme is found *ἐν τῷ κατὰ ὀνομαζόμενον ἀντίχριστον* (*l.c.*). He speaks elsewhere of a general persecution as due to occur according to the prediction of Christ (*Comm. in Mt. Series*, 39 (iv. 270): cf. Neumann *SK* 225). But the whole subject of Origenes' eschatology is obscure.

We must now turn to the kindred question of the Christian criticism of human laws. Christians regard laws as being merely customs authoritatively enjoined by government, entitled, as we shall see later, to their obedience when they are good or indifferent, but, when bad, having in essence no more moral authority than a bad custom.

The first fact that struck the Christian mind when it considered human laws as a whole was *their immense variety and mutual inconsistency, proving that some of them at least must be bad.* The same thing is judged to be right among one people, and wrong among another, and vice versa.[1] "Some men live under the most approved laws, others under (laws that are) less valuable and harsher, others again live rather under inhuman and savage customs than under laws (at all)."[2] That some laws were bad, e.g. certain Persian, Ethiopian, Libyan, Scythian, and Taurian usages, was indeed sufficiently obvious even to the average pagan.[3] Many laws written and enacted by the various states cannot be brought into harmony with the Divine Law,[4] and must therefore be pronounced either not properly laws at all or else the laws of wicked men.[5] Thus far we have quoted Origenes, who puts the matter most clearly. But the same presuppositions lie behind the statements of other writers. Clemens, for instance, remarked that the Scriptural law was more humane to animals than the Hellenes were to human beings, for they cast out their new-born children.[6] Tertullianus pointed out to the pagans that, as a matter of fact, they themselves had long been in the habit of repealing laws and modifying their severity, thus acknowledging that these laws had been unjust.[7] The clear outstanding instance of an obviously iniquitous law was, of course, that which (by implication, so the pagan government held) forbade Christianity.[8]

[1] Orig. *Cels.* v. 27, 28 (if the same act may be both pious and impious *παρὰ τὰς διαφόρους σχέσεις καὶ τοὺς νόμους, ὅρα εἰ μὴ καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη τῶν πρός τι ἀκολούθως ἔσται καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία καὶ ἡ φρόνησις καὶ ἡ ἐπιστήμη καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ ἀρεταί· ὧν οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη ἀτοπώτερον*), 40 (*οὐ γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νόμου πάντες βασιλεύονται*), viii. 26. Cf., on the variety of laws, the Bardesanic *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (*ANCL* xxiib. 101, 107) (laws are not made under the compulsion of Fate, but by the exercise of man's free will).

[2] Orig. *Princ.* II. ix. 3.

[3] Orig. *Princ.* II. ix. 5, *Cels.* i. 1 (*Σκύθαις νόμους ἀθέσμους ἔχουσι*), v. 27.

[4] Orig. *Cels.* v. 37.

[5] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 26.

[6] Cl. *Strom.* II. xviii. 92.

[7] Tert. *Nat.* i. 6 fin. (i. 315) (. . . cum quotidie novis consultis constitutisque duritias nequitiasque earum temperetis), *Apol.* 4 (i. 128f). He says that even those pagan laws that seemed to lead to virtue had been borrowed from the Mosaic Law (*Apol.* 45).

[8] Cl. *Strom.* VI. viii. 67 (*τὸν ἐπηρτημένον τῷ πιστῷ κατὰ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς νόμους τοῦ θανάτου κίνδυνον*); Tert. *Apol.* 4 (i. 127) (non licet esse vos !); Orig. *Mart.*

Human laws also stood condemned as *incapable of securing more than a very limited obedience.* "The laws of the State," says Clemens, "may *perhaps* be able to restrain bad actions."[1] "How great is the authority of human laws," asks Tertullianus, "when it is in a man's power both to evade them, and often to lie hid in his crimes, and sometimes to despise them, if he have the wish or the need to offend, especially when one remembers the shortness of any punishment, which does not in any case continue beyond death?"[2] He goes on to argue that it is only the Christians, with their belief in God's final judgment and in eternal punishment, who make a real effort to obtain a blameless life. Origenes says: "In our judgment, no one who does not know that it is wrong to believe that piety is preserved by the laws established according to the prevalent ideas of government, is capable of knowing the origin of evils."[3] Complaints are made of inefficiency and abuse in the administration of the laws. "It is impossible," says Tertullianus, "to enforce what is good, the laws are so disarmed."[4] Cyprianus contrasts the eloquence proper to a court of law with the simplicity of speech appropriate to religious subjects, and exposes in detail the injustice, strife, cruelty, venality, and fraud, of which men are normally guilty in the forum, the very place where justice is supposed to be administered.[5]

On the strength of these facts the Christians held that the Law of God—by which they meant for practical purposes *the Christian ethic—superseded all human laws.* "Let the Athenian," said Clemens, "follow the laws of Solon, and the Argeian those of Phoroneus, and the Spartan those of Lycurgus; but if thou enrollest thyself under God, heaven is thy country, God thy lawgiver. And what are the laws? 'Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not corrupt boys; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt love the Lord thy God,'" etc.[6] Origenes says that Jesus "superinduced upon the previously-established polity and ancestral customs and habits according to existing laws the polity according

33 (ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσορ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγει ἡμῖν τοῖς περατικοῖς καὶ ἀληθινοῖς Ἑβραίοις), *Cels.* i. 1 (ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸν κοινὸν νόμον θρυλεῖ [ὁ Κέλσος] παρὰ τοῦτον λέγων Χριστιανοῖς τὰς συνθήκας).

[1] Cl. *Strom.* VII. iii. 19.

[2] Tert. *Apol.* 45 (i. 279).

[3] Orig. *Cels.* iv. 65: . . . ἐν τοῖς καθεστηκόσι κατὰ τὰς κοινότερον νοουμένας πολιτείας νόμοις, κτλ.

[4] Tert. *Pudic.* 1 (i. 791); cf. *Idol.* 18 (i. 100) (poenae ad impios paratae ignorantur).

[5] Cypr. *Donat.* 2, 10.

[6] Cl. *Protr.* x. 108.

to the Gospel."[1] Speaking later of Pindarus' phrase, "Law is the king of all men," he denies that this is true of the differing laws of different states. "But if thou meanest that which is really law, (it is) this (Law of God which) is by nature king of all men: though some, like robbers, who have revolted from the Law, deny it(s validity), and live by robbery and injustice. We Christians, then, who know the Law which is by nature king of all men, being the same as the Law of God, try to live according to it, having bidden a long farewell to laws (which are) not (really) laws (at all)."[2]

The Duty of Disobeying the State in Certain Cases.—It followed inevitably from such reasoning as we have just quoted that occasions were bound to arise in which obedience to the law of the State would conflict with obedience to God. While in practice persecution was the one circumstance known to us which gave rise to such occasions of conflict, Christian disobedience under persecution was regularly defended on the broad ground of the superiority of God's Law to man's. How far this sense of the Christian's independence of State-control could go, we see in the words addressed by the Scillitan martyr Speratus to the proconsul of Africa (July, 180 A.D.). He refused to swear by the Emperor's genius: he was no thief, he said, and he paid his taxes; but this was owing to his reverence for God; he did not acknowledge the secular government at all.[3] Usually, however, the Christian refusal was put less sweepingly. Thus, when Apollonius was told at his trial that the Senate had decreed that there were to be no Christians, he replied: "But God's decree cannot be overridden by a human decree."[4] Clemens is on the whole loyal to the laws: but he takes the words of Jesus about having to leave father and

[1] Orig. *Cels.* ii. 52.

[2] Orig. *Cels.* v. 40. On the resemblance of the early Christian treatment of all human laws as subsidiary to the one Law of God (? = the Mosaic Decalogue, or the Christian ethic) to the Stoic theory of a Law of Nature or Reason lying behind the laws of states, cf. Troeltsch 146–149, 158f; Meyer 8–13. The theory is connected with Justinus' doctrine of the spermatic Logos implanted in all men.

[3] *P. Scill.* 6 (Speratus dixit: Ego imperium huius saeculi non cognosco; sed magis illi Deo seruio, quem nemo hominum uidit, etc. etc.). Weinel says that Speratus "verrät damit, wie das Volk damals trotz aller freundlichen Aussagen der Apologeten in Afrika dachte" (*SUS* 23). We may compare Orig. *Comm. in Rom.* t. ix. 28 (vii. 331) (Qui autem facit bonum, hoc est, qui non metu legis, sed amore boni facit quod bonum est, iste jam non sub lege litterae, sed sub lege spiritus vivit).

[4] *Act. Apoll.* 23f. Cf. Bardesanic *Book*, etc., in *ANCL* xxiib. 110 and *DCB* i. 258a ("The laws of the countries do not separate them from [*ANCL*: do not hinder them from obeying] the law[s] of their Christ").

mother for the sake of the Gospel, and says: "'Mother' means figuratively one's country and sustenance; 'fathers' are the laws of the State: and these things must be thankfully despised by the high-souled righteous man, for the sake of becoming the friend of God and attaining, as the Apostles have done, to the right-hand places of the sanctuary."[1] Tertullianus replied to the pagan reproach of lawlessness, that the pagans themselves had been disloyal to their best laws, viz. the sumptuary laws, by repealing them.[2] "The laws of the rulers" were an essential part of the whole pagan system, and as such the Christians were bound to be opposed to them.[3] He accepted the apostolic rule of submission to magistrates, but only "within the limits of discipline, as long as we keep clear of idolatry":[4] the Emperor is to be honoured, but only when he confines himself to his proper sphere.[5]

*Hippolytus explains the subject at length.* "We must in everything be firm," he says, "and not give heed to false words, nor, through being easily carried away by the dignity of rulers (προσώποις ἀρχόντων), obey them, for we know that we have to render an account to God," and so on.[6] And later: "Those who believe in God ought not either to act hypocritically, or to fear those who have been appointed by the authorities, unless they" (i.e. the Christians) "do something wrong. But if, for the sake of the(ir) faith in God, they" (i.e. the authorities) "(try to) compel them to act differently, (they ought) to die gladly rather than to do what was commanded by them.[7] For when the Apostle told (us) to be submissive to all 'superior authorities,' he was not speaking about this—that, denying our faith and the things that have been enjoined by God, we should do what men bid, but that, in fear of the authorities, we should do nothing wrong, lest we be punished by them as evil-doers.[8] And for this reason he says: 'The one who inflicts vengeance on those who do wrong is (the) servant of God.' Why? 'Dost thou wish not to fear the authority? Do what is good, and thou shalt have praise from it.' 'But whenever thou doest what is wrong, be afraid;

[1] Cl. *Strom.* IV. iv. 15. On Clemens' view of the State as conditioned by persecution, cf. Neumann *SK* 168f; also Bigelmair 91.

[2] Tert. *Apol.* 6.

[3] Tert. *Nat.* ii. 1 (i. 350) (quoted above, p. 335 n 1).

[4] Tert. *Idol.* 15 (i. 94): sed intra limites disciplinae, quousque ab idololatria separamur.

[5] Tert. *Scorp.* 14 (i. 533): ut tamen tunc rex honoretur, cum suis rebus insistit, cum a divinis honoribus longe est. On Tertullianus attitude to the laws, cf. Neumann *SK* 122f.

[6] Hipp. *Dan.* I. xxvi. 2.

[7] Hipp. *Dan.* III. xxiii. 1.

[8] Hipp. *Dan.* III. xxiii. 2.

for he bears not the sword for nothing.' So that, according to this, he tells (us) to submit to holy and pious living in this life, keeping before (our) eyes the danger of the sword.[1] Thus the apostles, when forbidden by the rulers and scribes to speak the word, did not stop (doing so), obeying 'God rather than men'; and, angered at this, 'they put them in the public prison.' But the 'angel by night' 'led them out and said: Go, speak the words of this life.'[2] So too Daniel, being forbidden to pray, did not submit to the king's decree, that he might not place the glory of God below the glory of men.[3] . . . But if any (try to) force (us) (εἰ δέ τινες βιάζονται) not to worship God and not to ask (anything) of Him, threatening us with death, it is far sweeter to die than to do the things that are commanded by them.[4] . . . Behold, to-day the world is Babylon, its authorities are the satraps, their Emperor is Darius, Haides is the den, the torturing angels are the lions. Imitate Daniel, therefore, not fearing the satraps nor submitting to a human decree, so that, when thou art cast into the den of lions, thou mayest be guarded by the angel," etc.[5]

*The position of Origenes is substantially similar.* In his 'Commentary on Romans,' written after 244 A.D., he discusses the meaning of the great words with which chap. xiii. of the Epistle opens. He first praises the apostle for saying that "every soul" (anima, ψυχή) should be subject to the superior authorities. Man consists of flesh, soul, and spirit, spirit being the highest; and Paul purposely refrains from saying that man's spirit should be subject to the authorities.[6] Of the words: "He who resists the authority resists the ordinance of God; and those who resist incur damnation for themselves," he says: "He is not here speaking of those powers which inflict persecution on the faith; for in that case it has to be said: 'One ought to obey God rather than men.'"[7] In reply to Celsus' reproach that the secret Christian associations were illegal, Origenes says: "If a man found himself among the Scythians, whose laws are unlawful (ἀθέσμους), and had no opportunity of withdrawing, but was compelled to live amongst them, he would have ample grounds (εὐλόγως ἂν οὗτος)

[1] Hipp. *Dan.* III. xxiii. 3.
[2] Hipp. *Dan.* iii. xxiii. 4.
[3] Hipp. *Dan.* III. xxiv. 1.
[4] Hipp. *Dan.* III. xxiv. 4.
[5] Hipp. *Dan.* III. xxxi. 2f (ἀνθρωπίνῳ δόγματι μὴ ὑποταγείς). In *Dan.* IV. xlii. 8, he recounts how Mattathias boldly refused to desert the law of his ancestors at Antiochus' bidding. On Hippolytus' view of the duty of disobedience, cf. Neumann *H* 98–105.
[6] Orig. *Comm. in Rom.* t. ix. 25 (vii. 326): nunquam enim dixisset 'omnis spiritus subjaceat potestati,' sed 'omnis anima.'
[7] Orig. *op. cit.* t. ix. 27 (vii. 328).

—for the sake of the Law of Truth, which to the Scythians would be transgression (παρανομίαν)—for forming with those who thought the same as himself associations against what had been enacted by them. In the same way, if Truth adjudicate, the laws of the gentiles concerning idols and godless polytheism are Scythians' laws, or, if anything, more impious than the Scythians'. It is not then unreasonable to form associations on behalf of the truth against what has been enacted. . . . Thus the Christians, when he who is called by them the devil and falsehood plays the tyrant, form associations against what has been enacted by the devil—in opposition to the devil, and for the sake of the salvation of as many others as they may be able to persuade to revolt (ἀποστῆναι) against the law as it were of Scythians and of a tyrant." [1] He speaks of Jesus as having " persuaded some to join him in a revolt against the laws." [2] " When the (Law) of Nature, that is, of God, enjoins things opposite to the written law, see whether Reason does not prefer to bid a long farewell to the written things and to the will of the legislators, and to give itself up to God (as) law-giver and to choose to live according to His word, even though one has to do this with dangers and countless labours and deaths and disgrace. . . . But since it is reasonable in other matters to give the Law of Nature, being the Law of God, greater honour than what has been written and enacted by men contrary to the Law of God, why should not this be done still more in the (case of the) laws relating to (the worship of) God ? " [3] If Celsus wants us to observe human laws, he must show that they are in agreement with the Divine laws ; if that cannot be done, then " it is clear that they are either not laws at all or else the laws of wicked men who ought not to be believed in ; for ' one must obey God rather than men.' " [4]

It is important to notice that *this doctrine of disobedience is in principle perfectly general.* The Law of God, which the Christians put over against the law of the State, embraced a good deal more than the prohibition of idolatry and polytheism ; it embraced the whole Christian ethic ; and it was simply the particular circumstances of the time that gave almost exclusive prominence to the conflict on the subject of religious worship. Had the laws of

[1] Orig. *Cels.* i. 1. [2] Orig. *Cels.* i. 30. [3] Orig. *Cels.* v. 37.
[4] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 26. For a comparison of the views of Clemens, Tertullianus, and Origenes, on the civil law, see Neumann *SK* 115. He remarks of Origenes : " Auch Origenes ist nicht darauf ausgegangen, Conflicte mit dem Staatsgesetz zu suchen, aber das Gesetz des Staates hat als solches in seinen Augen kein Werth. Anders Clemens."

the Empire happened to be such as to require the Christian to depart from his Christian principles on any other matter of conduct, they would have met with as strenuous an opposition as that offered to the demand for the recognition of the pagan gods. Nor can we, in view of the paucity of the records, be at all sure that such cases of conflict did not occasionally arise. Some of the statements we have just quoted, e.g. that of Speratus, are strikingly broad. We saw how Hippolytus said that, when the apostle told us to be submissive to the authorities, he did not mean "that, denying our faith *and the things that have been enjoined by God*, we should do what men bid,"[1] and how Origenes urged that it was reasonable to prefer God's law to man's, not only in the matter of worshipping God, but also "in other matters."[2]

The Christian Opposition to Persecution.—As a matter of fact, however, it was the question of religious worship which formed the one great point at issue between the Christians and the imperial government. In face of the official demand for a recognition of the pagan deities—including the Emperor himself, and his Genius or Fortune—the first clause in the Christian reply was a fearless and determined *refusal*, even at the cost of torture or death.[3] Along with this came words of *protest, defiance, censure, and menace*—foretelling not only disaster in this life to the persecutors themselves and to the community at large, but also the Divine vengeance after the last judgment.[4] The Christian *desire*

[1] Hipp. *Dan.* III. xxiii. 2 (see above, p. 352).

[2] Orig. *Cels.* v. 37. Apollonius regarded in this light the command to take an oath, quite apart from its polytheistic content (*Act. Apoll.* 3–6).

[3] The following are the chief allusions to the matter in the literature of the period: *P. Scill.* passim; *Act. Apoll.* 1–5, 7f, 13–16, 27f; Theoph. i. 11; Cl. *Strom.* IV. iv. 13ff, viii. 58, 67f (cf. Neumann *SK* 114); Tert. *Nat.* i. 17, *Apol.* 27–34, *Idol.* 15, *Paen.* 7 (i. 657), *Val.* 30 (ii. 414) (Sed nobis quidem vae, si excesserimus in aliquo disciplinae jugum: si obtorpuerimus in operibus sanctitatis atque justitiae: si confitendum alibi, nescio ubi, et non sub potestatibus istius saeculi, apud tribunalia praesidum optaverimus), *Scorp.* 9; *Perpet.* vi. 1–6; Hipp. *Dan.* I. xx. 3, II. xiv.–xix., xxii.–xxiv., III. vi. 2, xxiii. 1f, xxxi. 2f; Ps-Mel. 4 (114f); Minuc. xxxvii. 1–6; Orig. *Mart.* 6f, 32f, etc., *Cels.* i. 1, 8, 26, ii. 17, viii. 50, 54, 65, 67, 70: cf. Eus. *HE* IV. xiii. 3. On the Gnostic view of the indifference of denying one's Christianity, see above, p. 332.

[4] *Act. Apoll.* 25 (γινώσκειν δέ σε θέλω, Περέννιε, ὅτι ἐπὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἐπὶ συγκλητικοὺς . . . ἕνα θάνατον ὥρισεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ δίκην μετὰ θάνατον ἔσεσθαι ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους); Tert. *Apol.* 21 (i. 204) (dicimus, et palam dicimus, et vobis torquentibus lacerati et cruenti vociferamur, 'Deum colimus per Christum'), 30 fin., 44, 49, 50, *Scap.* 3–5; *Perpet.* xvii. 2 ('notate tamen uobis facies nostras diligenter, ut recognoscatis nos in die illo': so Saturus to the onlookers), xviii. 8 (martyrs say to Hilarianus, the Procurator: 'Tu nos, te autem Deus'); Orig. *Comm. in Rom.* t. ix. 26 (vii. 328) (see below, pp. 376f n 4); Ps-Cypr. *Mont.* 8 init., 15.

*for vengeance* on their oppressors comes out here and there in the literature of the time.[1]

Comparatively few of the early Christian *apologetic treatises*, composed directly with the object of staying persecution, belong to this period. None of the writings of Clemens, Hippolytus, or Origenes are of this nature, though the last-named may have hoped that his reply to Celsus would help to avert the persecution which he feared would break out in the near future.[2] The reason for the fewness of such Apologies is to be found, partly at least, in the comparative rarity of the outbreaks of persecution during this period. The treatises of Tertullianus, 'Ad Nationes,' 'Apologeticus,' and 'Ad Scapulam' are virtually all that remain to us of this type.[3] Of these, the first is addressed rather to the heathen public than to the government; the second is addressed to the provincial governors of the Empire,[4] the third to an individual governor. While the 'Ad Scapulam' was somewhat milder in tone than either of the others, none of them could be called conciliatory. They are full of solid arguments forcibly put, but are couched on the whole in terms of warning, defiance, and satire, not of persuasion.[5] It is further remarkable that Tertullianus

[1] Iren. *fr.* 40 (ii. 507f) (ἀλλ' ἥλπισεν ὁ ταῦτα πάσχων, ὡς ἔσται ἐκδίκησις κατὰ τῶν πολεμούντων); Hipp. *Dan.* III. xxx. 2 (οἱ οὖν πεποιθότες ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπῳ βασιλεῖ καὶ "τῷ πλησίον βόθρον" ὀρύξαντες αὐτοὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐμπεσοῦνται εἰς ἀπώλειαν); Tert. *Scap.* 2 fin. (i. 542) (ultionem . . . quam a Deo exspectamus), *Spect.* 30 (i. 61f) (see above, p. 345 n 3); Eus. *HE* IV. xiii. 7 (punishments said to have been ordained by Antoninus against accusers of the Christians. The date of the composition of this forged rescript is uncertain: still more so is that of the so-styled letter of M. Aurelius to the Senate, in which he orders accusers of the Christians to be burned alive).

[2] Orig. *Cels.* iii. 15. The Pseudo-Melitonian Apology in Syriac is an address on monotheism, and does not touch the question of persecution, except once incidentally (4 (115 top)).

[3] Bardesanes wrote a number of works on the occasion of a persecution (Eus. *HE* IV. xxx. 2), but we know next to nothing about them (Harnack *C* ii. 128f; Bardenhewer 78f). He deserves to be mentioned here, however, on another ground. "He resisted Apollonius, thec ompanion of Antoninus" (=Caracalla), "when exhorted to deny that he called himself a Christian: he stood almost as a regular confessor (ἐν τάξει ὁμολογίας), and replied with intelligent arguments, making a courageous defence of (true) piety, saying that he did not fear death, which was bound to come (anyway), even if he did not oppose the emperor" (Epiphanius, *Haeres.* lvi. 1 [Migne *PG* xli. 989]: cf. *DCB* i. 251a). The *Acts* of the Scillitan martyrs, of Apollonius, of Perpetua and her companions, furnish us with specimens of that form of Christian apologetic peculiar to the martyrs.

[4] Note the ironically pompous opening: 'Si non licet vos, Romani imperii antistites, in aperto et edito, in ipso fere vertice civitatis praesidentibus ad judicandum palam dispicere et coram examinare quid sit liquido in caussa Christianorum,' etc. Cf. Neumann *SK* 141ff, 182ff.

[5] Gwatkin *ECH* i. 210: "If it" (the *Apologeticus*) "ever reached the proconsul of Africa, its audacious language would rather suggest to him that Christians were even more dangerous miscreants than he took them for."

disregards, as Meliton had done before him, the real facts of the history of persecution. He makes out that it was only bad Emperors, like Nero and Domitianus, who had persecuted the Christians: Trajanus relieved them by forbidding them to be sought for: neither Vespasianus, nor Hadrianus, nor Antoninus, nor Marcus Aurelius had enforced the laws against them: the last-named, though he had not publicly cancelled their legal liability to punishment, yet had virtually granted them toleration by penalizing their accusers.[1] This argument was, of course, intended as a reproach against the government of the day, and as such falls to be mentioned here. It has, however, another aspect, in that it represents the Emperors of the past as having been favourable to Christianity: but the consideration of this aspect we reserve for a later stage in our study. For the substance of the Apologist's pleas, arguments, and protests, the reader is referred to the works themselves and to such passages of them as are quoted elsewhere in these pages. In brief, it may be said that he attempts, both offensively and defensively, to make out the superiority of Christian religion and morality to those of the pagan world, the right of Christianity to be tolerated in the same way that the philosophic schools were tolerated, and the folly, injustice, uselessness, and danger of persecution.[2]

The question how far a Christian might go in *incurring or avoiding martyrdom* had little or no connection with the Christian view of the persecuting power, but was a matter rather of his inner psychology. As before, the various policies sway between the two extremes of caution and boldness. Six of the twelve accused Scillitans seem to have avoided death by flight, and were sentenced by the proconsul in their absence. They were none the less reckoned by the Church among the martyrs.[3] On the other hand, Tertullianus tells us that on a certain occasion all the Christians of a certain place in Asia Minor presented themselves before the persecuting governor, Arrius Antoninus (probably 184

[1] Tert. *Nat.* i. 7 (i. 316), *Apol.* 5 (i. 130ff) (see below, p. 388 n 2); Eus. *HE* III. xxxiii. 3f, v. v. 5–7. Cf. Overbeck 119ff; Holtzmann *RS* 36f (Holtzmann seems to regard this view of Tertullianus' as, like Meliton's, an illustration of the strength of the spell "womit schon jetzt die unbewusst vorweggenommene Zukunft einer christlichen Staatsreligion manche Geister beherrschte." To this one can only say that the anticipation must have been, in the case of Tertullianus, very unconscious indeed. He does not seem to have entertained any hope that the State would ever be completely reconciled to Christianity: cf. Bigelmair 83f); Guignebert 61ff, 123ff.

[2] E.g. Tert. *Apol.* 4 (i. 129): Quomodo iniquas dicimus (sc. leges)? Immo si nomen puniunt, etiam stultas.

[3] *P. Scill.* 1, 14–17; Neumann *SK* 76.

or 185 A.D.):[1] he ordered a few of them to be executed, and dismissed the rest with the words: "Wretches, if ye wish to die, ye have precipices and halters (of your own)."[2] Origenes, as a boy of seventeen, freely exposed himself to the risk of martyrdom.[3] Saturus, not having been present when Perpetua and the others were led off to prison, gave himself up voluntarily.[4] Clemens leaned to the side of caution, and disapproved of all unnecessary forwardness in seeking or provoking martyrdom, believing such action to implicate the martyr in his persecutor's guilt.[5] He censured as foolhardy and disobedient to the Lord those who would not flee.[6] He fled from Alexandria himself when persecution broke out there.[7] Hippolytus urged any one who was arraigned for his Christianity to pray that he might somehow become a martyr, and, if he was summoned to martyrdom, to listen eagerly to the call, though, if God rescued him, he was to glorify Him for it.[8] Tertullianus wrote a special treatise—'De Fuga in Persecutione'—to prove that a Christian ought not to flee from danger in persecution; but the writing of such a work proves that there were many Christians who did not agree with him. Origenes, on the whole, approved of flight. He often referred to the conduct and precept of Jesus in the matter, and says of him: "It is not ignoble carefully to shun dangers and to avoid meeting them, not through fear of death, but for the sake of benefiting others usefully by remaining in life, until the proper season should come for him who had taken human nature to die a man's death."[9] "Even though a Christian should flee," he says, "he flees, not through cowardice, but observing the Teacher's commandment, and keeping himself pure so that others may be helped by his safety."[10]

THE CHRISTIAN AVERSION FROM POLITICS.—It was quite in keeping with all that we have hitherto seen of the Christian contempt

[1] Chapot, *La Province romaine proconsulaire d'Asie*, 307.
[2] Tert. *Scap.* 5.
[3] Eus. *HE* VI. ii. 3–6, iii. 4–5.
[4] *Perpet.* iv. 5.
[5] Cl. *Strom.* IV. iv. 17, x. 76f, VII. xi. 66.
[6] Cl. *fr.* (iii. 226).
[7] Eus. *HE* VI. iii. 1: *DCB* i. 560b; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 122.
[8] Hipp. *Dan.* II. xxxvii. 4f. Neumann (*H* 92) says: "Dass die Christen in der Verfolgung fliehen, hält Hippolytus für selbstverständlich"; but he quotes no passage in proof of it, nor do I know of any. On the whole question of the behaviour and views of Christians under persecution, cf. Neumann *H* 89–98.
[9] Orig. *Cels.* i. 61; cf. 65f, ii. 11, *Mart.* 29.
[10] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 44 fin.: . . . ἑτέρων ὠφεληθησομένων [τῇ αὐτοῦ] σωτηρίᾳ. Cf. also *Comm. in. Mt.* t. x. 23, t. xvi. 1 (iii. 62, iv. 3): in the latter passage he says φαμὲν γὰρ, ὅτι οὔτε πάντοτε καθήκει ἐκκλίνειν τοὺς κινδύνους, οὔτε ἀεὶ ὁμόσε χωρεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς. Σοφοῦ δέ τινος ἐν Χριστῷ χρεία εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν, ποῖος μὲν ἀπαιτεῖ καιρὸς ἀναχώρησιν, ποῖος δὲ τὴν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα προθυμίαν χωρὶς ἀναχωρήσεως, καὶ πολλῷ πλέον χωρὶς φυγῆς.

for worldly interests and worldly glory,[1] and of the Christian disapprobation of the usual character of rulers and of many of the most usual methods of governments, that they should *disclaim all political ambition and even interest*, and should be strongly disinclined to undertake public office themselves. The Christian's country and State, as more than one author repeats, are in heaven.[2] Clemens quotes as an apt description of the Christian's manner of life the words in which Plato depicts the utter unconcern of leading philosophers in political life: they do not know the way to the law-court or council-chamber or city-assembly; they ignore laws and decrees; the eagerness of political clubs never enters their dreams; his body remains in the State, but he himself flies abroad beneath the earth and beyond the heavens, studying the stars and investigating nature everywhere.[3] Hippolytus warns Christians of the instability and danger of royal favour.[4] Tertullianus remarks that there need be no fear of Christians disturbing the public peace with party-strife; "for we, who are cold to all passion for glory and dignity, have no need of public meetings: nor are any affairs more alien to us than the affairs of the State."[5] Origenes states that, having seen the unshakable Kingdom of Christ, the mind will naturally despise every earthly kingdom as unworthy of consideration;[6] also that we must despise ingrati-

[1] Iren. v. xxii. 2 (ii. 385) (Apostolus docuit . . . nec divitiis, nec gloria mundana, neque praesenti phantasia capi); Cypr. *Test.* iii. 11 (Eum qui fidem consecutus est exposito priore homine caelestia tantum et spiritalia cogitare debere nec adtendere ad saeculum cui iam renuntiauit); Ps-Just. *Orat.* 5 (the Logos *οὐ βούλεται . . . εὐγενείας φρύαγμα*).

[2] Cl. *Protr.* x. 108; Tert. *Marc.* iii. 24 (ii. 156); Orig. *Orat.* xxvi. 5.

[3] Cl. *Strom.* v. xiv. 98 (. . . *οὗτοι δέ που οὔτε εἰς ἀγορὰν ἴσασι τὴν ὁδὸν οὔτε ὅπου δικαστήριον ἢ βουλευτήριον ἤ τι κοινὸν ἄλλο τῆς πόλεως συνέδριον, νόμους δὲ καὶ ψηφίσματα γεγραμμένα οὔτε ὁρῶσιν οὔτε ἀκούουσιν . . .*). The quotation is from Plato's *Theætetus* 173c–174a.

[4] Hipp. *Dan.* iii. vi. 2–6, 7 (*φεῦγε οὖν τὰ τοιαῦτα πρόσωπα, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, μήποτε κινδυνεύσῃς δι' αὐτούς· πᾶσα γὰρ σὰρξ χόρτος, κτλ.*), xvii. 2 (Daniel, *μὴ δώροις ἐπιγείοις χαιρόμενος*, refuses the rich gifts offered him by the king).

[5] Tert. *Apol.* 38 (i. 253) (At enim nobis ab omni gloriae et dignitatis ardore frigentibus nulla est necessitas coetus, nec ulla magis res aliena quam publica); cf. *Scap.* 4 fin. (i. 549) (Quod aliud negotium patitur Christianus nisi suae sectae?). Harnack remarks that the passage from *Apol.* 38 "has a Stoic tinge; at best it may be taken with a grain of salt. Besides, people who despise the state always pursue a very active policy of their own" (*ME* i. 256 n). This last observation is significantly quoted by Weinel as a motto on the title-page of his *SUS*.

[6] Orig. *Orat.* xvii. 2. We learn from Greg. Thaum. *Paneg.* vi. 77, 84, xi. 138, that Origenes depreciated and discouraged legal studies (*τὴν δικανικὴν καὶ ἐκμάθησιν τὴν τῶν νόμων*) as withdrawing the student from higher interests. His pupil Gregorius re-echoes these sentiments (xvi. 192: *σκυθρωπὰ πάντα, θόρυβος καὶ τάραχος ἐξ εἰρήνης . . . ἀγοραὶ καὶ δίκαι καὶ ὄχλοι καὶ χλιδή*), though he had studied the law and returned to the practice of it after leaving Origenes (xvii. 202).

ating ourselves with kings, not only when their favour has to be sought by means of murders and acts of licentiousness and cruelty, but also if it involves impiety towards God or unworthy servility of speech.[1]

Hitherto circumstances had been such that it was an extremely rare occurrence for a Christian to be the holder of any public office; but in the time of Commodus (180–192 A.D.), the further extension of the faith to the upper ranks of society and the rise of a class of Christians who were also public officials, naturally brought forward the problem as to the legitimacy of such a state of things.[2] One result of this was to evoke *statements and arguments to the effect that a Christian ought not to hold a public office.* The grounds of this view will become clear as we examine the statements in question. Tertullianus granted that a Christian might hold office, provided that he had nothing to do with sacrifices, neither provided public shows nor presided at them, took no oath, never sat in judgment of a capital or criminal charge (adjudication of civil suits Tertullianus apparently considered harmless), neither pronounced nor ordained penalties, and inflicted bondage, imprisonment, and torture on no one. Office-bearing under such conditions he rightly regarded as hardly possible.[3] He argued that the purple and other insignia of magistracy were idolatrous; that Joseph and Daniel—whom some quoted as righteous office-bearers under heathen kings—were, unlike the Christians, in a position of slavery, and so furnished no proper precedent for Christians to follow; that Jesus had refused royal dignity, and thus "in the fullest way given a pattern to his followers," turning them from all pride and pomp of dignity and power. "What he did not wish for, he rejected; what he rejected, he condemned; what he condemned, he counted as the pomp of the devil. . . . If thou hast abjured the pomp of the devil, know that whatever (part) of it thou touchest, that is idolatry."[4] "Either we must flee from public offices, lest we fall into sins; or else we must endure martyrdom, that we may break off (our tenure

[1] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 65 (for the Greek, p. 337 n 5), 63 fin.

[2] Bigelmair 128f; Troeltsch 111f n.

[3] Tert. *Idol.* 17 (i. 97f): Cedamus itaque succedere alicui posse, ut in quoquo honore in solo honoris nomine incedat, neque sacrificet, neque sacrificiis auctoritatem suam accommodet, non hostias locet, non curas templorum deleget, non vectigalia eorum procuret, non spectacula edat de suo aut de publico aut edendis praesit, nihil solemne pronuntiet vel edicat, ne juret quidem: jam vero quae sunt potestatis, neque judicet de capite alicujus vel pudore—feras enim de pecunia—neque damnet neque praedamnet, neminem vinciat, neminem recludat aut torqueat, si haec credibile est fieri posse.

[4] Tert. *Idol.* 18 (i. 98ff).

of) public offices." [1] He represents the simple philosophic pallium, the wearing of which he commends in preference to that of the toga, as boasting of its freedom from all the busy anxieties of political life.[2]

The thoroughgoing and outspoken opinions of Tertullianus have naturally attracted a good deal of attention and criticism ; [3] and, before we pass on to other writers, there are two points in his position which it will be well briefly to emphasize. Firstly, it is a mistake to regard Tertullianus as an individual dissenter from the views of the Church as a whole on this matter. It is true that Christian conviction on the subject was never entirely unanimous, that many of his Christian contemporaries (how many, we do not know) differed from him, and that ultimately the Church on the whole agreed with them rather than with him. At the same time, when we consider that his views on the matter were as uncompromising in his pre-Montanist, as in his Montanist, days,[4] that they agree with the testimony of Minucius Felix and Origenes and the oldest Church-Orders as to the normal Christian practice in the earlier part of the third century, and were apparently endorsed by so representative a churchman as his own follower and admirer Cyprianus, we shall hardly be inclined to believe that at this time he was voicing the opinion of a minority of Christians, still less that he represented the views of a mere handful of fanatical extremists.[5] Secondly, while the danger of idolatrous contamination was very real and important to him, that was not, as it is often represented to be, the only real reason for his view that a Christian should not hold office. The fact that very many public offices involved the holders in participation in acts of judicial violence, such as imprisonment, torture, death-sentences, and executions, at once brought the service of the State into conflict

[1] Tert. *Cor.* 11 (i. 446) : ". . . cum idcirco aut officia fugienda sunt, ne in delictis incidamus ; aut martyria toleranda sunt, ut officia rumpamus.

[2] Tert. *Pall.* 5 (i. 950) : Ego, inquit, nihil foro, nihil campo, nihil curiae debeo : nulli officio advigilo, nulla rostra praeoccupo, nulla praetoria observo : canales non odoro, cancellos non adoro (or adorior), subsellia non contundo, jura non conturbo, caussas non elatro, non judico, non milito, non regno, secessi de populo. In me unicum negotium est ; nisi aliud non curo quam ne curem.

[3] On Tertullianus' attitude generally, cf. Gass 92ff ; Ziegler 171 (he rightly criticizes Tertullianus' exaggeration in *Cor.* 2 fin. [i. 420] [prohibetur quod non ultro est permissum] ; " es ist damit jeder Fortschritt, jeder Versuch des Christentums sich einzulassen mit der Welt und neue Kreise sich zu assimilieren, ausgeschlossen und verhindert," u.s.w.) ; Neumann *SK* 119, 125f ; Holtzm. *RS* 26 ; Guignebert 200–206 ; Harnack *ME* i. 307f.

[4] Cf. Neumann *SK* 119 : " der Mann, der sich später den extremen Anschauungen des Montanismus zugewandt hat, birgt die Keime derselben schon früher in sich." But on some subjects these " Keime " reached maturity at a pretty early date.

[5] Cf. Bigelmair 84f.

with the Christian law of love, and not unnaturally caused the most thoughtful Christians to regard the former as closed to them.[1] The passage quoted above from the 'De Idololatria' makes this perfectly clear. Neither Tertullianus nor—so far as we know—any other intelligent or serious Christian of the time would have been satisfied with the modern view which makes a cleavage between the inner disposition of the heart and its expression in outward action.[2] There can be no doubt that it was the apparently inseparable connection between government and injurious violence that caused Tertullianus to take it for granted that Cæsars could not be Christians.[3]

Account has next to be taken of the 'Canons of Hippolytus.' In their present form these 'Canons' say rather inconsistently that a man who has received the power of killing is not to be accepted at all (as a candidate for Church-membership), and then that one who has been raised to the rank of prefect or magistrate and who is not "clothed with the adornment of justice" is to be separated from the (Christian) flock and that the bishop is not to pray in his presence. This suggests that a magistrate who *is* 'clothed with justice' might remain in the Church, thus apparently contradicting the first ordinance. On the general principle that the more stringent regulations on this subject are probably the older, we shall be disposed to believe that the 'Egyptian Church-Order,' which simply rules out altogether from Church-membership the magistrate who bears the sword, probably represents the practice of the age of Hippolytus, whether or no it was ever put down in black and white by that writer.[4]

Minucius Felix represents Octavius, in defending the Christians from the aspersions of Cæcilius, as saying: "Even though we refuse your official honours and purple, yet we do not consist of the lowest dregs of the population." [5]

[1] So Ziegler 170f ("Am bedenklichsten dabei ist ihm—und der ganzen damaligen Christenheit mit ihm—die Möglichkeit, die dadurch an den Christen heranträte, ein Todesurteil fällen zu müssen"). Cf. Bigelmair 131ff.

[2] Luthardt, for instance, criticizes (187) Tertullianus' words in *Cor.* 11 (cum idcirco aut officia fugienda sunt, etc.) thus: "This is the necessary consequence of the standpoint that makes the words of Christ which refer to the internal attitude of the disposition directly into a law for the external orders of life."

[3] Tert. *Apol.* 21 (i. 204): Sed et Caesares credidissent super Christo, si aut Caesares non essent necessarii saeculo, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Caesares.

[4] See the evidence set out in full in the tabular statement below, p. 432, with n 6 on p. 433.

[5] Minuc. xxxi. 6: nec de ultima statim plebe consistimus, si honores uestros et purpuras recusamus.

Origenes adds his testimony to the same effect, in rejecting the appeal of Celsus that Christians should take their part in the government of the State.[1] It is true that in this particular context, Origenes gives as the reason for his position the fact that the Christians as such are already preoccupied with a higher and better service—of which more in a moment; but there can be no doubt that the negative reason of wishing to abstain from all participation in acts of violence and bloodshed was also determinative with him. He says, for instance, of the ancient Jews, that, had they embraced the Gospel, they could neither have slain their enemies, nor sentenced criminals to death.[2]

This attitude of refusing to share in the task of government drew of course upon the Christians the charge of selfish indolence,[3] which in turn evoked the plea of *the alternative service rendered to society by the Christian as such.* Tertullianus, for instance, contended that he did more for the safety of the Emperor by his prayers than the pagans did.[4] He makes his simple 'pallium' say: "Yet to me also it will be to some extent allowed that I am of advantage to the public. I am wont, from every boundary-stone or altar, to prescribe for morals medicines that will confer good health more happily on public affairs, states, and empires, than your works will."[5] Origenes handles the question more thoroughly.

[1] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 75: Προτρέπει δ' ἡμᾶς Κέλσος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν τῆς πατρίδος, ἐὰν δέῃ καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἕνεκεν σωτηρίας νόμων καὶ εὐσεβείας . . . Χριστιανοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα περιΐστανται.

[2] Orig. *Cels.* vii. 26 (for the Greek, see below, p. 385 n 2). We may also cf. iii. 7 (where he speaks of homicide as absolutely forbidden to Christians) and viii. 65 (see above, p. 337 n 5: this is the only passage I know of in which he alludes to idolatry as a bar to office). Cf. Bigelmair 136: "Nicht ganz unauffällig ist, dass weder Cyprian noch Origenes das Haupthindernis der Amtsbekleidung, den Götterdienst, hervorheben"; he thinks that by this time a Christian official was in all probability virtually exempt from sacrificial duties.

[3] The charge is both ancient and modern: cf. the rhetor Aristeides, *Orat.* 46 (ed. Dindorf ii. 402ff) (. . . οὐ θεοὺς ἐτίμησαν, οὐ πόλεσι συνεβούλευσαν, κτλ.: cf. Neumann *SK* 35–37), and Gibbon ii. 38f ("This indolent, or even criminal, disregard to the public welfare exposed them to the contempt and reproaches of the Pagans," etc.). Minucius represents Cæcilius as describing the Christians as those 'quibus non est datum intelligere ciuilia' (xii. 7).

[4] Tert. *Apol.* 33 (i. 238): Et merito dixerim, noster est magis Caesar, ut a nostro Deo constitutus. Itaque et in eo plus ego illi operor in salutem, non solum quod eam ab eo postulo, qui potest praestare, aut quod talis postulo, qui merear impetrare, sed etiam quod temperans majestatem Caesaris infra Deum magis illum commendo Deo, cui soli subjicio.

[5] Tert. *Pall.* 5 (i. 950ff): Sed ignavam infamabis. Scilicet patriae et imperio reique vivendum est. . . . Tamen propemodum mihi quoque licebit in publicum prodesse, . . . Atquin nullis vitiis adulor, nullis veternis parco, nulli impetigini. Adigo cauterem ambitioni, etc.

He treats it in connection with the question of military service, with which we shall have to deal presently. It must suffice here to give a brief summary of his reply. He claims that Christians do really co-operate in the business of the commonwealth, but, as Christians, their manner of service is special. They avoid office, not in order to escape the burdens of public service, but because in the Church they are already committed to a better and more effective service of society and its rulers than that which either the soldier or the magistrate can render. This "Diviner and more needful service" consists in personal morality, in intercessory prayer, in the task of educating and influencing others for good, and in conquering the demons, who are at the bottom of every breach of the peace.[1] Whatever may be thought of the adequacy or otherwise of this defence, there can be no doubt as to its depth and sincerity. Whether, however, the positive service which the Church was undoubtedly rendering to social morals constituted—in face of her aversion to all violence and bloodshed—a sufficient reason why the Christian should refuse the functions, burdens, and honours of magistracy, will of course be disputed; but it will be best to postpone further discussion of this point to a later stage in our inquiry.[2]

CHRISTIANS ABSTAIN FROM THE USE OF THE LAW-COURTS.—If it was unlawful for a Christian as an impartial magistrate or official to pronounce or carry out a sentence of punishment against a criminal, it was also unlawful for him to seek the redress of his own wrongs by demanding the punishment of his enemy in a court of law. Such an indictment of one's enemy would have been regarded by the Christians of this time as an infringement of the Lord's commandment of forgiveness and non-resistance. A dispassionate

[1] The whole of Orig. *Cels.* viii. 73–75 deserves to be read in this connection. I confine myself to quoting a few sentences. viii. 73 (ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς πάντας δαίμονας, τοὺς ἐγείροντας τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ ὅρκους συγχέοντας καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ταράσσοντας, καθαιροῦντες μᾶλλον βοηθοῦμεν τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν ἢπερ οἱ δοκοῦντες στρατεύεσθαι· συμπονοῦμεν δὲ τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασιν οἱ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης ἀναφέροντες προσευχάς, σὺν ἀσκήσεσι καὶ μελέταις διδασκούσαις καταφρονεῖν ἡδονῶν καὶ μὴ ἄγεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν), 74 (Χριστιανοὶ δὲ μᾶλλον εὐεργετοῦσι τὰς πατρίδας ἢ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, παιδεύοντες τοὺς πολίτας καὶ εὐσεβεῖν διδάσκοντες εἰς τὸν πολιέα Θεόν, ἀναλαμβάνοντες εἰς θείαν τινὰ καὶ ἐπουράνιον πόλιν τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐλαχίσταις πόλεσι καλῶς βιώσαντας [cf. *Princ.* iv. i. 22, the reward of ruling over the heavenly cities]), 75 (καὶ οὐ φεύγοντές γε τὰς κοινοτέρας τοῦ βίου λειτουργίας Χριστιανοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα περιΐστανται, ἀλλὰ τηροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς θειοτέρᾳ καὶ ἀναγκαιοτέρᾳ λειτουργίᾳ ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀναγκαίως ἅμα καὶ δικαίως ἡγούμενοι, καὶ πάντων περφροντικότες, τῶν μὲν ἔνδον, ἵν' ὀσημέραι βέλτιον βιῶσι, τῶν δὲ δοκούντων ἔξω, ἵνα γένωνται ἐν τοῖς σεμνοῖς τῆς θεοσεβείας λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις καὶ οὕτω Θεὸν ἀληθῶς σέβοντες καὶ πολλοὺς ὅση δύναμις παιδεύοντες ἀνακραθῶσι τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ θείῳ νόμῳ, κτλ.).

[2] See below, pp. 379f.

desire to protect society by this means from crime, as distinct from a desire for retaliation and restitution, was scarcely recognized—in early Christian circles at all events—as an adequate motive for litigation. Christians rightly claimed that they were protecting society from crime by other and better means. It is not, therefore, surprising to find, besides general statements about forgiveness and non-resistance,[1] explicit statements both in Clemens and in Tertullianus to the effect that the Christian should not go to law in defence of his rights. Referring to 1 Cor. vi. 1, Clemens says: "The words 'to be judged before the unrighteous' mean that he who is wronged apparently wishes nothing but to retaliate and intentionally to commit a second wrong, that is to say, to do wrong himself. But the words 'to be judged before the saints' seem intended to indicate those who ask in prayer that the wrong should be visited upon those who committed it, and (to say) that the latter are better than the former, but are not yet passionless, if they do not become entirely forgetful of wrong and pray for their enemies according to the Lord's teaching." [2] After some further words about forgiveness, he goes on to say that the Gnostic "not only thinks it right that a good (Christian) should leave to others the judgment of those who have done him wrong, but he wishes the righteous man to ask from those judges forgiveness of sins for those who have trespassed against him: and rightly (so)." [3] Tertullianus calls the Christian "the son of peace, for whom it is unbecoming to go to law." [4] Cyprianus utters some words of horror at the punitive apparatus with which every law-court was equipped.[5] The words are rhetorical,[6] but there is no reason to doubt their sincerity; and they show us once again what a real

[1] See above, p. 314f.

[2] Cl. *Strom.* VII. xiv. 84: *τὸ μὲν οὖν "ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδίκων κρίνεσθαι" τὸν ἠδικημένον φάσκει οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ ἀνταποδοῦναι βούλεσθαι δοκεῖν καὶ ἀνταδικῆσαι δεύτερον ἐθέλειν, ὅπερ ὁμοίως ἐστὶν ἀδικῆσαι καὶ αὐτόν. τὸ δὲ "ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων κρίνεσθαι" ἐθέλειν τινὰς λέγειν ἐμφαίνει τοὺς δι' εὐχῆς τοῖς ἀδικήσασιν ἀνταποδοθῆναι τὴν πλεονεξίαν αἰτουμένους, καὶ εἶναι μὲν τῶν προτέρων τοὺς δευτέρους ἀμείνους, οὐδέπω δὲ ἀπαθεῖς, ἣν μὴ ἀμνησίκακοι τέλεον γενόμενοι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου διδασκαλίαν προσεύξωνται καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν.* Note that Clemens makes no distinction here between wrongs received from pagans and those done by fellow-Christians, such as 1 Cor vi., on which he is commenting, suggests.

[3] Cl. *Strom.* VII. xiv. 85: *οὐ γὰρ τὴν κρίσιν μόνην ἄλλοις ἐπιτρέπειν ἀξιοῖ τὸν σπουδαῖον τῶν ἠδικηκότων αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων αἰτεῖσθαι τῶν κριτῶν βούλεται τὸν δίκαιον τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν πεπλημμεληκόσι, καὶ εἰκότως.*

[4] Tert. *Cor.* 11 (i. 443): et proelio operabitur filius pacis, cui nec litigare conveniet?

[5] Cypr. *Donat.* 10: hasta illic et gladius et carnifex praesto est, ungula effodiens, eculeus extendens, ignis exurens, ad hominis corpus unum supplicia plura quam membra. quis inter haec uero subueniat?

[6] Bigelmair 135.

revulsion Christians felt against all infliction of injury on human beings, even when done in the name and under the form of justice.[1]

The refusal to demand the legal punishment of a wrong-doer did not necessarily involve a refusal to plead one's own cause in the court as a defendant. There is no case on record of a Christian of this period impleading a wrong-doer before a pagan court;[2] but there are, of course, several cases of Christians defending themselves in court when accused by others. Such indeed was the course normally pursued by the martyrs.[3] We also read that the Roman Christian Carpophorus, on hearing that his former slave Callistus had been brought before the magistrate for causing a disturbance in a Jewish synagogue, hastened to the court and declared that Callistus was not a Christian at all, but that, having purloined a quantity of his money, he was seeking an opportunity of death.[4] This action of Carpophorus constitutes no exception to the general statement made above, for he did not bring a suit against Callistus or demand his punishment, but simply informed the magistrate of the facts of the case, in order to safeguard the Christian community against a new scandal. Similarly the case between the Christians and the popinarii over a piece of ground, which was adjudicated by the Emperor Alexander Severus, is no exception to our general statement, for the popinarii were clearly the plaintiffs, the Christians doing no more than explaining the nature of their claim and reaping the benefit of the imperial decision in their favour.[5]

Christian Obedience to the State.—That the Christians as a body recognized it to be their duty to pay honour to the imperial rulers and to obey their orders, whenever these did not conflict with Christian duty, and to abstain from all political sedition, comes out in a large number of passages. Donata of Scilli puts the Christian formula thus: "Honour for Cæsar as Cæsar; but fear for God."[6] Theophilus elaborates the same principle.[7]

[1] Cyprianus repeats the Pauline prohibition of recourse to the pagan courts in a dispute between two Christians (Cypr. *Test.* iii. 44: fideles inter se disceptantes non debere gentilem iudicem experiri). He does not explicitly deal with disputes between a Christian and a pagan.

[2] Harnack, speaking of the period 130–230 A.D., says the Church could not compel her members always to avoid the pagan courts; but he gives no details (*KS* 147).

[3] *P. Scill.*; Eus. *HE* v. xxi. 4f; *Act. Apoll.* passim: cf. Cl. *Strom.* iv. vii. 46; Hipp. *Dan.* ii. xxiii.f.

[4] Hipp. *Ref.* ix. 12 (7) (D. and S. 454).

[5] See below, p. 389.

[6] *P. Scill.* 9 (Honorem Caesari quasi Caesari; timorem autem Deo); Iren. iii. viii. 1 (ii. 27) ('Caesarem quidem Caesarem nominans, Deum vero Deum confitens'—said of Jesus); *Act. Apoll.* 37 (ἐδίδαξεν γὰρ . . . βασιλέα τιμᾶν, Θεὸν σέβειν μόνον ἀθάνατον).

[7] Theoph. i. 11 (Τοιγαροῦν μᾶλλον τιμήσω τὸν βασιλέα, οὐ προσκυνῶν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ

Clemens says that rulers are to be honoured; and his attitude to the laws is one of respectful submission and obedience.[1] *Tertullianus* urges that the foreign foes of the Empire are all pagans, not Christians; that no Christian had ever taken part in the many revolts and conspiracies which pagans had set on foot against various Emperors.[2] He charges the pagan populace with habitually using irreverent and rebellious words against the Cæsars, and with dishonesty in swearing by his Divinity.[3] He accuses the philosophers of disloyal words and deeds: one of them had plotted against the State: no Christian had ever done such a thing.[4] He accepted the apostolic ruling of submission to the government, and limited it only by the obligations of discipleship.[5] *The Canons of Hippolytus* include the man who stirs up the populace to sedition, along with the fornicator, astrologer, etc., among the

*εὐχόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ . . . οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τῇ νομίμῳ τιμῇ. Θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν . . . τὸν δὲ βασιλέα τίμα εὐνοῶν αὐτῷ, ὑποτασσόμενος αὐτῷ, εὐχόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν, ποιεῖς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ. Λέγει γὰρ ὁ νόμος ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ· τίμα υἱὲ Θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα, καὶ μηδενὶ αὐτῶν ἀπειθὴς ᾖς· ἐξαίφνης γὰρ τίσονται τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτῶν* [Prov xxiv. 21f]), iii. 14 (*ἔτι μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὑποτάσσεσθαι ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις, καὶ εὔχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, κελεύει ἡμᾶς ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ὅπως ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν* [1 T ii. 1f]. *καὶ διδάσκει ἀποδιδόναι πᾶσι τὰ πάντα, τῷ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν τιμὴν, τῷ τὸν φόβον τὸν φόβον, τῷ τὸν φόρον τὸν φόρον· μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφειλεῖν ἢ μόνον τὸ ἀγαπᾶν πάντας* [R xiii. 7f]).

[1] Cl. *Strom.* VII. i. 2 (*καὶ τιμητέον ἀγαπᾶν ἐν μὲν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς, κτλ.*); cf. IV. iv. 15 (see above, pp. 351f.) and Neumann *SK* 115.

[2] Tert. *Nat.* i. 17 (i. 342) (Hoc loco Romana gens viderit, in quibus indomitae et extraneae nationes . . . Agnoscimus sane Romanam in Caesares fidem. Nulla unquam conjuratio erupit; nullus in senatu vel in palatiis ipsis sanguis Caesaris notam fixit; nulla in provinciis affectata majestas), *Apol.* 33 (i. 238) (Sed quid ego amplius de religione atque pietate christiana in imperatorem? etc.), 34 (i. 239f) (Dicam plane imperatorem dominum, sed more communi . . . Qui pater patriae est, quomodo dominus est?), 35 (i. 245f), 36 (i. 249) (Iidem sumus imperatoribus, qui et vicinis nostris. Male enim velle, male facere, male dicere, male cogitare de quoquam ex aequo vetamur), *Scap.* 2 (i. 541f) (Sic et circa majestatem imperatoris infamamur, tamen nunquam albiniani, nec nigriani, vel cassiani inveniri potuerunt christiani. . . . Christianus nullius est hostis, nedum imperatoris. . . . Absit enim ut indigne feramus ea nos pati quae optamus, aut ultionem a nobis aliquam machinemur, quam a Deo exspectamus), *Cor.* 1 init. (i. 415) (liberalitas praestantissimorum imperatorum). Cf. Neumann *SK* 96f.

[3] Tert. *Nat.* i. 17 (i. 342f); cf. *Apol.* 35 (i. 243f) (Jam si pectoribus ad translucendum quamdam specularem materiam natura obduxisset, cujus non praecordia insculpta apparerent novi ac novi Caesaris scenam congiario dividundo praesidentis?).

[4] Tert. *Apol.* 46 (i. 281, 285): plerique etiam in principes latrant, sustinentibus vobis . . . Hippias, dum civitati insidias disponit, occiditur. Hoc pro suis omni atrocitate dissipatis nemo unquam Christianus tentavit. On Hippias, cf. Oehler's note.

[5] Tert. *Idol.* 15 (i. 94) (Igitur quod attineat ad honores regum vel imperatorum, satis praescriptum habemus, in omni obsequio esse nos oportere, secundum Apostoli praeceptum, subditos magistratibus et principibus et potestatibus, sed intra limites disciplinae, quousque ab idololatria separamur); similarly *Scorp.* 14 (i. 533) (see above, p. 352 n 5).

types of men to whom it is forbidden to give Christian instruction or baptism "until they abstain from all such works."[1] *Origenes* quotes the words of Paul: "Render to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, fear to whom fear, tax to whom tax, honour to whom honour," etc.[2] In his 'Commentary on Romans,' he naturally has occasion several times to refer to the Christian duty of submission. Thus on Rom. xiii. 1a: "Now, therefore, since the apostle is laying down precepts for believers, he wishes us as far as in us lies to preserve the quietude and peace of the present life."[3] On Rom. xiii. 2 (forbidding resistance to the government): "He is not speaking here of those powers that inflict persecution on the faith: . . . but of those general (powers) which are a terror not to good work, but to evil: whoever resists them brings on himself damnation according to the quality of his deeds."[4] On Rom. xiii. 5f: "With these words Paul lays it down that the Church of God should attempt no opposition against the rulers and powers of the age, but with quietness and tranquillity of life exercise the work of justice and piety. For if we suppose for the sake of argument that believers in Christ were not subject to the powers of the age, did not render tribute, did not pay taxes, and accorded to no one fear or honour, would they not thereby deservedly turn against themselves the arms of governors and rulers, and make their persecutors excusable and themselves blameworthy? For it would then appear that they were being attacked, not because of the faith, but because of their contumacy, and there would be legal grounds for putting them to death, while in reality they might not deserve it."[5] In his reply to Celsus, Origenes repudiates the idea that the Christian Church owed its origin to a rebellion against the Jewish State,[6] and that the frequency of rebellions in the Empire was due to the large numbers of the Christians and to the relaxation of persecution:[7] he defends the Christian obstinacy on the point of monotheism against the charge

[1] Hipp. *Can.* xv. 76 (Fornicator . . . vel magus vel . . . concinator [whom a gloss correctly explains to be one 'qui plebem ad turbas seditionesque commonet'] . . . neque instruendi neque baptizandi sunt, donec ab omnibus talibus operibus abstineant). Riedel's version describes the man as a 'Volksverführer' (Riedel 207). The corresponding phrase in *Const. Eg.* (xi. 13) is 'qui turbas concitat,' or, according to Conolly (*TS* VIII. 4. 182), 'seducer of the people,' and in *Const. Apost.* (VIII. xxxii. 11) ὀχλαγωγός. Cf. Hipp. *Ref.* ix. 25 (20) (of the obedience of the Essenes to their lawgiver, rulers, and elders).

[2] Orig. *Orat.* xxviii. 1: R xiii. 7. [3] Orig. *Comm. in Rom.* t. ix. 25 (vii. 326).

[4] Orig. *Comm. in Rom.* t. ix. 27 (vii. 328).

[5] Orig. *Comm. in Rom.* t. ix. 29 (vii. 331f). The last clause reads: 'et esset iis causa quidem mortis digna, meritum vero mortis indignum.'

[6] Orig. *Cels.* iii. 7, 14. [7] Orig. *Cels.* iii. 15.

of political disloyalty.[1] "While we do nothing contrary to the Law and Word of God, we have not gone mad, nor do we provoke against ourselves the wrath of king or prince, which would bring us into tortures or torments or deaths, for we have read the (words), 'Let every soul be submissive to the superior authorities,'" etc.[2] He wishes that all would observe the precept, 'Honour the king.'[3] He says of the Church-rulers that "they rule according to the ordinances of God, besides transgressing none of the established laws."[4] *Cyprianus* says that the Christian ought to incur secular punishment for nothing except his faith.[5]

The Payment of Taxes.—One form in which the Christians were wont to express their obsequiousness to the State was the prompt and regular payment of all taxes which the State demanded —a habit of obedience which looked to the words of Jesus, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," and to those of Paul in Rom. xiii. 7, as its authority.[6] Origenes indulges in a little somewhat fanciful theorizing on this duty of giving back to Cæsar his own and rendering to all their dues. At one time he regards it as a sort of settling accounts with the prince of this world when we depart from this life.[7] At another time he treats it—in conjunction with the more general duty of submitting to the authorities —as something incidental to this life, being necessitated by the needs of the body, the possession of property, and the incompleteness or imperfection of our submission to and union with the Lord.[8]

[1] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 5: *οὐ στάσεως οὖν φωνὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς νοήσασι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ μὴ θέλουσι δουλεύειν πλείοσι κυρίοις, διὰ τοῦτο ἀρκουμένοις* Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, κτλ.

[2] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 65: R xiii. 1.

[3] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 68 (for the Greek, see below, p. 374 n) (1 P ii. 17). Harnack (*KS* 147f) speaks of the steady support the Church gave to monarchy as against republicanism.

[4] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 75: *ἄρχουσι κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ προστεταγμένα, οὐδὲν παρὰ τοῦτο μολύνοντες τῶν θετῶν νόμων.* Neumann (*SK* 241) adopts the alternative conjectural reading *μολύνονται ὑπὸ* for *μολύνοντες*.

[5] Cypr. *Test.* iii. 37f: Fidelem non oportere ob alia delicta nisi ob nomen solum puniri. Seruum Dei innocentem esse debere ne incidat in poenam saecularem.

[6] Theoph. iii. 14 (Greek on p. 367 n); Iren. III. viii. 1 (ii. 27), v. xxiv. 1 (ii. 388f); Cl. *Paed.* II. i. 14, III. xii. 91 (Neumann *SK* 114f); Tert. *Apol.* 42 fin., *Idol.* 15, *Marc.* iv. 38, *Fug.* 12 fin., *Res.* 22 fin., *Scorp.* 14 (Guignebert 206f); Orig. *Comm. in Mt.* t. xvii. 26 (iv. 138f), *Comm. in Rom.* t. ix. 29f (vii. 331ff); Cypr. *Test.* iii. 5.

[7] Orig. *Hom. in Lc.* 23 (v. 176f). For another fanciful interpretation, see Orig. *Comm. in Mt.* t. xvii. 28 (iv. 140ff).

[8] Orig. *Comm. in Rom.* t. ix. 25 (vii. 326f) (Et si quidem tales sumus, qui conjuncti Domino unus cum eo spiritus simus, Domino dicimur esse subjecti. Si vero nondum tales sumus, sed communis adhuc anima est in nobis, quæ habeat aliquid hujus mundi, quae sit ei aliquo alligata negotio, huic praecepta Apostolus ponit, et dicit, ut subjecta sit potestatibus mundi: quia et Dominus dixit, ut hi, qui habent in se superscriptionem Caesaris, reddant Caesari quae sunt Caesaris [Mc xii. 17]. Petrus et Joannes nihil habebant, quod Caesari

If Christ paid these dues when he was not strictly liable to do so, how much more ought we to pay them ! [1]

Non-committal and Illustrative Allusions to Kings and Governments.—We have now to take account of a group of passages, which it is extremely difficult to classify satisfactorily, and still more so to interpret with accuracy. Besides what seem purely detached, external, and non-committal references to kings and governments, either for purposes of chronology [2] or else simply as existing institutions [3] or as matters of history,[4] we get a number of allusions of an illustrative or quasi-illustrative kind, of which it is hard to say how much they tell us of the author's opinion of the real thing which he uses as an illustration. Some, of course, are more illuminating than others, but all are obscure ; and it is barely possible to do more than enumerate them, and pass on.

To speak of God as king [5] had the sanction of antiquity ; and

redderent : dicit enim Petrus : ' Aurum et argentum non habeo ' [Ac iii. 6]. Qui hoc non habet, nec Caesari habet quod reddat, nec unde sublimioribus subjaceat potestatibus. Qui vero habet aut pecuniam, aut possessiones, aut aliquid in saeculo negotii, audiat : ' Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subjaceat ' [R xiii. 1]), t. ix. 30 (vii. 333f) (Qui autem adhuc de mundo est, et quae mundi sunt sapit, et quae carnis sunt quaerit, necessario subjectus est ministris mundi : subjectus autem propter iram, quam sibi thesaurizavit ex peccatis. Et ob hoc mihi videtur dicere : ' Ideo necesse subjectos esse, non solum propter iram, sed et propter conscientiam ' [R xiii. 5] : quoniam qui subditur, habet in se, quod accusetur a conscientia. His ergo etiam tributa quaedam pendimus, dum adhuc secundum carnem vivimus, et quae carnis sunt cogitamus. Nam si vineam Domini colamus, et vitem veram, quae est Christus, exerceamus in nobis, de ista vinea non ministris saeculi pendemus tributa, sed ipsi Domino fructus in tempore reddemus : . . . Sed et hoc ipsum quod dicit : ' Reddite omnibus debita, cui tributum tributum, cui vectigal vectigal,' ab eo, quod in sequentibus additur : ' cui timorem timorem, cui honorem honorem,' divisum mihi videtur [R xiii. 7] : et ad eos quidem quos supra diximus ministros pertinere tributa et vectigalia. Exigunt enim de nobis tributa terrae nostrae et vectigalia negotiationis nostrae). Cf. Orig. *Comm. in Mt.* t. xvii. 27 (iv. 140).

[1] Orig. *Comm. in Rom.* t. ix. 30 (vii. 334) (Exactus est tributum etiam Dominus noster Jesus Christus in carne positus : quod idcirco se dicit exsolvere, non quod debitor sit, sed ne scandalizet eos. Quod si ille, qui nihil habebat in se Caesaris, et in quo princeps hujus mundi veniens non invenit quicquam de suis, cum liber esset, solvit tamen tributum—venit enim et in mortem, ut esset et inter mortua liber—quanto magis nos necesse est ista tributa carnis expendere, et negotiationis nostrae, si tamen negotiamur margaritas regni caelorum, per diversas tentationes exigentibus nos spiritibus vectigalia pensitare ?). Further on the point of Jesus not wishing to cause offence by non-payment, cf. Orig. *Comm. in Mt.* t. xiii. 11 (iii. 232).

[2] Theoph. iii. 24–29 ; Tert. *Marc.* i. 15, 19 ; Julius Africanus, *Chronographiæ* (Routh ii. 246ff ; Krüger 249f) ; Ps-Cypr. *Pasch.* 22.

[3] Theoph. i. 10 ; Hipp. *Dan.* iii. viii. 7.

[4] Theoph. iii. 20ff ; Iren. *Demonstr.* 57 (121) (subjection of Jews to Rome) ; Julius Africanus, as before ; Orig. *Ep. Afric.* 14 ; Bardesanic *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (*ANCL* xxiib. 102).

[5] *P. Still.* 6 : regem regum et imperatorem omnium gentium. Gebhardt's text omits the first two words.

it was only natural that this habit of speech should be made the basis of all sorts of similes and comparisons. As men believe in the existence of an earthly Emperor without having seen him, on account of his laws and officers and images, so the invisible God is known by His works.[1] As the Emperor does not wish any of his underlings to be called 'king' or 'Cæsar,' and it is treasonable to call them so, those being his own peculiar titles, so it is unlawful to pay Divine worship to any save the one supreme God.[2] As monarchy is the only peaceful form of royal government, division of sovereignty invariably arising without good faith and issuing in bloodshed, so only One ought to be recognized as God.[3] As a king confers honours on his subjects, so does God on His.[4] As the creation of a State is to be referred to its founder, so that of the world is to be referred to God.[5] As a king esteems or despises a gift, not according to its costliness, but according to the genuineness of the giver, so does God esteem the gifts of man.[6] As those who give food to the Emperor's enemies are punished as public offenders, so those who sacrifice to demons will incur punishment.[7] Occasionally the comparison serves to point a contrast: thus, unlike kings, God has no need of officials to inform Him as to the state of His realm.[8]

One of the most puzzling and indefinite passages that lie on the borderland between illustration and direct discussion, embracing apparently features peculiar to both, occurs in the 'Miscellanies' of *Clemens*. À propos of the varied functions and accomplishments of Moses, he says: "Tactics is a department (μέρος) of military command, and military command (is a department) of the royal office. Again, legislation is a department of the royal office, as also (is) the administration of justice. The Divine type (μέρος) of the royal office

[1] Theoph. i. 5; similarly Iren. II. vi. 2 (i. 264). In speaking of the stars as God's work, Dionysius of Alexandria (*περὶ φύσεως*, Feltoe 146) ridicules the idea that they can be *ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλίδων ἀτόμων νομοθετούμενοι*.

[2] Theoph. i. 11; Tert. *Apol.* 24 (i. 217), *Marc.* i. 4, 7 (ii. 52, 54).

[3] Minuc. xviii. 6f (quando umquam regni societas aut cum fide coepit aut sine cruore desiit? . . . tu in caelo summam maiestatem diuidi credas? etc.); a very similar analogy occurs in Tert. *Marc.* i. 4.

[4] Iren. IV. ix. 3 (ii. 171). Christ's parable of the King's feast is referred to in IV. xxxvi. 5 (ii. 280). A rather forced analogy between a king who paints a portrait of his son and God who confesses the name of Christ to be His own, occurs in IV. xvii. 6 (ii. 200).

[5] Iren. II. ii. 3 (i. 255).

[6] Tert. *Marc.* ii. 22 (ii. 111).

[7] Orig. *Mart.* 45. In *Hom. in Lc.* 23 (v. 176) the fate of one who does not pay his taxes is used to illustrate the judgment after death (. . . ut solet apud saeculi quoque fieri vectigales, quando quis pro debito ipsi reipublicae serviturus includitur).

[8] Minuc. xxxiii. 1 (reges statum regni sui per officia ministrorum diuersa nouerunt: Deo indiciis opus non est): cf. Orig. *Cels.* i. 30 (contrast between Jesus and a tyrant or robber, in regard to method of gaining followers).

is like that of God and His holy Son. . . . There is a second form (εἶδος) of royalty, after the purely rational and Divine administration, (namely), that which avails itself only of the high-spirited temper of the soul in (the task of) royalty; after which form Heracles reigned over Argos and Alexander over the Macedonians. And the third is that which aims at one thing only, (namely), to conquer and overturn—but to use the victory for evil or for good does not belong to such (rule)—the Persians employed it in campaigning against Hellas. . . .[1] Fourth is the worst royalty of all, that which is carried on according to the lusts, like that of Sardanapalus and of those who make it their object to indulge their lusts as much as possible. Tactics is the instrument of the royal office, both of that which conquers by excellence (ἀρετὴν) and of that (which conquers) by force: it varies according to nature and material." In the conflicts of men and of animals, the governing power is the soul and mind; in the conquest of the passions it is reason and prudence. "Divine affairs (are controlled by) wisdom, human affairs by statesmanship, everything by the kingly (faculty). A king then is he who rules according to laws, who knows how to rule over willing subjects: such is the Lord, who admits (to His presence) those who believe on Him and through Him."[2] This is no doubt an important passage, and looks as if it ought to yield valuable information in regard to the Christian conception of the State and the Christian attitude towards it.[3] Its usefulness in this respect is, however, largely impaired, if not entirely cancelled, by the remarkable looseness of thought which the whole context displays (the four types of royalty, for instance, leave no room for an ordinary human and fairly peaceable ruler), and by the strange confusion of the political institution itself with its psychological and theological parallels. Perhaps the most we can say with any confidence is that the words presuppose in Clemens' own mind a certain tacit assumption of the possibility and value of good monarchical government.[4]

[1] Cl. *Strom.* I. xxiv. 158. [2] Cl. *Strom.* I. xxiv. 159.

[3] So, e.g., Dr. Carlyle (162) apparently regards it: "if we turn to the Alexandrian Fathers, we find Clement defining a king as one who rules according to law, and who is willingly obeyed by his subjects,—that is, if we may so interpret Clement's meaning, a king is one who follows not merely his own caprice or desire, but governs according to those rules of public action which are designed for the attainment and preservation of justice, and whom his subjects willingly obey as representing their own just desires."

[4] Other references of Clemens to politics occur in *Strom.* I. xxv. 165f (Plato's views on politics, mostly suggested by Moses: ἀναγκαῖον γοῦν τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι ὀρθῶς, ἄριστον δὲ φιλοσοφεῖν), xxvi. 168, 170 (further on Mosaic and Hellenic laws and polities: royalty of the wise man), II. iv. 19 (royalty of the wise

The Divine Appointment of Rulers.—We are fortunately not left to such unsatisfactory material in our efforts to discover the Christian view of the State. Practically all the authors of our period reproduce the Pauline doctrine that earthly rulers in general and the Roman Emperors in particular have been appointed by God,[1] and some of them add the complimentary

man), VII. i. 3 (service rendered by subjects to rulers an example of ministerial service, as distinct from the service which aims at improvement), vii. 36 (royalty of the Gnostic).

[1] Theoph. i. 11 (. . . *εἰδὼς ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ* [sc. *Θεοῦ*] *γέγονεν . . . ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τεταγμένος*) ; *Act. Apoll.* 6 (*αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρώπων ἔταξεν βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*), 8, 9 (*εἰδότες ἀκριβῶς ὅτι οὐχ ὑπὸ ἄλλου τινός, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ μονῆς τῆς τοῦ ἀκινήτου Θεοῦ βουλῆς, τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐνπεριέχοντος, ὡς προεῖπον, βασιλεύει* [Commodus] *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*) ; Tert. *Nat.* ii. 17 fin. (i. 396) (Quaerite quis temporum vices ordinavit. Idem regna dispensat, et nunc penes Romanos eam summam tanquam pecuniam de multis nominibus exactam in unam arcam congregavit), *Apol.* 26 init. (i. 225) (Videte igitur ne ille regna dispenset, cujus est et orbis qui regnatur, et homo ipse qui regnat, ne ille vices dominationum ipsis temporibus in saeculo ordinarit, qui ante omne tempus fuit et saeculum corpus temporum fecit, ne ille civitates extollat aut deprimat. Sub quo fuit aliquando sine civitatibus genus hominum), 30 (i. 231) (Sciunt [sc. imperatores] quis illis dederit imperium ; . . . sentiunt, eum Deum esse solum, in cujus solius potestate sunt, a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi, ante omnes et super omnes deos), 32 (i. 238) (Nos judicium Dei suspicimus in imperatoribus, qui gentibus illos praefecit. Id in eis scimus esse, quod Deus voluit), 33 (i. 238) (. . . imperatorem, quem necesse est suspiciamus ut eum, quem Dominus noster elegerit. Et merito dixerim, noster est magis Caesar, ut a nostro Deo constitutus), 36 fin. (i. 249) (ipsum [i.e. Caesarem] qui per Deum tantus est), *Orat.* 5 (i. 560) (Deus . . . in cujus manu cor omnium regum est), *Pall.* 1 (i. 916) ('At cum saecularium sortium variavit urna, et Romanis Deus maluit'—spoken of Rome's supremacy over Carthago—on the element of 'chance,' see below, pp. 514f), 2 (i. 925) (Deo tot Augustis in unum favente), *Fug.* 12 (i. 486) (Aspice regnorum et imperiorum utique a Deo dispositum statum, in cujus manu cor regis), *Scap.* 2 (i. 541f) (. . . imperatoris, quem sciens a Deo suo constitui, necesse est ut et ipsum [sc. Christianus] diligat. . . . Colimus ergo et imperatorem sic quomodo et nobis licet et ipsi expedit, ut hominem a Deo secundum, et quicquid est a Deo consecutum, et solo Deo minorem. . . . Sic enim omnibus major est, dum solo vero Deo minor est : sic et ipsis deis major est, dum et ipsi in potestate sunt ejus), *Scorp.* 14 (i. 532f) (quotation of R xiii. 1ff) ; Hipp. *Dan.* II. vii. (*σὺ βασιλεῦ, . . . ᾧ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ βασιλείαν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ κραταιὰν καὶ ἔντιμον ἔδωκεν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, ὅπου κατοικοῦσιν υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . καὶ κατέστησέν σε κύριον πάντων·* similarly III. iv. 2, xvii. 4), II. xxxiii. 3 (*καρδία βασιλέως ἐν χειρὶ Θεοῦ*, therefore Nebuchadnezzar was enabled, unlike his satraps, to see the Son of Man in the furnace ; cf. III. xvii. 6 (*Θεόν, οὗ ἡ πνοή σου ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοί σου*)), III. iv. 7 (*ὅσοι βασιλεῖς εὐλαβῶς καὶ θεοφιλῶς ἀνεστράφησαν, οὗτοι καὶ παρὰ Θεοῦ ἐτιμήθησαν, ὅσοι δὲ κατὰ φυσίωσιν ὑπὲρ τὸ δέον ἐπήρθησαν, οὗτοι ἀξίαν καὶ δικαίαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τιμωρίαν ἀπέλαβον*), III. xvii. 4 (Nebuchadnezzar was punished *ἕως οὗ ἔγνω ὅτι κυριεύει ὁ Ὕψιστος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ᾧ ἂν δόξῃ δώσει αὐτήν*), xvii. 6 (Dan v. 26–28 quoted), xviii. 3 (*καθιστᾷ* [*ὁ Θεὸς*] *βασιλεῖς καὶ μεθιστᾷ*) ; Minuc. xii. 5 (Caecilius : Nonne Romani sine uestro Deo imperant, regnant, fruuntur orbe toto uestrique dominantur ?), xxv. 12 (Octavius : et tamen ante eos [i.e. Romanos] Deo dispensante diu regna tenuerunt Assyrii, Medi, Persae, Graeci etiam, et Aegyptii, etc.), xxxiii. 3 (quamdiu enim eum [i.e. Deum Judaei] caste innoxie religioseque coluerunt, . . . de paucis innumeri facti, de egentibus diuites, de seruientibus reges) ; Orig. *Cels.* viii. 65 (quotes R xiii. 1, 2a, to meet the saying of Celsus *οὐδὲ τούτους ἄνευ δαιμονίας ἰσχύος τῶν τῇδε εἶναι ἠξιωμένους*, but waives further discussion : *διὰ*

Pauline thought that the purpose of this Divine appointment is the maintenance of justice.[1] The acceptance of this simple thesis was sufficiently ensured by the authority of the great Apostle; but it was not clear on the surface how it was to be reconciled with the guilt of rulers in the matter of idolatry, persecution, and other crimes, not to mention the standing contrast of its coercive measures with those of Christianity. It was therefore inevitable that the theory should be elaborated and qualified in various ways, as soon as Christian thought was bold enough to face its difficulties. Both Irenæus and Origenes speculate on the subject in a very interesting manner.

*Irenæus* twice takes the matter up. Firstly, in proving from Jesus' parable of the king's marriage-feast, that there can be only one God, he says that the armies sent to kill the murderers of the king's servants are called God's armies, because all men belong to God. He then quotes Rom. xiii. 1b–6 in full, and presently repeats his argument that the punitive armies are God's, "since every man, inasmuch as he is a man, is His formation (plasma), although he may not know his own God."[2] Secondly, and at greater length, he points out that Satan according to Scripture is a liar, and that, when he promised to give all the kingdoms of the earth to Christ on condition that he should fall down and worship him, he was making a promise which he could not fulfil, for he was promising to give what was not his own, and his declaration that all things had been delivered to him was a falsehood. "For the creation is not under his power, inasmuch as he himself is one of the creatures. Nor shall he assign to men the rule over men; but all other things and all human affairs are arranged according to the ordinance of

τούτο ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τὸ πρόβλημα ἐξετάσαι ὑπερεθέμεθα), 68 (. . . "εἷς" μὲν οὖν "κοίρανος ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεύς," οὐχ "ᾧ ἔδωκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω," ἀλλ' ᾧ ἔδωκεν ὁ καθιστῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ μεθιστῶν "καὶ τὸν χρήσιμον" [Sirach x. 4] κατὰ καιρὸν ἐγείρων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ οὐχ ὁ τοῦ καταταρταρωθέντος, ὡς οἱ μῦθοι Ἑλλήνων λέγουσι, Κρόνου υἱὸς ἀπελάσας τοῦτον τῆς ἀρχῆς καθίστησι βασιλεῖς, οὐδ' ἂν ἀλληγορῇ τις τὰ κατὰ τοὺς τόπους, ἀλλ' ὁ διοικῶν τὰ σύμπαντα Θεὸς οἶδεν ὅ τι ποτὲ ποιεῖ κατὰ τὸν τόπον τῆς τῶν βασιλέων κατάστασεως· λύομεν οὖν τὸ δόγμα "ᾧ ἔδωκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω" . . . ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰκότως ἡμᾶς ἀμύνεται βασιλεύς, φάσκοντας μὲν ὅτι οὐ "Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω" ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὸ βασιλεύειν, ὁ δὲ μεθιστῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ καθιστῶν. καὶ τὸ αὐτό γε ποιείτωσάν μοι ἅπαντες, τὸ μὲν Ὁμηρικὸν καταλύοντες δόγμα, τὸ δὲ θεῖον περὶ βασιλέως τηροῦντες καὶ τὸ "τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε" φυλάττοντες), viii. 74 (τὸν πολιέα Θεόν, "the God of the State," if we may trust the reading).

[1] Theoph. i. 11 (ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τεταγμένος . . . εἰς τὸ δικαίως κρίνειν· τρόπῳ γάρ τινι παρὰ Θεοῦ οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευται); Tert. *Anim.* 33 (ii. 611) (Quis non praeferat saeculi justitiam, quam et Apostolus non frustra gladio armatam contestatur [R xiii. 4], quae pro homine saeviendo religiosa est?); Orig. *Comm. in Rom.* t. ix. 26 (vii. 328) (see below, pp. 376f n 4): cf. *Act. Apoll.* 8f (Armenian in Conybeare 39).

[2] Iren. iv. xxxvi. 6 (ii. 282f).

God the Father."[1] And later: "He did not settle the kingdoms of this age, but God (did); for 'the king's heart is in God's hand.' And through Solomon the Word says: 'By me kings reign, and the powerful maintain justice. By me princes shall be exalted, and by me tyrants rule the earth'": then follow some pertinent phrases from Rom. xiii.[2] He next ventures upon an original and interesting explanation of the Divine appointment of kings, and says: "For since man, by departing from God, grew so savage as to reckon even a kinsman his enemy, and to engage without fear in every (sort of) disturbance and murder and avarice, God imposed upon him the fear of man—for they did not know the fear of God—so that, being subjected to the power of men and restrained by their law, they might attain to some (measure) of justice and exercise mutual forbearance, in dread of the sword openly held forth, as the apostle says: 'For not without cause does he bear the sword: for he is God's servant, an avenger for wrath to him who does evil.' And for this reason, too, the magistrates themselves, wearing the laws as a garment of justice, shall not be questioned or punished for what they do justly and lawfully. But whatever they do for the overthrow of justice, unfairly and impiously and illegally and in a tyrannical fashion, in these things they shall perish, the just judgment of God coming upon all equally and failing in nothing. For the benefit of the gentiles, therefore, was earthly rule established by God—but not by the devil, who is never quiet, nay, who does not wish even the (heathen) nations to live in tranquillity—in order that, fearing the rule of men, men might not consume one another like fishes, but that by the establishment of laws they might smite down the manifold wrong-doing of the gentiles. And accordingly those who exact tribute from us are 'God's servants, serving for this very (purpose).'[3] . . . For by the order of Him, by whose order men are born, are kings also appointed, fitted for those who are ruled over by them at that time. For some of them are given for the correction and benefit of (their) subjects and the preservation of justice, but some for fear

[1] Iren. v. xxii. 2 (ii. 385f). The charge of falsehood against the devil is again repeated in xxiv. 1 init., 3 init. (ii. 388f).

[2] Iren. v. xxiv. 1 (ii. 388f): Prov xxi. 1, viii. 15, R xiii. 1, 4b quoted. These words were spoken not of angels, 'sed de his quae sunt secundum homines potestates.' R xiii. 6. 'Hoc autem et Dominus confirmavit, non faciens quidem quod a diabolo suadebatur; tributorum autem exactoribus jubens pro se et pro Petro dari tributum: quoniam "ministri Dei sunt, in hoc ipsum deservientes."'

[3] Iren. v. xxiv. 2 (ii. 389): R xiii. 4b, 6b. Cf. the similar idea of government, as instituted for the purpose of repressing violence, in the Bardesanic *Book of the Laws of the Countries* in *ANCL* xxiib. 111.

and punishment and rebuke, and some for deception and disgrace and pride, according as they (the subjects) deserve, the just judgment of God, as we have already said, coming upon all equally." [1]

This last remark of Irenæus—to the effect that God sometimes gives men evil rulers as a punishment for their wickedness—naturally suggests implications and raises problems, particularly in connection with persecution, with which Irenæus does not deal.[2] It is to *Origenes* that we have to turn for a somewhat fuller treatment of the question. When quoting Rom. xiii. 1, 2a, against Celsus' contention that kings were appointed by demons, he touches on the problem presented by evil kings, and passes it by, referring the reader to his 'Commentary on Romans.' [3] In this somewhat earlier work, commenting on the phrase, "there is no power except from God" (Rom. xiii. 1), he faces the question whether this includes a persecuting government. His answer is that political power, like any other faculty, such as sight or hearing, is given to us by God for a good purpose, in this case for the punishment of evil men and the praise of good men. But things given for a good purpose may be perverted to a bad one, and "there will be a just judgment of God for those who wield the power they have received according to their own impiety, and not according to the Divine laws." [4] After some comments on verses 2 and 3,

[1] Iren. v. xxiv. 3 (ii. 389f). On Irenæus' theory of the State, cf. Neumann *SK* 93f; Holtzm. *RS* 26; Carlyle 129f ("We have here an explicit statement that the institution of government has been made necessary by sin and is a divinely appointed remedy for sin. The Christian writers of the same period as Irenæus do not indeed draw out the relation of government to the existence of evil, as Irenæus has done, but they agree with him in asserting its divine origin. . . . No doubt these emphatic assertions of the divine authority of the ruler, while they may have been partly intended to allay any suspicions of disloyalty, were also intended to counteract those tendencies to anarchy in the Christian societies, to whose existence the New Testament bears witness. The Christian writers of the second century, then, clearly carry on the tradition of the New Testament, that the principle of authority is a divine principle," etc.); Bigelmair 82f; Troeltsch 164f (the idea of the State as a result of, but also as a remedy for, the general sinfulness—a relative Law of Nature ad hoc as distinct from an absolute—was borrowed from the Stoics by the Christians, who added to it the element of punishment: this explained the existing severities; Iren. v. xxiv. quoted). Cf. Horace Bushnell, *Nature and the Supernatural* (i) 12.

[2] Neumann *SK* 94 ("dass die Christen im römischen Reiche einen Kaiser hätten, wie sie ihn verdienten, hätte kein Glied der Kirche während einer Verfolgung zugestanden"); Carlyle 148 ("We may doubt whether Irenæus had in his mind the conclusions which might be and ultimately were connected with this view, but it is at least important to observe its appearance thus early in Christian theory").

[3] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 65.

[4] Orig. *Comm. in Rom.* t. ix. 26 (vii. 327f): 'Non est enim,' inquit, 'potestas nisi a Deo.' Dicit fortasse aliquis: 'Quid ergo? Et illa potestas quae servos Dei persequitur, fidem impugnat, religionem subvertit, a Deo

he turns to the question as to the sense in which the political authority is the servant of God, as it is stated to be in verse 4, which he quotes. "Paul surprises me in this passage," he says, "because he calls the secular power and the earthly judge God's servant, and this not once (only), but repeats it a second and a third time. I should like, therefore, to inquire in what way the earthly judge is God's servant." He then observes that the misdeeds forbidden to gentile Christians by the apostolic decree in Acts xv. 23f, 28f, do not include murder, adultery, theft, sodomy, and "other crimes that are punished by Divine and human laws." Accordingly it might seem as if these were permitted. "But behold the ordinance of the Holy Spirit! Since, indeed, other crimes are punished by secular laws, and it seemed superfluous that those which are sufficiently embraced by human law, should now be forbidden by a Divine law, He decrees those alone concerning which the human law had said nothing and which seemed to pertain to religion. Whence it is clear that the earthly judge fulfils a very large part of the law of God. For all the crimes which God wished to be punished, He wished to be punished, not by the leaders and rulers of the churches, but by the earthly judge; and Paul, knowing this, rightly names him God's servant and an avenger against him who does what is evil. . . . We have shown that the Holy Spirit has given a place in many things to human law."[1] The phrase about receiving praise from the authority (Rom xiii. 3) Origenes refers to the Day of Judgment, when those who have not disobeyed earthly laws will receive praise on that account.[2] We next come to his statement of the view that the secular power exists only on account of the sinfulness of men. "One ought to know," he says, "that 'the law is laid down, not for the just man, but for the unjust and rebellious, criminals,

est?' Ad hoc breviter respondebimus. Nemo est qui nesciat quod et visus nobis a Deo donatus est, et auditus, et sensus. Cum ergo a Deo habeamus haec, in potestate tamen nostra est ut visu vel ad bona vel ad mala utamur; similiter et auditu et motu manuum et cogitatione sensus: et in hoc est justum judicium Dei, quod his, quae ille ad usus bonos dedit, nos abutimur ad impia et iniqua ministeria. Ita ergo et potestas omnis a Deo data est 'ad vindictam quidem malorum, laudem vero bonorum,' sicut idem Apostolus in subsequentibus dicit. Erit autem justum judicium Dei erga eos qui acceptam potestatem secundum suas impietates, et non secundum divinas temperant leges.

[1] Orig. *Comm. in Rom.* t. ix. 28 (vii. 328ff): cf. the similar view in Tert. *Scorp.* 14 (i. 533) (Latin below, on p. 384 n 1).

[2] Orig. *l.c.* (vii. 330f): . . . unumquemque autem in judicio illa lex (i.e. the earthly law) sine dubio arguet secundum quod vixit . . . certum est ergo quia in die judicii habebit etiam ex istis legibus laudem apud Deum is qui nihil contra statutas commiserit leges, etc.

murderers, foul characters, perjurers, and others of this sort.'[1] It is they who (have to) fear the law. But he who does good, that is, he who does what is good, not out of fear of the law, but out of love for the good, now lives, not under the law of the letter, but under the law of the spirit.[2] . . . But he who is still of the world and is wise in the things of the world and seeks the things of the flesh, is necessarily subject to the servants of the world—and subject on account of the wrath which he has stored up for himself by his sins. And (it is) for this reason, it seems to me, that he says, ' It is necessary, therefore, to be subject, not only on account of the wrath, but also on account of conscience ' : since he who is subjected has in himself (something) whereof he is accused by conscience.[3] . . . The later things he adds, that is, ' Owe no man anything,' certainly refer to the servants " (i.e. the secular authorities), " to whom anyone is made a debtor when he sins."[4]

In the reply to Celsus, we get yet another aspect of Origenes' view of the Divine appointment of rulers and governments, this time of the Roman Empire in particular. He regards the Empire as a providential arrangement establishing peace and uniting the nations and so facilitating the spread of the gospel. Speaking of Jesus, he says: " ' In his days did righteousness arise, and abundance of peace ' has prevailed, commencing with his birth, God preparing the nations for his teaching, in order that they might come under one (ruler), the Emperor of the Romans, and that it might not be too difficult, owing to the want of union among the nations by reason of the many kingdoms, for the apostles of Jesus to do what Jesus had commanded them, saying, ' Go, make disciples of all the nations.' And it is clear that Jesus was born in the reign of Augustus, who—so to say—put the majority of the earth's (inhabitants) on the same level by means of a single empire."[5]

These passages from Irenæus and Origenes bring us very near *the heart of the Christian problem of the State.* Nothing could be more explicit than their declarations as to the origin and purpose

[1] Quoting 1 T i. 9f.

[2] Orig. *Comm. in Rom.* t. ix. 28 (vii. 331) (see above, p. 351 n 3): and cf. Cl. *Paed.* 1. ix. 82 (quotation of clauses from R xiii. 3f).

[3] Orig. *Comm. in Rom.* t. ix. 30 (vii. 333) (see above, p. 370 n).

[4] Orig. *l.c.* (vii. 335).

[5] Orig. *Cels.* ii. 30. The sequel, which deals with the achievement of universal peace, replacing the universal and perpetual prevalence of war, will be quoted later (see below, pp. 415, 424). On the stimulus given to the doctrine of the brotherhood of man by the erection of the Empire, cf. Lecky i. 340; on the partial universalism of the Empire as a preparation for Christianity, cf. Uhlhorn *C* 13–29.

of civil government. It is an institution ordained by God with the object of restraining, by means of coercion and penalty, the grosser forms of human sin.[1] If this view was a fixed datum in Christian political theory, the rule that a Christian must never inflict an injury on his neighbour, however wicked that neighbour be, was also a fixed datum in Christian ethical theory: and the problem consists in reconciling these two apparently conflicting data. It is certainly extremely doubtful whether Irenæus ever thought of the question as a problem at all—for obviously, as long as Christians took next to no part in the government, it was quite easy to ignore the dilemma. He does, however, contribute something towards a solution by making it perfectly clear that he could as easily think of wicked rulers being appointed by God as he could of good ones. Thus to be appointed by God and to be acting as God's servant does not necessarily mean to be morally justified in what one does: God uses the sins of some as a chastisement for others. This does not, however, reach the root of the problem, for it refers only to the crimes of rulers, not to the just legal penalties they inflict. Origenes, however, writing in an age when the matter had long begun to exercise Christian thought, betrays a greater consciousness of the dilemma. His solution of it will become progressively clear to us as we proceed, particularly when we come to treat of his view of warfare. At this point it must suffice to remind ourselves of his emphatic repetition of the Christian principle of abstaining from injuring others,[2] and of the presupposition that lies—half-consciously perhaps—behind what he (and others) says of the Divine appointment of rulers, viz. that the rulers in question are pagans, and as such spiritually unenlightened, if not in all cases positively sinful, men. His views on the subject come out most clearly when he is replying to Celsus' argument that the Christian's opinion of what is evil is not necessarily true, since he (the Christian) does not know what is of advantage to himself or his neighbour or the world. Origenes says that this argument "suggests that the nature of evil (thing)s is not absolutely wicked, for that which is regarded as evil in individual cases is admitted to be of advantage to the world. But lest anyone, misconstruing what has been said, should find (in it) an incentive to violence, on the ground that his wickedness

[1] Carlyle 144–146 (on the patristic political theory generally: "Their theory is properly a justification of coercive government," etc.).

[2] Orig. *Cels.* ii. 30, vii. 26—Christian gentleness in relation to defensive war and judicial penalties (see pp. 385, 415, 424).

is an advantage to the whole (community) or may possibly be an advantage, it has to be said that, although God, without prejudice to the free-will of each of us, may use the wrong-doing of the wicked for the administration of the whole (community), appointing them for the service of the whole (community), nevertheless such a man is blameable, and, as blameable, has been appointed to a service (which is) abominable for an individual, but useful to the whole (community) ; just as in the cities one would say that a man who had committed certain crimes and because of th(os)e crimes was condemned to certain public works useful to the whole (community), was doing something useful to the whole city, but was himself engaged in an abominable task and one in which no one of moderate intelligence would wish to be engaged." [1] There can be little doubt that Origenes had the punitive secular power at the back of his mind when he wrote this ; for on what other topic need he have admitted that an act might be wrong for an individual but useful to the community as a whole ? [2] If a modern reader be disposed to reject this doctrine as one which selfishly leaves the dirty work of society to non-Christians, it is right to remember, firstly, that so far as the endurance of hardship and danger went, the Christians were far worse off than the magistrates and executioners, and secondly, that the Christians had their own method of repressing crime, a method unusable indeed by a pagan State simply because it had not the Christian heart, but more thorough and effective than the method of the State, and that their power to remove occasions for the use of the magistrate's sword increased directly in proportion to their numbers and their zeal.[3]

The Relative Value of Non-Christian Governments.—If

[1] Orig. *Cels.* iv. 70. He then quotes 2 T ii. 20f as proving that even the very wicked will contribute to the good of the whole, and concludes with a repetition of his warning against doing evil as an individual under the pretext of being useful to the whole community. For the conception of the wicked demons as being possibly the agents of God's punitive justice and educative discipline, see Orig. *Cels.* vii. 70 ( . . . ὡς οἱ δήμιοι ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ οἱ τεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τῶν σκυθρωπῶν μὲν ἀναγκαίων δὲ ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις πραγμάτων, οὕτως . . . ), viii. 31 (πάντα ταῦτα [pestilence, etc.] δαίμονες αὐτουργοῦσι δήμιοι, κρίσει τινὶ θείᾳ λαβόντες ἐξουσίαν ἐν καιροῖς τισι ταῦτ' ἐνεργεῖν εἴτε εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν ἀνθρώπων . . . εἴτε καὶ εἰς γυμνάσιον τοῦ λογικοῦ γένους). On the thought of all spirits, good and bad, acting as God's servants, cf. Orig. *Comm. in Rom.* t. ix. 30 (vii. 332).

[2] It is to public executioners (δήμιοι) that he compares the demons when he wants to suggest that they are not only wicked but useful (see the last note). Yet he was unable to do full justice to the relativity of morality to the subjective conditions of the agent concerned (see *Cels.* v. 28, where he insists overmuch on the *absolute* nature of what is right, and denies that differing customs and usages can be in any sense right for different nations) : hence his apologia on the subject of government, though in the main sound, is not complete.

[3] See above, pp. 363f.

the conception of the Divine appointment of kings could be harmonized with the condemnation of certain kings as wicked, it was still more easily harmonized with the recognition of certain other kings as good. The good kings of the Old Testament were alluded to with evident approval.[1] Irenæus names "the kingly arts" among the human activities generally recognized as useful.[2] Clemens points out that one of the two forms of fear is that which is accompanied by reverence and is usually accorded by citizens to "good rulers" and by ourselves to God.[3] Hippolytus says that such kings as have behaved themselves with piety and love for God have been honoured by Him.[4] Tertullianus speaks of the reigning Emperor as "Father of his country," [5] and tells the officials that the imperial government whose servants they are is the rule of a citizen, not of a tyrant.[6] He takes it for granted that Cæsars are "necessary for the age." [7] Clemens thinks of governments being rightly directed by judgments of the intellect and states being managed by the counsels of pious men.[8] Minucius speaks of the conditions under which public affairs can be properly conducted.[9] Origenes contrasts the irrational political organization of bees and ants with the rational human faculty for political life. "Cities," he says, "were established among men with many arts and (much) enactment of laws. And constitutions and sovereignties and governments among men are either such as are rightly so-called, (being) certain excellent conditions and activities, or else those which are wrongly so named in imitation as far as possible of the former. For (it was by) contemplating the former (that) the successful legislators established the best constitutions and sovereignties and governments. And none of these is to be found among irrational creatures." God endowed the bees with political instincts,

[1] Iren. IV. xxxiv. 3 (ii. 271); Cl. *Strom.* IV. xxv. 158, 161; etc.

[2] Iren. II. xxxii. 2 (i. 372f): Gnostics, who foolishly claim that they must have experience of everything, 'primo quidem oportebat omnes se ediscere artes': he enumerates music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, medicine, painting, '. . . et opificum artes . . . et venatorias et militares et regales et quotquot sunt, quarum nec decimam, nec millesimam partem in tota vita sua elaborantes ediscere possunt.'

[3] Cl. *Paed.* I. ix. 87: *διττὸν δὲ τὸ εἶδος τοῦ φόβου, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἕτερον γίνεται μετὰ αἰδοῦς, ᾧ χρῶνται πολῖται μὲν πρὸς ἡγεμόνας ἀγαθούς, κτλ.*

[4] Hipp. *Dan.* III. iv. 7.

[5] Tert. *Apol.* 34 (i. 240).

[6] Tert. *Apol.* 2 (i. 120): Hoc imperium, cujus ministri estis, civilis, non tyrannica dominatio est.

[7] Tert. *Apol.* 21 (i. 204) (see above, p. 362 n 3).

[8] Cl. *Strom.* II. xix. 102: . . . *βουλαῖς γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ὁσίων εὖ μὲν οἰκοῦνται πόλεις, εὖ δ' οἶκος.* This concluding sentence, except *ὁσίων*, is a quotation from Euripides' *Antiope*.

[9] Minuc. xvii. 2: nec possis pulchre gerere rem ciuilem, nisi cognoueris hanc communem omnium mundi ciuitatem, etc.

in order that men, " by contemplating the bees, might obey governments, and share out the useful activities of citizenship with a view to the well-being of the cities." [1] He complains of Celsus' deliberate depreciation of " our states and constitutions and sovereignties and governments . . . not only (those) of us Christians, but also of all men." [2] He is prepared to pray to God " for him who reigns righteously," i.e. the Emperor.[3]

An implicit recognition of the possibility of good government and an implicit approval of it lie concealed in many of the Christian protests and complaints against the government as it actually is : and it is the necessity of holding the balance between this implication and that of an absolute disapproval, that makes the right interpretation of many passages a matter of great difficulty. This is especially true in regard to the question of *the value of laws*. Some of the passages that have been quoted above in connection with the Christian criticism of the inadequacy and abuse of human laws as actually existing [4] might well be repeated here as implying a recognition of the value of good laws properly administered. To these we may now add a few others of a like tenor. Tertullianus urges that many laws, being recognized as unjust or evil, require to be, and in fact are, continually repealed or altered : this clearly grants the possibility, and even the existence, of just and useful laws.[5] Origenes, when enumerating the varieties of human civilization, mentions that some people live under " thoroughly approved laws " : [6] and we have already noticed his view that at the Day of Judgment the human law will show how each one has lived, and " he who has committed nothing against the established laws will derive praise with God from those laws." [7] Gregorius speaks of " our admirable laws, by which the affairs of all men who live under the rule of the Romans are now guided (and which are) neither composed nor learnt without difficulty. They are wise and exact and manifold and admirable and, in a word, thoroughly Hellenic. But they are framed and handed on in the

[1] Orig. *Cels.* iv. 81.
[2] Orig. *Cels.* iv. 83 (for the Greek, see below, p. 416 n 1).
[3] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 73 (see below, pp. 434f).
[4] See above, p. 350.
[5] Tert. *Apol.* 4 (i. 127ff) (. . . leges, quas neque annorum numerus, neque conditorum dignitas commendat, sed aequitas sola [i. 129] . . . Nulla lex sibi soli conscientiam justitiae suae debet, sed eis a quibus obsequium exspectat [i. 130]).
[6] Orig. *Princ.* II. ix. 3 (legibus probatissimis). Cf. *Cels.* v. 37 : καλὸν ὅπου μὲν μὴ ἐναντιοῦται ὁ γραπτὸς νόμος τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ μὴ λυπεῖν τοὺς πολίτας προφάσει ξένων νόμων.
[7] See above, p. 377 n 2.

Roman language, (a language) striking and high-sounding and well-suited to all royal authority." [1]

Such recognition of the value of law becomes of special interest when it takes the form of a recognition of *the rightfulness of judicial penalties*. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader again at this stage that, in studying the passages, allowance has to be made, firstly, for pure immaturity of reflection, secondly, for the natural habit, in controverting an opponent, of speaking ad hominem in a way that one would not speak if simply delivering a personal view, and thirdly, for the underlying assumption that the punishments are being administered by pagans, who know no other way of checking the wrong-doer and whose justification is consequently relative to their unenlightened state. No pronouncement on the question of the propriety or otherwise of Christians helping to administer these penalties is either expressed or implied. These precautions taken, we may proceed to set forth the evidence. Theophilus quotes loosely from the Septuagint version of Proverbs: "Son, honour God and the king, and be not disobedient to either of them; for they will speedily punish their enemies." [2] Perpetua speaks of a Roman Procurator as having received the "ius gladii" from his predecessor.[3] Tertullianus, in protesting against the legal procedure by which the Christians were tortured in order to make them deny their faith, says to the Roman rulers: "This imperial government whose servants ye are is the rule of a citizen, not of a tyrant. For with tyrants torture used to be applied also as a penalty: with you it is confined solely to extorting evidence. Keep to your own law in (using) it (only) until confession (is obtained); and if it is anticipated by confession, there will be no occasion for it. There is need of sentence (being passed); the wrong-doer has to be marked off as having paid the debt of punishment, not to be released. No one is agitating for his acquittal; it is not lawful to desire that, and so no one is compelled to deny (his crime)." [4] He invites the authorities to condemn the Christian meetings, if they are really dangerous and illicit.[5] In attacking the gladiatorial games, he makes the concession: "It is a good thing when evil-doers are punished. Who but an evil-doer will deny this?" [6] He says that the apostle bade us be

[1] Greg. Thaum. *Paneg.* i. 7.
[2] Theoph. i. 11 (see above, p. 367 n, and cf. Prov xxiv. 21f).
[3] *Perpet.* vi. 3.
[4] Tert. *Apol.* 2 (i. 120f). Tertullianus is here speaking more from the point of view of the Roman Law than that of Christianity. He had studied law (Eus. *HE* II. ii. 4). For his use of legal language, see Ball 71–94.
[5] Tert. *Apol.* 39 (i. 266).
[6] Tert. *Spect.* 19 (i. 50).

subject to the powers that be, viewing them as assistants of justice, as servants of the Divine judgment, which here judges of wrong-doers in advance." [1] The Pseudo-Melitonian apologist tells Caracalla : " It is a shameful thing that a king, however badly he may conduct himself, should judge and condemn those who do amiss " [2] —implying apparently that he would be perfectly right in doing so, if he lived uprightly. Cyprianus complains that, not only are the innocent often condemned in the law-courts, but the guilty do not even perish with them.[3] Origenes says that the proceedings taken by bees against drones offer no fair comparison " with the judgments and punishments inflicted on the idle and evil in the cities." [4] He broaches the question whether evil demons may not have been appointed by the Logos " like the executioners in the cities and those who are appointed for gloomy but needful public duties." [5]

A special form of the apparent conflict between Christian ethical principle and Christian political theory was the discrepancy between the former on the one hand, and the Old Testament dispensation—more particularly *the Mosaic Lex Talionis*—on the other. The Divine approval of that which was non-Christian was even less questioned in the case of this antithesis than in that of the antithesis between Christianity and the contemporary heathen government.[6] Both Tertullianus and Origenes make an attempt to resolve the contradiction between the Law and the Gospel. The former says that the Lex Talionis was not a permission of mutual wrong-doing, but a means of preventing an initial injury by inspiring the would-be wrong-doer with fear lest he should suffer the galling experience of retaliation. When Jesus forbade retaliation, it was on the understanding that God means to inflict all needful vengeance Himself ; and the Christian—unlike the early Hebrew—is supposed to have sufficient faith to wait for the Divine vengeance. Tertullianus takes it for granted that only fear of vengeance of some

[1] Tert. *Scorp.* 14 (i. 533) : . . . jubet te subjici potestatibus, sed in provocatione bene vivendi, etiam sub illarum respectu, quasi adjutricum tributarum justitiae, quasi ministrarum divini judicii, hic etiam de nocentibus praejudicantis.

[2] Ps-Mel. 10 (121). [3] Cypr. *Donat.* 10. [4] Orig. *Cels.* iv. 82.

[5] Orig. *Cels.* vii. 70 (see above, p. 380 n 1). A passing reference may here be made to the Christian adoption of the custom of inserting in sepulchral inscriptions formal clauses threatening with fines payable to the Roman government those who made unauthorized use of the tomb (Ramsay *CRE* 493f).

[6] " It was acknowledged that, under a less perfect law, the powers of the Jewish constitution had been exercised, with the approbation of Heaven, by inspired prophets and by anointed kings " (Gibbon ii. 38).

sort can curb iniquity.[1] The explanation offered by Origenes is not nearly so definite and clear-cut, but neither does it so completely ignore the principle of Christian love. He tries to account for the inconsistency between the laws of Moses and Christ by pointing out that the Mosaic polity, if taken literally, does not harmonize (in view of the Jewish subjection to Rome) with the Divine purpose of the call of the gentiles, and has now been definitely abolished by God through the destruction of Jerusalem: on the other hand, Christian non-resistance, if practised by the ancient Jews, would have brought their national life to an end and left them a prey to their enemies.[2] This is no doubt a somewhat weak argument for Origenes; but the reason is that the problem had here reached a point where further advance was impossible without the use of that more or less modern key, the theory of a progressive revelation. Neither Origenes nor any other of his contemporaries possessed that key; and it is to his credit that he preferred to

[1] Tert. *Marc.* ii. 18 (ii. 105f) (Non enim injuriae mutuo exercendae licentiam sapit [sc. the lex talionis], sed in totum cohibendae violentiae prospicit, ut quia durissimo et infideli in Deum populo longum vel etiam incredibile videretur a Deo exspectare defensam, edicendam postea per prophetam: 'Mihi defensam, et ego defendam [Deut xxxii. 35], dicit Dominus' [R xii. 19], interim commissio injuriae metu vicis statim occursurae repastinaretur, et licentia retributionis prohibitio esset provocationis, ut sic improbitas aestuata cessaret, dum, secunda permissa, prima terretur, et, prima deterrita, nec secunda committitur, qua et alias facilior timor talionis per eundem saporem passionis. Nihil amarius quam id ipsum pati, quod feceris aliis), iv. 16 (ii. 195ff) (Plane haec [i.e. non-resistance teaching] Christus adjecerit, ut supplementa consentanea disciplinae Creatoris. . . . Sed et cum dicit: 'Mihi vindictam, et ego vindicabo,' proinde patientiam docet vindictae exspectatricem. . . . Ita si quid Christus intulit, non adversario, sed adjutore praecepto, non destruxit disciplinas Creatoris. . . . Alioquin, si tantum patientiae pondus, non modo non repercutiendi, sed et aliam maxillam praebendi, et non modo non remaledicendi, sed etiam benedicendi, et non modo non retinendi tunicam, sed amplius et pallium concedendi, is mihi imponit, qui non sit me defensurus, in vacuum patientiam praecepit, non exhibens mihi mercedem praecepti, patientiae dico fructum, quod est ultio, quam mihi permisisse debuerat, si ipse non praestat, aut si mihi non permittebat, ipse praestare; quoniam et disciplinae interest, injuriam vindicari; metu enim ultionis omnis iniquitas refrenatur. . . . Sed hoc est Dei optimi et tantum boni, patientiae injuriam facere, violentiae januam pandere, probos non defendere, improbos non coercere, etc.).

[2] Orig. *Cels.* vii. 26: . . . οὔτε τοῖς πάλαι Ἰουδαίοις οἷόν τ' ἦν τὸ σύστημα τῆς πολιτείας ἔχειν ἀκαθαίρετον, εἰ καθ' ὑπόθεσιν τῇ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πολιτείᾳ ἐπείθοντο. ἀναιρέσει μὲν γὰρ πολεμίων ἢ τῶν παρὰ τὸν νόμον πεποιηκότων καὶ ἀξίων κριθέντων τῆς διὰ πυρὸς ἢ λίθων ἀναιρέσεως οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν Χριστιανοὺς χρῆσθαι κατὰ τὸν Μωϋσέως νόμον, εἴ γε οὐδ' οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι θέλοντες κατ' ἐκεῖνον δύνανται ταῦτα, ὡς ὁ νόμος προσέταξεν, ἐπιτελεῖν. πάλιν τε αὖ ἐὰν ἀνέλῃς ἀπὸ τῶν τότε Ἰουδαίων, σύστημα ἴδιον πολιτείας καὶ χώρας ἐχόντων, τὸ ἐπεξιέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ συστρατεύεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων καὶ ἀναιρεῖν ἢ ὅπως πότε κολάζειν τοὺς μοιχεύσαντας ἢ φονεύσαντας ἤ τι τῶν τοιούτοις παραπλησίων πεποιηκότας, οὐδὲν λείπεται ἢ τὸ ἄρδην αὐτοὺς ἀθρόους ἀθρόως ἀπολέσθαι, ἐπιτιθεμένων τῶν πολεμίων τῷ ἔθνει, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου νόμου ἐκνενευρισμένων καὶ κωλυομένων ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. κτλ.

leave the matter where it was, rather than leap at a solution which might be logically clear, but which sacrificed one of the fundamental data of the problem. However that may be, it is important to observe—what the passages quoted make abundantly clear—that Origenes and Tertullianus were at one in taking it for granted that complete abstention from violence was a normal and recognized principle of Christian conduct.

Belief in the Divine appointment of rulers and recognition of their relative rightfulness were far from being mere theories. They derived considerable support from the practical experience of life. Christians recognized their *indebtedness to the Empire for the blessings of peace.* Speaking of the Romans, Irenæus says: "Through them the world has peace, and we walk along the roads without fear and make voyages wherever we wish." [1] Tertullianus alludes to the Pax Romana.[2] Origenes points out how the establishment of the Roman Empire had produced a state of peace such as had facilitated the spread of Christ's teaching,[3] and remarks that for some time past the Christians had had no external enemies to fear.[4] That this appreciation of the blessings of peace had a real connection with the frequently mentioned Christian duty of *praying for kings and governors* [5] appears not only from the words of Scripture in which this duty is enjoined,[6] but in the frank utterances of the Church-writers themselves,[7] more particularly

[1] Iren. IV. xxx. 3 (ii. 250): cf. Harnack *KS* 145. Of course the instrumentality of the Romans did not exclude the control of Providence: cf. the anonymous Anti-montanist (about 192 A.D.) quoted by Eus. *HE* v. xvi. 19 (πλείω γὰρ ἢ τρισκαίδεκα ἔτη εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐξ οὗ τετελεύτηκεν ἡ γυνὴ, καὶ οὔτε καθολικὸς κόσμῳ γέγονεν πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Χριστιανοῖς μᾶλλον εἰρήνη διάμονος ἐξ ἐλέου Θεοῦ).

[2] Tert. *Pall.* 1 (i. 914f) (pacis haec et annonae otia: ab imperio et a caelo bene est), 2 (i. 925) (eradicato omni aconito hostilitatis).

[3] Orig. *Cels.* ii. 30 (see above, p. 378, and below, p. 415 n 1).

[4] Orig. *Cels.* iii. 15: Ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν δέος τὸ σύνθημα ἡμῶν διακρατεῖ δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ καὶ τοῦτο βουληθέντος Θεοῦ πεπαῦσθαι ἤδη χρόνῳ πλείονι.

[5] Theoph. i. 11 (see above, pp. 366f n 7); *Act. Apoll.* 6 (ὑπὲρ τοῦ κράτους αὐτοῦ εὐχόμεθα), 9 (διὸ καθ' ἡμέραν κατὰ πρόσταγμα δικαίας ἐντολῆς εὐχόμεθα τῷ . . . Θεῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἐν τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ Κομόδου); Tert. *Apol.* 30 (i. 230–235) (Nos enim pro salute imperatorum Deum invocamus . . . Hoc agite, boni praesides, extorquete animam Deo supplicantem pro imperatore), 32 (i. 238) (Id in eis scimus esse quod Deus voluit, ideoque et salvum volumus esse, quod Deus voluit), 33 (i. 238) (Itaque et in eo plus ego illi operor in salutem, non solum quod eam ab eo postulo qui potest praestare, aut quod talis postulo qui merear impetrare, etc.), *Scap.* 2 (i. 541f) (the passage quoted above, p. 346 n 5, continues '. . . Itaque et sacrificamus pro salute imperatoris, sed Deo nostro et ipsius, sed quomodo praecepit Deus, pura prece. . . . Ita nos magis oramus pro salute imperatoris, ab eo eam postulantes qui praestare potest'); Orig. *Cels.* viii. 73f (see below, pp. 434f).

[6] 1 T ii. 1f.

[7] So, e.g., Theoph. iii. 14 (Greek on pp. 366f n 7), using the Scriptural passage referred to in the last note.

of the anti-imperial Tertullianus. "We are always praying for all emperors," he says, "that their life may be prolonged, their rule secure, their family safe, their armies strong, the Senate faithful, the people upright, the world quiet, and whatever (else) they wish for in their human or imperial capacity."[1] "(Scripture) says: 'Pray for kings and governors and authorities, in order that all things may be peaceful for you.' For when the Empire is disturbed, and the other members of it are disturbed, we also, though strangers to disorder, are (sure to be) found in the locality affected."[2] "We pray for Emperors, for their ministers and authorities, for the stability of the age, for the prevalence of peace, for the postponement of the end."[3]

THE STATE AS THE CHURCH'S BENEFACTOR.—We have hitherto traced the varieties of Christian thought and sentiment in regard to the State from the one extreme of antipathy and disapprobation to the other extreme of full theoretical recognition and honour. Our study of the latter attitude has been for the most part confined to the Church's view of the State as an organization virtually unconnected in any practical way with herself. The Christian gratitude for the maintenance of peace has brought us to the brink of a fresh phase of the subject, viz. the rapprochement between Church and State in the practical affairs of life. We find the Christians naturally very *willing to receive benefits from the State and its rulers* and very grateful for what they receive. Thus Marcia, the concubine of Commodus, was, if not a Christian, a religious woman and a friend of the Christians; and, after obtaining from Victor, bishop of Rome, a list of the Christians who had been sent to the Sardinian mines, she procured from the Emperor orders for their release, and seems to have succeeded in putting a stop to the persecution. Hippolytus speaks of her kindness in highly appreciative terms.[4] Tertullianus tells us that Cæcilius Capella, the persecuting governor of Byzantium, when he could no longer hold the town against the besieging forces of Severus (196 A.D.), exclaimed: "Christians, rejoice!" He

[1] Tert. *Apol.* 30 (i. 232f): . . . quaecunque hominis et Caesaris vota sunt.
[2] Tert. *Apol.* 31 (i. 235f): 1 T ii. 2.
[3] Tert. *Apol.* 39 (i. 255f) (see above, p. 346 n 5). While Tertullianus was no doubt quite sincere in his prayer that the imperial government might be able to maintain peace, it is doubtful whether he was equally sincere in his wish for the postponement of the end through the stability of the government: see above, p. 346.
[4] Hipp. *Ref.* ix. 12 (7, D. and S. 454) (θελήσασα ἡ Μαρκία ἔργον τι ἀγαθὸν ἐργάσασθαι, οὖσα φιλόθεος παλλακὴ Κομόδου, κτλ.); Dio Cassius lxxii. 4: Neumann *SK* 85–87; Bigelmair 157f; Harnack *ME* ii. 47f; Gwatkin *ECH* i. 170f.

counted on the Christians welcoming Severus as their liberator.[1] The apologetic interest led to a great historical exaggeration of the favours which former rulers of the Empire had bestowed upon Christendom. According to Tertullianus, none of the Emperors except Nero, Domitianus, and Trajanus had persecuted the Christians. Tiberius had been prevented only by the opposition of the Senate from giving their religion official recognition and favour. Even Trajanus had forbidden them to be sought for. Neither Vespasianus, nor Hadrianus, nor Pius, nor Verus, had enforced the laws against them. Marcus Aurelius had protected them by threatening severe penalties against their accusers.[2]

A more significant point of contact with the government was formed when the churches of Rome and other places—perhaps availing themselves of the rescript of Severus, issued in 198 A.D. or earlier, re-authorizing the existence of *burial-clubs* (*collegia tenuiorum*)—got themselves enrolled as such, and in this disguise obtained a measure of State-recognition and with it the legal right of holding property. It was, doubtless, under this arrangement that Callistus, some time after his return from Sardinia, was placed by Pope Zephyrinus in charge of the Christian catacombs on the Appian Way.[3] *Alexander Severus* (222–235 A.D.), while he does not seem to have declared Christianity a 'religio licita,' yet secured a de facto toleration for it.[4] On one occasion, a piece of public ground, which had been occupied

[1] Tert. *Scap.* 3 (i. 545). Cf. Neumann *SK* 97; Bigelmair 122.

[2] Tert. *Apol.* 5 (i. 130ff); Harnack *KS* 145. We are unfortunately not in a position to say whether the forgery of the so-called *Letter of Antoninus to the Koinon of Asia* and the so-called *Letter of Marcus Aurelius to the Senate* about his Christian soldiers, belongs to this period or not. On the former, see above, p. 204 n 8; on the latter, p. 278 n 1.

[3] *DCA* ii. 1123; Doulcet vif, 155–164; Neumann *SK* 102–113 (esp. 112f: "Dass die Christen es versuchen, sich ein Gesetz zu nutze zu machen, das durchaus nicht etwa einer Rücksicht auf das Christenthum entsprungen ist, zeigt deutlich, dass sie daran denken, in der Welt sich einzurichten. . . . Wir können aus christlichen Schriften jener Jahre" [i.e. about 195 A.D.] "vielmehr die deutliche Einsicht darein gewinnen, dass die Christen sich im Irdischen einleben"); Ramsay *CRE* 430–432 (he believes the registration of Christian communities as burial-clubs began about 130–140 A.D.); Hardy 168–195 (he also [194] carries the arrangement, so far as the Roman church is concerned, back to a time long before that of Pope Victor); Workman 67–72; Bigelmair 57–59 (thinks the church of Rome was enrolled under M. Aurelius); Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 119–121. In *The Expositor* III. viii. 407ff, 419 (Dec. 1888), Ramsay refers to inscriptions, belonging to the third century, in which the Christian communities of Acmonia, Apameia, and Hierapolis in Phrygia, are referred to under non-committal titles, thus: 'The Society of the Neighbours of the First-Gate People,' 'the Neotheroi,' 'the Council of Presidence of the Purple-dippers.'

[4] Lampridius, *Alexander Severus*, xxii. 4 (in *Hist. Aug.* ed. Peter i. 263): Christianos esse passus est. On the favour shown by the House of Severus to the Christians, cf. Bigelmair 53f, 59, 123.

by the Christians, was claimed by the victuallers as their own: Alexander assigned it to the Christians, giving as his reason that it was better that God should be worshipped there in some fashion than that the place should be given to the victuallers.[1]

Christians at Court and among the Governing Classes.—With the rapid spread of Christianity throughout the population of the Empire, all classes of society became affected by the new faith,[2] and the Church came to include among its members a considerable and growing number of people of high social rank.[3] Bardaisan's parents were probably wealthy people of noble station.[4] Origenes describes his friend Ambrosius as "honoured and accepted by very many cities"[5]—probably in allusion to the custom of conferring honorary citizenship on distinguished people. If, as seems likely, conversions to Christianity took place more rapidly among women than among men, the fact would throw an interesting light, not only on cases where Christian women of high social rank are mentioned,[6] but also on a few instances in which Christian women appear as the wives of important pagan officials, occasionally exerting in that capacity an influence favourable to Christianity,[7] but in some cases exposing their co-religionists to peril. Tertullianus tells us of the Christian wife of Claudius Lucius Herminianus, governor of Cappadocia, who persecuted the Christians through rage at his wife's conversion.[8] On the other hand, Hippolytus, writing about 202–204 A.D., tells us that not

[1] Lampridius, *op. cit.* xlix. 6 (i. 285): Cum Christiani quendam locum, qui publicus fuerat, occupassent, contra popinarii dicerent, sibi eum deberi, rescripsit melius esse ut quemammodumcumque illic deus colatur, quam popinariis dedatur. Cf. Neumann *SK* 107.

[2] Tert. *Nat.* i. 1 (i. 306) (omnem sexum, omnem aetatem, omnem denique dignitatem transgredi a vobis quasi detrimento doletis); similar words in Tert. *Apol.* 1 (i. 115); cf. 37 (i. 250f) (vestra omnia implevimus, etc.).

[3] Eus. *HE* v. xxi. 1 (. . . ὡς ἤδη [time of Commodus] καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης εὖ μάλα πλούτῳ καὶ γένει διαφανῶν πλείους ἐπὶ τὴν σφῶν ὁμόσε χωρεῖν πανοικεί τε καὶ παγγενεῖ σωτηρίαν); Minuc. xxxi. 6 (nec de ultima statim plebe consistimus). The *Acts of Peter* (3, 8, 23, 30, 41) contain accounts of the conversion of imperial courtiers and servants and others of high rank in the time of Nero. See above, p. 266 n 2, and cf. Harnack *KS* 139f.

[4] See below, p. 390 n 2.

[5] Orig. *Mart.* 36: δοξασθεὶς καὶ ἀποδεχθεὶς ὑπὸ πλείστων ὅσων πόλεων.

[6] *Perpet.* ii. 1 (Vibia Perpetua, honeste nata, liberaliter instituta); Tert. *Cul.* ii. 9 (i. 726) (si quas divitiarum vel natalium vel retro dignitatum ratio compellit ita pompaticas progredi, etc.). For the obscure case of Pescennia Quoduultdeus, whom many assign to this period, see below, p. 556 n 4.

[7] One naturally thinks of Marcia, the "God-loving concubine" of Commodus; but "we cannot count her as a Christian, though she was a friend of the Christians" (Gwatkin *ECH* i. 171). See above, p. 387 n 4.

[8] Tert. *Scap.* 3 (i. 544). It is stated in *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (i. 381) that the man's real name was Hieronymianus, and his date is given as "*sub finem saeculi II.*"

long before his time the Christian wife of the governor of Syria was able to prevent her husband slaughtering as robbers a number of wandering Christian eschatological fanatics, and instituting a general persecution of the Christians in that region.[1]

We find Christians moreover enjoying *friendly intercourse with persons of royal rank.* Bardaisan was educated with the prince of Edessa, and in later years advanced the cause of Christianity at Abgar's court.[2] We have already observed how Marcia got into communication with Pope Victor for the purpose of relieving the persecuted Christians.[3] She herself appears to have been educated by a Christian presbyter, Hyacinthus, and later to have employed him as her confidential agent.[4] The Emperor Severus had been cured of an illness by a Christian named Proculus, and in appreciation of this service kept him in his palace until his death. His son Antoninus (Caracalla) had a Christian wet-nurse. During the first nine years of his reign, Severus took no measures against the Christians (though there was a local persecution in Africa in 197 A.D.), but conferred signal marks of favour upon them, and protected them openly from the attacks of the populace.[5] Julius Africanus undertook in 221 A.D. an embassy to the Emperor Elagabalus to ask his help for the ruined town of Emmaus, and was placed by him at the head of a commission for its restoration.[6] He was a friend of Alexander Severus, dedicated his Κεστοί to him, and

[1] Hipp. *Dan.* iv. xviii. 1–3.

[2] Epiphanius, *Haeres.* lvi. 1 (Migne *PG* xli. 989, 992); cf. *DCB* i. 250b.

[3] Hipp. *Ref.* ix. 12 (7): προσκαλεσαμένη τὸν μακάριον Οὐίκτορα, κτλ.

[4] She entrusted the letter ordering the release of the Christians in Sardinia Ταχίνθῳ τινὶ σπάδοντι πρεσβυτέρῳ. Hyacinthus prevailed on the governor to release Callistus as well, φάσκων θρέψας εἶναι Μαρκίας (Hipp. *Ref.* ix. 12 (7)): cf. *DCB* iii. 182b; Harnack *ME* ii. 48 n 1; Bigelmair 157.

[5] Tert. *Scap.* 4 (i. 547f) (quanti honesti viri—de vulgaribus enim non dicimus—aut a daemoniis aut valetudinibus remediati sunt! Ipse etiam Severus, pater Antonini, Christianorum memor fuit. Nam et Proculum Christianum, qui Torpacion cognominabatur, Euhodiae procuratorem, qui eum per oleum aliquando curaverat, requisivit, et in palatio suo habuit usque ad mortem ejus: quem et Antoninus optime noverat lacte christiano educatus. Sed et clarissimas foeminas et clarissimos viros Severus sciens hujus sectae esse, non modo non laesit, verum et testimonio exornavit, et populo furenti in nos palam restitit). There is a slip in the English translation of this passage in Harnack *ME* ii. 48. Cf. Neumann *SK* 99; Bigelmair 50; Westcott *TE* 132n ("The conjecture 'Euhodi' for 'Euhodiae' is very plausible. Euhodus was a freedman of Severus who had charge of Caracalla (τροφεύς, Dion C. lxxvi.), and would be likely, if a Christian himself, to give the young prince a Christian nurse"). The *Acts of Charalampius* (*Acta Sanctorum*, 10 Feb. 384f) mention a daughter of Severus, Galena, who was a Christian, but the extravagantly miraculous character of the Acts discredits their historical value (Neumann *SK* 293f; Harnack *ME* ii. 48 n 4).

[6] Eus. *Chron.* ad Ann. 221 A.D. (Migne *PG* xix. 569f); Hieronymus, *Vir. Illustr.*, lxiii: *DCB* i. 54a; Bigelmair 85; Schürer i. 641.

designed a library for him at Rome: he was also a friend of Abgar, king of Edessa.[1] Hippolytus dedicated one of his treatises to Julia Mammæa, the mother of Alexander Severus.[2] Origenes was more than once brought into contact with persons of official and royal rank. Sometime before he left Alexandria in 215 A.D., the governor of Arabia sent a soldier with letters to Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, and to the prefect of Egypt, asking that Origenes might be sent to him for an interview: the request was complied with.[3] Either in 218 or in 232 A.D., he was summoned to Antiochia by Julia Mammæa, a religious woman, who, having heard of his fame, was desirous of seeing and listening to him. She sent a military escort to conduct him; and he spent some time with her, discoursing on religious topics.[4] He addressed a letter to the Emperor Philippus, and another to his wife Severa.[5] Origenes complained later of the misconstruction which unsympathetic pagans put upon such intercourse between Christian teachers and men and women of high rank, in attributing it to a desire for distinction on the part of the former.[6]

Christians in the Service of the Imperial Household.—There had apparently been Christians in the imperial household ever since the days of Paul. The service was so like that of many other wealthy establishments, that the engagement of Christians in it would not seem to involve any new or different principle. But the imperial court had grown from a private household into a recruiting ground for state-officials;[7] and it seems to have been

[1] Syncellus, *Chronogr.* P 359b; Harnack *ME* ii. 50 n 1. The library is mentioned in a fragment of the 18th book of the Κεστοί, published in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, iii. (1903) 39 (ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρὸς ταῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου θερμαῖς, ἐν τῇ ἐν Πανθείῳ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῇ καλῇ ἣν αὐτὸς ἠρχιτεκτόνησα τῷ Σεβαστῷ). I do not know what authority Milman had for saying (*HC* ii. 179): "In the reign of Alexander Severus . . . Christian bishops were admitted, even at the court, in a recognised official character." The remark is repeated in *DCA* ii. 941b.

[2] The work is described in the Syriac excerpts as *Sermo de resurrectione ad Mammaeam*, and by Theodoretus as πρὸς βασιλίδα ἐπιστολή, though this latter has by some been identified with another treatise by Hippolytus, προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Σεβερεῖναν, who has, on slight ground, been identified with Julia Aquilia Severa, the second wife of Elagabalus: cf. Neumann *SK* 206, *H* 137; Harnack *C* ii. 215f. Orosius (vii. xviii. 7) says that Mammæa was a Christian.

[3] Eus. *HE* vi. xix. 15.

[4] Eus. *HE* vi. xxi. 3f. On the date of the incident, cf. *DCB* iv. 99b; McGiffert's note to Eus. ad loc. in *Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers*, i. 269; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 147.

[5] Eus. *HE* vi. xxxvi. 3.

[6] Orig. *Cels.* iii. 9: νῦν μὲν οὖν τάχα, ὅτε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προσερχομένων τῷ λόγῳ καὶ πλούσιοι καί τινες τῶν ἐν ἀξιώμασι καὶ γύναια τὰ ἁβρὰ καὶ εὐγενῆ ἀποδέχονται τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου, τολμήσει τις λέγειν διὰ τὸ δοξάριον προϊστασθαί τινας τῆς κατὰ Χριστιανοὺς διδασκαλίας.

[7] Bigelmair 154ff ("In späterer Zeit sind die glänzendsten Posten des Landes die Domäne für die Männer des Hofes"); Harnack *ME* ii. 49.

very largely employment in the palace which imperceptibly opened up political life to Christians. It is in the time of Commodus that we first find Christians at court in anything like considerable numbers.[1] Irenæus speaks of them in such a way as to imply that some of them derived considerable perquisites from their positions.[2] We hear of Carpophorus, who belonged to Commodus' household,[3] and of Hyacinthus, the confidential agent of the Emperor's concubine, Marcia.[4] We hear also of a certain Marcus Aurelius Prosenes, an imperial freedman, who was employed by Commodus, and who, before his death in the reign of Caracalla in 217 A.D., had risen to the dignity of imperial butler, steward, treasurer, and chamberlain: he was almost certainly a Christian when he died, though we have no information as to the date of his conversion.[5] It was in the reign of Severus that Tertullianus said of the Christians that they "filled the palace."[6] An inscription of about the time of Caracalla mentions an imperial freedman who was almost certainly a Christian.[7] Alexander Severus had many Christians in his household.[8] After his death (235 A.D.) we hear

[1] Neumann *SK* 83: "Aber unter den Beamten und dem Personal des kaiserlichen Hauses war die neue Religion bereits in grösserem Umfange verbreitet," i.e. in the time of Commodus.

[2] Iren. IV. xxx. 1 (ii. 248): Quid autem et hi qui in regali aula sunt fideles, nonne ex eis quae Caesaris sunt habent utensilia, et his qui non habent unusquisque eorum secundum suam virtutem praestat? "Which proves," says Harnack (*ME* ii. 47), "that there was quite a group of Christians at court, and that their circumstances were good."

[3] Hipp. *Ref.* ix. 12 (7) init. See an interesting note concerning him in Harnack *ME* ii. 47 n 2.

[4] See above, p. 390.

[5] His epitaph reads: M(arco) Aurelio Aug(ustorum) lib(ertus) Proseneti, a cubiculo Aug(usti), proc(urator) thesaurorum, proc(urator) patrimoni(i), proc(urator) munerum, proc(urator) vinorum, ordinato a divo Commodo in Kastrense, patrono piissimo liberti benemerenti sarcophagum de suo adornaverunt. On the side of his sarcophagus is another inscription by Ampelius, a freedman of Prosenes, describing him by the Christian phrase 'receptus ad Deum.' Cf. De Rossi I. 9; Neumann *SK* 84 n 2; Harnack *ME* ii. 48f; Bigelmair 158f; Marucchi 225; and see below, p. 421 n 2. It must be observed, however, that the phrase on which our belief in his Christianity depends is not used by Prosenes himself.

[6] Tert. *Apol.* 37 (i. 251) (implevimus . . . palatium). Proculus Torpacion, who spent the latter part of his life at Severus' court (Tert. *Scap.* 4: see above, p. 390) was the Emperor's guest rather than his servant. Cf. Bigelmair 159.

[7] The inscription is preserved in the monastery of San Paolo fuori le Mura, on the Ostian Way. It is headed with the symbol of fishes and anchor, which is generally accepted as a mark of Christianity, and records the erection of a sepulchral monument by a certain L. Septimius Severinus Augusti libertus. I owe this information to my friend, Professor C. H. Dodd, M.A., who copied the inscription himself.

[8] Eus. *HE* VI. xxviii; Oros. VII. xix. 2 (Christianam Alexandri . . . et Mamaeae matris eius familiam). The caricature representing a crucified man

nothing more of Christians at court for some time: his immediate successor, Maximinus Thrax, was hostile to Christianity, but it is likely enough that Philippus (244–249 A.D.), who favoured it, had Christians about him. Cyprianus tells us that, during the period immediately preceding the Decian persecution (say 238–250 A.D.), "very many bishops, who ought to have been an encouragement and example to others, despised their Divine stewardship, and became stewards of earthly kings." [1]

CHRISTIANS IN POLITICAL LIFE.—The evidence to which we have to look for *the actual facts of the case* can be briefly presented. Firstly, we have, about 185 A.D., the martyrdom at Rome of the Christian senator Apollonius.[2] Writing in 197 A.D., Tertullianus says: "We (Christians) are (but) people of yesterday; and (yet) we have filled everything that is yours—cities, islands (? or blocks of dwellings), forts, townships, places of assembly, the very camps, the tribes, the decuries, the palace, the Senate, the forum." [3] Ambrosius, to whom Origenes addressed his treatise on martyrdom about 236 A.D., seems to have held some distinguished position in the imperial court.[4] A number of inscriptions, dating from about the middle of the third century, testify to the fact that several Phrygian Christians of that period were senators in their own towns.[5] We find Christians engaged in the study of Roman

with an ass's head and a worshipper, and bearing the inscription Ἀλεξαμενὸς σέβετε (=σέβεται) Θεόν, is apparently a piece of mockery executed by a court-page of the time of Alexander Severus against a Christian comrade; cf. Doulcet 138; Bigelmair 160–162; Harnack *ME* ii. 47.

[1] Cypr. *Laps.* 6. Cyprianus' note of time is in 5 (traditam nobis diuinitus disciplinam pax longa corruperat). Cf. Harnack *ME* ii. 50.

[2] Eus. *HE* v. xxi; Neumann *SK* 79, 80 ("... Es stand dem Apollonius zu, vom Senat gerichtet zu werden, das heisst, Apollonius war Senator ..."), 81f, 83 ("... Ein christlicher Senator wie Apollonius wird freilich eine vereinzelte Erscheinung gewesen sein und schwerlich haben sich schon damals Christen in den hohen Staatsämtern gefunden." u.s.w.), 288; Conybeare 29ff; Hardy 200–208 (argues against Harnack for the senatorial rank of Apollonius); Krüger 383 (does not believe Apollonius was a senator); Bigelmair 139–144 (suggests that he had been a senator, and was now superannuated); Gwatkin *ECH* i. 168–170.

[3] Tert. *Apol.* 37 (i.250) (Hesterni sumus, et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum. A decuria was a bench of judges): cf. *Apol.* 1 (i. 115) (omnem sexum, aetatem, conditionem, etiam dignitatem transgredi ad hoc nomen quasi detrimento maerent): similarly *Nat.* i. 1 (i. 306).

[4] Epiph. *Haer.* lxiv. 3 (Migne *PG* xli. 1073) (Ἀμβροσίῳ τινὶ συντυχὼν [Ὠριγένης] τῶν διαφανῶν ἐν αὐλαῖς βασιλικαῖς). Cf. Orig. *Mart.* 36 (see above, p. 389 n 5); *DCB* i. 90b; Bigelmair (135) says he was a decurio; but, as far as I know, the passage which he quotes (Orig. *Mart.* 36) does not necessarily imply this.

[5] Ramsay in *The Expositor* III. viii. 422f; cf. the same author in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* iv. 408f (1883) (possible existence of a Christian magistrate at Alia in Phrygia in the time of Gordianus). For Christians in municipal office, cf. Bigg *CE* 128f, 132.

Law, and adopting the profession of advocate. Gregorius Thaumaturgus studied Roman Law keenly before he met Origenes (when he dropped it for religious and philosophical studies), and intended to take up the practice of it, when he left him.[1] Minucius Felix seems to have been a legal pleader, perhaps at Rome, though the scene of his dialogue may not have been the place at which he wrote.[2] Dionysius reckoned "the surrender of political distinctions" among the sacrifices he had made for his religion.[3]

This evidence makes it clear that, from the time of Commodus onwards, Christians in increasing numbers took part in various forms of political activity,[4] but it does not prove that the Church as a whole had come to the conclusion that such participation was harmless, permissible, and proper.[5] If such were the case, how could Minucius and Origenes in the middle of the third century write as if abstention from public office were, as far as they knew, the regular principle on which Christians acted?[6] *Christian opinion on the matter* was evidently far from being settled or unanimous. It is clear that the question was acutely discussed[7] and variously answered. The position of the stricter party has already been explained. As for the more liberal view, no doubt many Christians drifted into political life without feeling any call

[1] Greg. Thaum. *Paneg.* v. 56, 58–60, 62, 64, 68f, vi. 84, xi. 138, xvi. 192, xvii. 202 (speaks of the life he is about to enter as τῶν ἐν πολιτείᾳ πράξεων). Gregorius' friend and brother-in-law was a lawyer, and was employed against his will by the governor of Palestine in the administration of that country, but we cannot be sure that he was a Christian (v. 65).

[2] He is called 'causidicus' by Lactantius (*Inst.* v. i. 22) and Hieronymus (*Vir. Illustr.* lviii.), probably on the ground of his phrase 'sane et ad vindemian feriae judiciariam curam relaxauerant' (ii. 3). Cf. *DCB* iii. 920a; Neumann *SK* 245 ("der römische Weltmann"); Bigelmair 99f.

[3] Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* vii. xi. 18 (ἀξιωμάτων ἀποθέσεις). Bigelmair (146) says that Dionysius seems to have belonged to "einem Decurionengeschlechte." The *Acts of SS. Calocerus and Parthenius* mention a Christian consul Æmilianus. An Æmilianus was consul in 248 A.D., but he could not have been a Christian: the Acts are historically unreliable (Bigelmair 151f).

[4] On the Christians' growing respect for, and interest and participation in, the government from the time of Commodus onward, see Bigelmair 81–83; Troeltsch 109f.

[5] So, e.g., Bigelmair 133f ("Die Mehrzahl der Christen hielt es eben doch mit dem πολιτεύεσθαι ἔξεστιν des Clemens, wenn die Verhältnisse es irgendwie gestatteten"); Harnack *ME* i. 309f ("The kingdom of Christ . . . or some platonic republic of Christian philosophy, might be played off against the existing state, . . . but all this speculation left life untouched, at least from the close of the second century onwards").

[6] Minuc. xxxi. 6; Orig. *Cels.* viii. (73f), 75 (see above, pp. 361–363).

[7] Bigelmair 126–129: "Überhaupt hat die Commoduszeit manche vornehme Familien dem Christenthum zugeführt, und damit begann die Frage eigentlich akut zu werden."

to justify their position. Others, challenged by their more scrupulous brethren to show reason for their departure from normal Christian usage, appealed to the Scriptural precedents of Joseph and Daniel, both of whom held office without reproach under heathen kings.[1] Hippolytus refers approvingly to the cases of Joseph and Daniel,[2] though how far he would have concurred in regarding them as justifying Christians is very doubtful. He warns his Christian readers to flee from the perils of royal favour.[3] Clemens does not betray any consciousness of the special problems connected with the tenure of office by Christians. His reverence for Scripture, and his general wish to bridge the gulf between Christianity and pagan life, to ease their mutual relationships, and to facilitate conversions, are the motives that prompt his utterances. He does not pause to reflect on the ulterior difficulties that might be involved in what he says, or to make sure of his own consistency with himself. Thus, in meeting hypothetical objections to the pursuit of Christian philosophy, he says: "It is possible to be a listener to Divine wisdom, and at the same time to live one's life as a citizen; and a man is not prevented from conducting worldly affairs decorously in conformity with God('s Will)"; and he goes on to speak about buying and selling.[4] The words are very vague, and do little more than state the broad principle that the Christian need not cut himself off from civil life: in the 'Stromata,' on the other hand, as we have seen,[5] Clemens represents the Christian life as elevated altogether out of connection with political interests. Again, in quoting a number of Scriptural commandments addressed to various classes of people, he remarks: "To (the) judge He says, 'Thou shalt not show partiality in judgment, for gifts blind the eyes of those who see, and corrupt just sentences.' 'Rescue the wronged.'"[6] Here again we must be on our guard against reading

[1] Tert. *Idol.* 18 (i. 99) (Jam nunc qui de Joseph et Daniel argumentaris, scito non semper comparanda esse vetera et nova, rudia et polita, coepta et explicita, servilia et liberalia); cf. 19 (i. 101) (quoted below, p. 407 n 2) and Neumann *SK* 125f.

[2] Hipp. *Dan.* II. ix. 2–4, x., III. ii. 5, xix. 1f, 7 (Daniel τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προστάγματα μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ ἀκριβείας διέπων ἦν, κτλ.), xxii. 1 (ἐδόκει ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς πράγμασιν ἀποσχολεῖσθαι).

[3] Hipp. *Dan.* III. vi. 2–6, 7 (φεῦγε οὖν τὰ τοιαῦτα πρόσωπα, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, μήποτε κινδυνεύσῃς δι' αὐτούς).

[4] Cl. *Paed.* III. xi. 78: ἐξὸν δὲ ἀκροᾶσθαι μὲν σοφίας θεϊκῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι ἐξόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ κοσμίως κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγαγεῖν οὐ κεκώλυται. Cf. Neumann *SK* 116.

[5] Cl. *Strom.* v. xiv. 98 (see above, p. 359 n 3).

[6] Cl. *Paed.* III. xii. 91. Cf. Exod xxiii. 8; Deut i. 17, xvi. 19; Isa i. 17.

too much into a simple quotation from Scripture. Clemens had evidently not thought of the position of the Christian magistrate as in any way involving an ethical problem. He does not attempt to reconcile his apparent recognition of the possibility of Christian judges with his apparent discouragement of all litigation for Christians.[1]

THE HOPE OF A CHRISTIAN EMPIRE.—Two elements combined to foster the hope that, in course of time, the imperial rulers themselves would accept Christianity, and thereupon the whole imperial government become Christian. The first was the fading of the hope of an immediate or early coming of Christ. The second was the assumption that Christianity was bound to overflow all limits put to its expansion. Novatianus speaks about the providence of God having its course, not only among individuals, but also among cities and states previously threatened with destruction.[2] Prophecies of Christ's universal empire and the submission of kings to him were still remembered and quoted.[3] Origenes says that Jesus paid taxes because he wished to save the kings, and was unwilling to cause them to stumble.[4] That the quotation of Scripture passages foreshadowing the submission of kings to Christ did not necessarily imply a consistent anticipation of the Roman Emperor's conversion is evident from the fact that Tertullianus, who makes such a quotation, says elsewhere that Cæsars cannot be Christians, and that he expected to see them after a time in the fires of hell.[5] Within, however, a very few years of the time when Tertullianus made the former declaration, *a Christian king, Abgar IX, sat upon the throne of Edessa.*[6] That

[1] Cl. *Strom.* VII. xiv. 84f (see above, p. 365 nn 2f). [2] Novat. *Trin.* 8.

[3] Tert. *Marc.* v. 9 (ii. 301) (Adorabunt illum omnes reges, Ps lxxii. 11); Orig. *Orat.* xv. 3 (ἡ ἐκκλησία Ἱερουσαλὴμ παρὰ τοῦ προφήτου ὀνομαζομένη προσκυνεῖσθαι ὑπὸ βασιλέων καὶ ἀρχουσῶν, γινομένων τιθηνῶν αὐτῆς καὶ τροφῶν, λεγεται, κτλ., Isa xlix. 23), *Cels.* i. 54 (συνέξουσι βασιλεῖς τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν, Isa lii. 15).

[4] Orig. *Comm. in Mt.* t. xiii. 11 (iii. 232): though οἱ τῆς γῆς βασιλεῖς and their sons, who receive taxes, are not of a praiseworthy nature, ὅμως πεφρόντικε τοῦ μὴ σκανδαλισθῆναι αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὅμως κωλύει σκάνδαλόν τι αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι, ἵν' ἤτοι μὴ χεῖρον ἁμαρτάνοιεν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ, εἰ βούλονται, σωθῆναι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀποδέξασθαι τὸν φεισάμενον αὐτῶν ἵνα μὴ σκανδαλισθῶσιν.

[5] Tert. *Apol.* 21 (i. 204), *Spect.* 30 (i. 61f) (quoted above, pp. 362 n 3, 345 n 3). Cf. Guignebert 36–44.

[6] He reigned about 179–216 A.D. His conversion seems to have taken place shortly after 202 A.D. His coins bear a cruciform design, to which some have attributed a religious significance. Cf. *DCA* ii. 1272a note; *DCB* i. 7a; Neumann *SK* 155f ("... Wir sehen jetzt den neuen Glauben zum ersten Mal auf einem Throne") ; Gwatkin *ECH* i. 172. The adoption of Christianity as the official religion of Osrhoene probably suggested the composition of the legendary correspondence between Jesus and the contemporary ruler Abgar V. and the story of Thaddæus' mission to Edessa (Eus. *HE* i. xii. 5, xiii., ii. i. 6f; *DCB* i. 6, iv. 881a; Harnack *C* ii. 162 [puts these apocryphal writings in the second half of the third century]).

no problem as to any conflict between his new faith and the infliction of legal penalties suggested itself to the royal convert's mind, seems clear from the fact that, as a result of his acceptance of Christianity, he promulgated a law forbidding any of his subjects to castrate themselves in honour of the goddess Tharatha, on pain of having his hands cut off, and that he thus put a stop to the practice.[1]

*The Pseudo-Melitonian Apologist* makes an effort to meet the objections which a Roman Emperor or other ruler might well feel to lie in the way of his becoming a Christian. He says: "Perhaps one who is a king may say, 'I cannot conduct myself as I should like; because I am a king, it becomes me to do the will of the many.' He who speaks thus deserves truly to be laughed at. For why should not the king lead the way to every good thing, and impel the people subject to him towards pure living and a true knowledge of God, and present in his own person a pattern of all good works. For so it becomes him to do: for it is disgraceful that a king who leads a bad life should judge and condemn those who do evil. But I believe that a kingdom can be governed in peace, only when the king knows the God of truth, and fears on His account to treat the men subject to him unjustly, and judges all things justly, as a man who knows that he himself will be judged before God; when those also who are subject to him are afraid because of God to act unjustly against their king and afraid to act unjustly against one another. And by this knowledge of God and fear of Him every evil can be removed from the kingdom. For if the king does not act unjustly towards those who are subject to him, and if they do not act unjustly towards him and towards one another, it is obvious that the whole country will live in peace. And many good things are discovered there, because among them all the name of God is recognized. For what good is greater than (this)—that a king should free the people subject to himself from error, and by this good deed please God. For all these evils are born of error: and the source

[1] Bardesanic *Book of Laws*, etc., in *ANCL* xxiib. 109=Eus. *PE* 279d. In the Bardesanic *Acts of Thomas* (25), Thomas prays Jesus to accept the Indian king Gundaphorus and his brother: *καὶ νῦν αἰτουμένου μου καὶ ἱκετεύοντός σε δέξαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν τούτου ἀδελφόν, καὶ κατάμειξον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν σὴν ποίμνην, καθαρίσας αὐτοὺς τῷ σῷ λουτρῷ, κτλ.*

If it were not almost certain that the address *εἰς τὰ ἅγια θεοφάνεια* is not by Hippolytus, but is of post-Constantinian date, a passage in it would be of considerable interest for our present period. Jesus is represented as saying to the Baptist: *ὑπὸ σοῦ τοῦ δούλου βαπτίζομαι, ἵνα μηδεὶς βασιλέων ἢ ὑπερεχόντων διαπτύσῃ ὑπὸ πενιχροῦ ἱερέως βαπτισθῆναι* (5). Cf. Krüger 330; Harnack *C* ii. 217f; Bardenhewer 218.

of error is this, that a man should not know God, and should worship in God's place something that is not God." [1] The concluding paragraph of the Apology runs thus: "When thou, Antoninus Cæsar, and thy sons also with thee, hast learned these things, thou shalt bequeath to them an eternal inheritance which perishes not, and thou shalt free thy soul and the soul of thy sons from that which is about to come upon the whole earth in the judgment of truth (and) righteousness. According as thou hast acknowledged Him here, He will acknowledge thee there; and if thou deemest Him superfluous here, He will not reckon thee among those who have known and confessed Him." [2] It will be observed that this writer assumes that the adoption of an enlightened monotheism by the head of the State would lead at once to universal peace and righteousness. He dismisses the idea that the adoption of such a faith by a ruler, while the mass of his subjects had up to that time been polytheists, would occasion any special difficulty, thereby ignoring the fact that sound conversions take place individually and not en masse, and that the further removed a ruler is from the average moral and religious level of his people, the smaller his influence over them will be. His supposition of an immediate and universal acceptance of the Christian standard of life carries him at a bound over the difficulty of harmonizing the practical Christian explication of the knowledge of the one God and the duties of a political ruler as usually understood.

The supposition that calamity would inevitably result from the universal spread of the Christian religion, with its aversion to judicial penalties and to war, had constituted one of the strongest points in Celsus' attack; and *Origenes* set himself to meet it in the closing chapters of his reply. I quote only the salient passages. First, in replying to the objection that, if all did the same as the Christians, the Emperor would be deserted, and the Empire would fall a prey to the barbarians, he says: "On this supposition" (viz. that all did the same as himself), "the Emperor will not be 'left alone' or 'deserted,' nor will 'the world's affairs fall into the hands of the most lawless and savage barbarians.' For if, as Celsus says, 'all were to do the same as' I do, clearly the barbarians also, coming to the Word of God, will be most law-abiding and mild; and every 'religious worship will be abolished,' but that alone of the Christians will hold sway; and, indeed, one day it

[1] Ps-Mel. 10 (121). I have translated literally from Otto's Latin version of the Syriac.

[2] Ps-Mel. 13 (124).

shall alone hold sway, the Word ever taking possession of more (and more) souls." [1] Then in the next chapter: "Since he puts the question, 'What would happen if the Romans, persuaded by the argument of the Christians, should neglect (the services owed to) the recognized gods and the laws formerly in force among men, and should worship the Most High?' hear our answer on this. We say that if two of us agree upon earth concerning anything that they shall ask, they shall receive it from the heavenly Father of the righteous. . . . What must we believe if not only as now very few agree, but the whole empire (governed) by the Romans? For they will pray to the Word, who said formerly to the Hebrews when they were pursued by the Egyptians, 'The Lord will fight for you, and ye shall be silent'; and, praying with all concord, they will be able to overthrow far more enemies who pursue (them) than those whom the prayer of Moses when he cried to God and of those with him overthrew.[2] . . . But if, according to Celsus' supposition, all the Romans were to be persuaded, they will by praying overcome their enemies; or (rather) they will not make war at all, being guarded by the Divine power, which promised to save five whole cities for the sake of fifty righteous. For the men of God are the salt that preserves the earthly order of the world, and earthly things hold together as long as the salt is not corrupted." [3] A little later, he quotes Celsus again: "After this, he utters a sort of prayer, 'Would that it were possible for the Hellenes and barbarians that occupy Asia and Europe and Libya unto the ends (of the earth) to agree (to come) under one law'; (but) judging this to be impossible, he adds, 'He who thinks this (possible), knows nothing.' If it is necessary to speak of this, a few words shall be said on the subject, though it needs much investigation and discussion in order that what was said about the whole rational (creation) agreeing (to come) under one law might appear to be not only possible, but certain (ἀληθές)." He then has a long passage about the Christian anticipation of the complete destruction of evil, and concludes: "This I thought it reasonable to say, without exact explanation (of details), in answer to Celsus' remark, that he thought it impossible for the Hellenes and barbarians inhabiting Asia and Europe and

[1] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 68.

[2] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 69. He goes on to explain that God had not always fought for the Hebrews, because they did not always fulfil the conditions of receiving such help by observing His law.

[3] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 70. On the strength of this thought of the protective providence of God, he adds that the Christians look forward calmly to the possible recrudescence of persecution.

Libya to agree. And perhaps such (an agreement) is really impossible to those still in bodies, but not impossible to those who have been released from them." [1] Beside this last sentence we may place Origenes' repudiation, in the preceding chapter, of a curious utterance attributed by Celsus to the Christians, in which the conversion of a number of successive Roman Emperors was contemplated.[2]

The political views expressed by Origenes in these chapters have been criticized as extravagant [3]—in my opinion, unjustly. To foresee accurately the future history of Christianity is under no conditions and at no period an easy task, even when one is emancipated—as Origenes happily was—from the crude obsessions of orthodox eschatology. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that he should hesitate to affirm positively that all the inhabitants of the world would be able, while still in the body, to come together under one law, though he does not rule out this contingency as impossible, just as, in repudiating the daring utterance attributed by Celsus to a Christian, he does not rule out absolutely the possibility of an Emperor's conversion.[4] His task was to show that a religion, which sets its adherents to work, as Christianity does, in the varied external and internal activities of the Church, which endows them with moral purity and energy and spiritual power, and which forbids them to participate in the penal bloodshed which pagan society feels to be necessary for its own preservation and well-being—that such a religion can be allowed to spread indefinitely among mankind, without any fear of a disastrous breakdown of civilization being occasioned by its expansion. That task he performs with admirable commonsense and insight. He thinks of the expansion of this pacific Christianity as gradual,[5] as consisting of the accretion of one individual after another (" the Word ever taking possession of more and more souls "), as going on, not only among the civilized inhabitants of the Empire, but also among the uncivilized barbarians

[1] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 72.

[2] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 71. For the Greek of Celsus' challenge, see above, p. 268 n 4. In repudiating the charge, Origenes says: *οὐ γὰρ λέγει τις ἡμῶν περὶ τῶν νῦν βασιλευόντων ὅτι, ἐὰν πεισθέντες ἀλῶσι, τοὺς μετ' αὐτοὺς πάλιν πείσομεν, κἀκείνων ἀλόντων πάλιν τοὺς ἐξῆς πείσομεν.*

[3] Harnack *ME* i. 263 (" how extravagant are his ideas! "). Yet Harnack recognizes Origenes as " a great and sensible statesman " (264). The similar criticisms of Dr. Moffatt (*DAC* ii. 666f) are dealt with in the next chapter: see below, pp. 437f n 2.

[4] Harnack *KS* 152f (Origenes assumes that the Empire is on the way to Christianity).

[5] It is a mistake to ascribe to Origenes a suggestion of immediate and universal disarmament, as is done by Dr. Moffatt (*DAC* ii. 666b).

beyond its borders,[1] not only among the virtuous, but also among the sinful and criminal, and therefore as removing steadily the wrong-doing which evokes wars and calls for penalties, while supplying steadily pari passu a more effectual cure for that wrong-doing in the shape of the mighty spiritual influence of Christianity. He rightly objects to an hypothesis which first professes to posit the conversion of *all* (in itself a legitimate supposition), and then assumes the conversion of the Empire only, to the exclusion (in a purely arbitrary way) of the barbarians beyond its pale. Celsus cannot have it both ways. Either he must argue on the assumption of barbarians being converted as well as Romans, or he must forgo his objections on the score of *all* doing as the Christians do. The extraordinary supposition of a united and converted empire holding its barbarian foes at bay by the power of prayer is no part of Origenes' own programme;[2] it is thrust upon him by the clumsy logic of his opponent; and, extravagant as the notion is, he shows himself fully able to meet it by a grand profession of the Christian's confidence in God—a confidence not so foolish in reality as it sounds to worldly ears, as the history of many a mission-field would be able to prove. And surely, if the Cross of Jesus and the deaths of the martyrs be worthy of the central place all Christians have given them, they mean that, even when the individual reconciler fails for the moment and in the particular case, his non-resistant yet aggressive love is thereby winning an even greater ultimate triumph for God.[3]

THE SO-CALLED CHRISTIAN EMPERORS.—It was, perhaps, hardly later than the close of our present period that the Emperors Alexander Severus (222–235 A.D.) and Philippus the Arabian (244–249 A.D.) came to be thought and spoken of in Christian

[1] So also Tert. *Nat.* i. 8 (i. 322), *Jud.* 7, *Cor.* 12 (i. 449) (et apud barbaros enim Christus); Hipp. *frag.* (see above, p. 340 n 5); Orig. *Cels.* i. 53, viii. 4.

[2] Dr. Moffatt's censures on this ground (*DAC* ii. 666b: "He propounds a holy experiment," etc.) are therefore beside the mark.

[3] Cf. Weinel *SUS* 33: "Man ist eben einfach fertig mit dem Staat. Nicht bloss aus Verzweiflung über seine Unzulänglichkeit, die Güter der Menschen zu schaffen, sondern weil man diese Güter nicht mehr für letzte Werte ansehen kann—sie befriedigen nicht auf die Dauer —, und weil die Mittel, die der Staat zu ihrem Schutze hat, der Krieg, das Recht und der Zwang, in weiter Ferne hinter dem neuen Ideal zurückliegen. Für das ganze alte Christentum gilt, dass, wenn auch manchmal, wie gezeigt, unterchristliche Töne eines Durstes nach Rache und irdischem Gut erklingen, ein neues Ideal den Seelen aufgegangen ist. Nicht Askese, nicht blinde Himmelschwärmerei, nicht buddhistischer Ekel an allen natürlichen Werten ist es, was hier spricht, auch nicht Jenseitstrunkenheit der Enterbten, sondern ein neues Menschentum, das die alten Werte überwunden hat. Wo solches auftritt, ist es meist aus der sittlichen Verachtung der alten Werte und Institutionen geboren."

circles as adherents of the faith.[1] The impression was particularly strong in the case of the latter. Eusebius tells us that "the story goes, that he, being a Christian, wished to take part with the multitude in the prayers of the Church on the day of the last vigil of Passover, but that he was not allowed by the bishop there to enter before he had confessed (his sins) and had numbered himself with those who were reckoned as transgressors and had a place for repentance. For otherwise, had he not done so, he would never have been received by him, on account of his many misdeeds. And he is said to have obeyed eagerly, showing by his acts a genuine and pious disposition as to the Divine fear."[2] Further details are contributed by later writers:[3] but whatever may be the truth that lies at the basis of the story, and whatever favour Philippus may have shown the Church, it seems clear in view of all the evidence that he was not a professed Christian himself.[4] Nevertheless, the early efforts that were made to claim him as such cast an interesting light on the political views and hopes of contemporary Christendom.

## CHAPTER VII

### WAR

THE PEACEFULNESS OF CHRISTIANITY.—The Isaianic prophecy of the substitution of agriculture for war is often spoken of as being fulfilled in Christianity.[5] Clemens says moreover of the Christians:

[1] Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VII. x. 3 (see below, p. 556 n 6). These words were written shortly before Easter 262 A.D. The Emperors referred to can be only those named above (Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 151 n; Feltoe 72). It will be observed that Dionysius speaks of their having been called Christians before that time (λεχθέντες).

[2] Eus. *HE* VI. xxxiv.

[3] *DCB* iv. 355a.

[4] *DCA* ii. 1272b; *DCB* iv. 355b; Neumann *SK* 246–250; Workman 242; Bigelmair 54–56 (thinks Philippus may have been secretly a Christian, but for reasons of State would not avow it by baptism); Harnack *ME* ii. 50; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 151f.

[5] Iren. IV. xxxiv. 4 (ii. 272) (Si autem libertatis lex, id est, verbum Dei . . . in tantum transmutationem fecit, ut gladios et lanceas bellatorias in aratra fabricaverint ipsae [sc. gentes], et in falces quae donavit ad metendum frumentum in organa pacifica demutaverint, et jam nesciunt pugnare [Isa ii. 4], sed percussi et alteram praebent maxillam, non de aliquo alio prophetae dixerunt haec, sed de eo qui fecit ea), *Demonstr.* 61 (124f) (Isa xi. 6–9 applied to the change produced by conversion in those who, like wild beasts, were in the habit of "ravaging the weaker and warring on their equals"); Tert. *Jud.* 3

"We are being educated, not in war, but in peace"; "We, the peaceful race," are more temperate than the "warlike races"; among musical instruments, "man is in reality a pacific instrument," the others excite military and amorous passions; "but we have made use of only one instrument, the peaceful word, wherewith we honour God."[1] Tertullianus speaks of the inoffensiveness of the Christian meetings.[2] The devil, says Hippolytus, "knows that the prayer of the saints produces peace for the world."[3] The Pseudo-Melitonian Apologist prescribed the knowledge and fear of the one God as the only means by which a kingdom could be peaceably governed.[4] The Bardesanic 'Book of the Laws of the Countries' foretold the coming of universal peace as a result of the dissemination of new teaching and by a gift from God.[5] In the Pseudo-Justinian 'Address to the Hellenes,' the Word is invoked as "O trumpet of peace to the soul that is at war!"[6] Origenes says: "We have become sons of peace through Jesus, who is our Leader."[7]

THE CONDEMNATION OF WAR.—War is condemned by Clemens as contrary to the Christian spirit, but only in a very general way. The features which he singles out for special censure are its call

(ii. 707) (Isa ii. 4 quoted. Qui igitur intelliguntur alii quam nos, qui, nova lege edocti, ista observamus, obliterata vetere lege . . . ? . . . nova autem lex clementiam designabat, et pristinam ferocitatem gladiorum et lancearum ad tranquillitatem convertebat, et belli pristinam in aemulos legis et hostes exsecutionem, in pacificos actus arandae et colendae terrae reformabat . . . ita et novae legis et spiritalis circumcisionis observantia in pacis obsequia eluxit), *Marc.* iii. 21 (ii. 151f) ('Et concident machaeras suas in aratra, et sibynas in falces,' id est, animorum nocentium et linguarum infestarum, et omnes malitiae atque blasphemiae ingenia convertent in studia modestiae et pacis. 'Et non accipiet gens super gentem machaeram,' utique discordiae; 'et non discent amplius bellare,' id est, inimicitias perficere; ut et hic discas Christum non belli potentem sed paciferum repromissum), iv. 1 (ii. 160) (atque exinde concidunt machaeras suas in aratra et sibynas, quod genus venabulorum est, in falces, id est feros et saevos quondam animos convertunt in sensus probos et bonae frugis operarios); Orig. *Cels.* v. 33 (see below, pp. 424f n 6).

[1] Cl. *Paed.* i. xii. 98 fin., II. ii. 32 ("Μέθη δὲ μάλιστα οἱ Σκύθαι χρῶνται Κελτοί τε καὶ Ἴβηρες καὶ Θρᾷκες, πολεμικὰ ξύμπαντα ὄντα ταῦτα γένη, . . ." ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸ εἰρηνικὸν γένος, κτλ.), iv. 42. Cf. De Jong 8f.

[2] Tert. *Apol.* 39 (i. 266): In cujus perniciem aliquando convenimus? Hoc sumus congregati, quod et dispersi; hoc universi, quod et singuli; neminem laedentes; neminem contristantes. Cf. also for his views on the subject the passages quoted in the last note but one.

[3] Hipp. *Dan.* III. xxiv. 7. [4] Ps-Mel. 10 (121) (see above, pp. 397f).

[5] Bardesanic *Book*, etc., in *ANCL* xxiib. 111; *DCB* i. 258a.

[6] Ps-Just. *Orat.* 5.

[7] Orig. *Cels.* v. 33 (see below, pp. 424f n 6). On Christian peace in the sense of immunity from persecution, cf. Orig. *Cels.* iii. 15, viii. 70; Eus. *HE* v. xvi. 19. On Christian appreciation of the Pax Romana, see above, pp. 386f. Cf. also *Act. Thom.* 86 (eulogy of gentleness, quoting Mt xxvi. 52f: "Put up thy sword," etc.).

for multifarious preparation [1] and its reliance upon the artificial stimulus of music ! [2] Pseudo-Justinus appeals to the Hellenes : " Be instructed by the Divine Word, and learn about the incorruptible King, and recognize His heroes, who never inflict slaughter on peoples." [3] Tertullianus says that, when Peter cut off Malchus' ear, Jesus " cursed the works of the sword for ever after." [4] He criticizes the gentiles' greed of gold in hiring themselves out for military service.[5] He comes closer to the real ground of the Christian antipathy to war when, after quoting the words of Psalm xlv. 3f—' Gird (the) sword upon (thy) thigh . . . extend and prosper and reign, on account of truth and gentleness and justice ' —as applying to Christ, he goes on : " Who shall produce these (results) with the sword, and not rather those which are contrary to gentleness and justice, (namely) deceit and harshness and injustice, (which are) of course the proper business of battles ? " [6] " Is the laurel of triumph," he asks elsewhere, " made up of leaves, or of corpses ? Is it decorated with ribbons, or tombs ? Is it besmeared with ointments, or with the tears of wives and mothers —perhaps of some even who are Christians—for Christ is among the barbarians as well ? " [7] Hippolytus' view of war comes out in his explanation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream. " The wild beasts, which lived under it " (i.e. the tree), " signify the warriors and armies, which adhered to the king, carrying out what was commanded (them), being ready like wild beasts for making war and destroying, and for rending men like wild beasts." [8] One of the features of the Roman Empire, when viewed as the fourth

[1] Cl. *Paed.* I. xii. 99 : πολέμῳ μὲν οὖν πολλῆς δεῖ τῆς παρασκευῆς . . . εἰρήνη δὲ καὶ ἀγάπη, ἀφελεῖς καὶ ἀπράγμονες ἀδελφαί, οὐχ ὅπλων δέονται, οὐ παρασκευῆς ἀσώτου.

[2] Cl. *Paed.* II. iv. 42 (οὐκέτι [χρώμεθα] τῷ ψαλτερίῳ τῷ παλαιῷ καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι καὶ τυμπάνῳ καὶ αὐλῷ, οἷς ἔθος ἦν τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ ἀσκητὰς καὶ τοῦ θείου καταπεφρονηκότας φόβου ἀνὰ τὰς πανηγύρεις συγχρῆσθαι, ὡς δὴ τὸ ἔκλυτον αὐτῶν τοῦ φρονήματος διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπανίστασθαι ῥυθμῶν) : cf. *Quis Dives* 34 (comparison of the Christian poor to a στρατὸν ἄοπλον, ἀπόλεμον, ἀναίμακτον, ἀόργητον, ἀμίαντον).

[3] Ps-Just. *Orat.* 5 init.

[4] Tert. *Pat.* 3 (i. 592). Peter's sword is mentioned also in *Idol.* 19 (i. 102) (see below, p. 425 n 2), *Cor.* 1 (i. 416f) (of a soldier resigning his calling : ' gladium nec dominicae defensioni necessarium reddidit '), and *Fug.* 8 (i. 475) (Jesus' attitude in Gethsemane, 'increpito etiam Petri gladio,' as indicating his disapproval of flight in persecution).

[5] Tert. *Pat.* 7 (i. 601) : cum pecuniae causa etiam in foro nihil damnationi timendum aggredi dubitant, cum denique ludo et castris sese locant, cum per viam in mores bestiarum latrocinantur.

[6] Tert. *Marc.* iii. 14 (ii. 140). The same words, with minor differences, occur in Tert. *Jud.* 9 (ii. 723f).

[7] Tert. *Cor.* 12 (i. 448f). Cf. also the view of the military calling in *Pudic.* 10 (i. 813) : Bene quod et Johannes . . . non minus militantibus et publicanis, quam filiis Abraham, paenitentiae erat praeco.

[8] Hipp. *Dan.* III. viii. 9.

Beast and as a Satanic imitation of the Christian Church, was its preparation for war and its collection of the noblest men from all nations as its warriors.[1] The Bardesanic 'Book of the Laws of the Countries' says that the Seres have laws forbidding to kill, and that the planet Mars cannot overpower their freedom "and compel a man to shed the blood of his fellow with an iron weapon."[2] Origenes, we are told, spoke depreciatively of the military and juridical professions as being prized by ignorant and blind seekers for wealth and glory.[3] Cyprianus declaims about the "wars scattered everywhere with the bloody horror of camps. The world," he says, "is wet with mutual blood(shed): and homicide is a crime, when individuals commit it, (but) it is called a virtue, when it is carried on publicly. Not the method of innocence, but the magnitude of savagery, procures impunity for crimes." He censures the vanity and deceitful pomp of the military office.[4]

Christians' Contact with Soldiers.—There can be no doubt that the soldiers themselves were responsible for a good deal of the suffering inflicted on the Christians. Clemens and Origenes group them with kings, rulers, etc., as one of the parties regularly implicated in persecution.[5] Tertullianus numbers them as strangers and therefore enemies of the truth, the motive of the

[1] Hipp. *Dan.* iv. viii. 7 (*νυνὶ δὲ τὸ νῦν κρατοῦν θηρίον οὐκ ἔστιν ἓν ἔθνος, ἀλλ' ἐκ πασῶν τῶν γλωσσῶν καὶ ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων συνάγει ἑαυτῷ καὶ παρασκευάζει δύναμιν εἰς παράταξιν πολέμου, οἱ πάντες μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι καλούμενοι, μὴ ὄντες δὲ πάντες ἐκ μιᾶς χώρας*), ix. 2 (*τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ ἀντιμιμήσατο ἡ βασιλεία ἡ νῦν ἥτις κρατεῖ "κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ," ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ αὕτη ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν συλλέγουσα τοὺς γενναιοτάτους καταρτίζει εἰς πόλεμον, Ῥωμαίους τούτους ἀποκαλοῦσα*), 3 (see above, p. 344 n 4).

[2] *ANCL* xxiib. 101; cf. 108 ("And how many kings are there who, when they have got possession of countries which did not belong to them, have abolished their established laws?" etc.).

[3] Greg. Thaum. *Paneg.* vi. 76, 77 (*αὐτά τε* [i.e. wealth, honour, glory, and bodily comfort] *περὶ πολλοῦ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς τιθέμενοι, καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν, ὅσαι ταῦτα ἐκπορίζεσθαι δύνανται, καὶ τῶν βίων, ὅσοι ταῦτα παρέξονται, στρατιὰς καὶ τὴν δικανικὴν καὶ ἐκμάθησιν τὴν τῶν νόμων· ταῦθ' ἅπερ ἡμᾶς ἀνέσειε μάλιστα λέγων καὶ μάλα τεχνικῶς, τοῦ κυριωτάτου, φησὶ, τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, λόγου ἀμελήσαντας*). On the low idea entertained of the soldier's calling in the third century, and particularly by the philosopher and the Christian, cf. Harnack *MC* 69f.

[4] Cypr. *Donat.* 6, 10 (dispersas orbe toto multiplices pugnas), 11 (quos honores putas esse, quos fasces, quam afluentiam in diuitiis, quam potentiam in castris, in magistratus purpura speciem, in principatus licentia potestatem: malorum blandientium uirus occultum est, et adridentis nequitiae facies quidem laeta, sed calamitatis abstrusae inlecebrosa fallacia. etc.).

[5] Cl. *Strom.* vi. xviii. 167 (*τὴν δὲ ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν ἔκτοτε σὺν καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ καταγγελίᾳ κωλύουσιν ὁμοῦ βασιλεῖς καὶ τύραννοι καὶ οἱ κατὰ μέρος ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡγεμόνες μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων ἁπάντων, κτλ.*); Orig. *Cels.* i. 3 (*ἐπὶ δὲ Χριστιανοῖς ἡ Ῥωμαίων σύγκλητος βουλὴ καὶ οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν βασιλεῖς καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ καὶ οἱ δήμοι καὶ οἱ τῶν πιστευόντων συγγενεῖς προσπολεμήσαντες τῷ λόγῳ ἐκώλυσαν ἂν αὐτὸν νικηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιβουλῆς, εἰ μὴ θείᾳ δυνάμει ὑπερέκυψε καὶ ὑπερανέβη, κτλ.*).

Jews being jealousy, that of the soldiers desire for gain.[1] Christians seem to have been exposed to as much danger from the interference of the military as from the hatred of the mob.[2] This is easily intelligible when we recollect that Christians were legally liable to be sought out and punished as a matter of police administration. Nor was the soldiers' conduct to condemned Christians generally such as to conciliate Christian respect. We do indeed come across a few cases of soldiers treating their prisoners kindly and even being touched by their sufferings to the point of conversion;[3] but normally they seem to have performed their grim duties of torture and execution without pity or reluctance.[4] It was not unusual for imperilled or imprisoned Christians or their friends to secure better treatment or even release or immunity by secretly bribing a soldier or some other influential party, justifying their action by saying that they were rendering to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's. Tertullianus disapproved of the practice.[5]

But there was also a brighter side to the picture. We sometimes see Christians under the special protection of soldiers. The martyr Potamiæna was protected by the still heathen soldier Basileides from the violence of the mob.[6] Origenes performed his visit to Julia Mammæa at Antioch—and doubtless also that to the governor of Arabia—under a military escort.[7] Gregorius, with his brother and sister, was conducted from his home at Neo-Cæsarea in Pontus to Palestine by the soldier who had been sent to bring the last-named to her husband and to invite her brother to travel with her.[8]

The Wars of Hebrew History.—Up and down the writings of this period, as of previous periods, we find numerous allusions to the ancient Hebrew wars, usually with no indication that the writer was conscious of any incompatibility between the usages recorded and commended in Scripture and those approved and

[1] Tert. *Apol.* 7 (i. 137): Tot hostes ejus quot extranei, et quidem proprii ex aemulatione Judaei, ex concussione milites, ex natura ipsi etiam domestici nostri.

[2] Tert. *Fug.* 14 (i. 491): Neque enim statim et a populo eris tutus, si officia militaria redemeris.

[3] I have collected above the references to what little evidence I can find on this matter; see p. 303 n 1.

[4] Cf. e.g. *Act. Thom.* 168.

[5] Tert. *Fug.* 12–14.

[6] Eus. *HE* vi. v. 3.

[7] Eus. *HE* vi. xxi. 4: μετὰ στρατιωτικῆς δορυφορίας αὐτὸν ἀνακαλεῖται (sc. Mammaea). As the governor of Arabia sent a soldier with his letter of invitation, we are fairly safe in assuming that the same soldier conducted Origenes on the journey (Eus. *HE* vi. xix. 15).

[8] Greg. Thaum. *Paneg.* v. 67–71.

practised by the Christians of his own day.[1] While with many Christians such allusions might have no bearing on their personal conduct, yet the task of somehow relating the ethics of the Old Testament to those of Christianity was one that could not be permanently ignored. Marcion had done good service to Christian thought by drawing attention to the discrepancy. It was high time that the point should be cleared up; for the Old Testament precedents were already being quoted in support of the theory that Christians might bear arms.[2] One way out of the difficulty was to regard the Old Testament wars as parables and types descriptive of the spiritual life. Many Christians regarded such difficult narratives as types, though they were not quite clear as to what they were types of.[3] It needs a special insight, Origenes contends, to enable one to interpret these passages aright: "by the history of wars, of conquerors and conquered, certain mysteries are made clear to those that are able to test them."[4] What large use Origenes himself made of this method of interpretation we shall see in the next section. In the meantime, we may note that, great as was his confidence in it, his historical sense prevented him from applying it completely; and, not having the one clue to the problem, viz. the recognition of a progressive revelation or discovery of God's Will as normative for man, he has eventually to leave the discrepancy between the two Dispensations unresolved. Thus when Celsus pointed out the contradiction between Old Testament promises of wealth and dominion and precepts for the conduct of war, on the one hand, and the teaching of Jesus on the other,

[1] Iren. III. xvi. 4, xvii. 3, IV. xxiv. 1, *frs.* 18f (Joshua a type of Christ), 44 (Balaam deservedly slain) (ii. 86, 93, 232, 488f, 509), *Demonstr.* 27 (94–96) (Joshua a type of Christ), 29 (97) ("when he" [Joshua] "had overthrown and destroyed the seven races that dwelt therein, he assigned to the people the temporal Jerusalem," etc.); Cl. *Strom.* I. xxiv. 158–164 (commendation of Moses as a general, see below, p. 413 n 2), II. xviii. 82, 88 (commendation of Mosaic regulations exempting certain classes of men from military service, and forbidding hostilities against the enemy until an attempt has been made to secure peace); Tert. *Jud.* 4 (ii. 708f) (fall of Jericho: Maccabees fight on Sabbath), *Marc.* iii. 16 (ii. 143f) (Joshua a type of Christ; cf. *Jud.* 9 (ii. 724f)), 18 (ii. 147) (ditto: Moses makes the sign of the cross at the battle against Amalek; cf. *Jud.* 10 (ii. 728f)), iv. 36 (ii. 258) (criticism of Marcion's antithesis between David smiting the blind and Jesus curing them), *Monog.* 6 fin. (Joshua a type of Christ), *Jejun.* 7, 10 (i. 860f, 866f); Hipp. *Dan.* I. viii. 3, III. xxiv. 8, IV. xliv. (Maccabees fighting on the Sabbath); Minuc. xxxiii. 3 (the Jews, 'modici multos, inermi armatos, dum fugiunt insequentes, Dei iussu et elementis adnitentibus obruerunt'); Cypr. *Test.* ii. 21 (Moses making the sign of the cross).

[2] Tert. *Idol.* 19 (i. 101): Et virgam portavit Moyses, fibulam et Aaron; cingitur loro et Joannes; agmen agit et Jesus Nave; bellavit et populus—si placet ludere!

[3] Orig. *Princ.* IV. i. 9.

[4] Orig. *Princ.* IV. i. 14.

Origenes argues that the former are to be taken in a spiritual sense, as the Jews themselves eventually took them, the literal sense being, he urges, in many cases obviously impossible.[1] But it was clear that the Law had a literal as well as a spiritual meaning,[2] that the Jews had understood literally and not spiritually the law permitting them to punish offenders and to fight against their enemies, and that, had they not done so, they would probably have perished as a nation. Origenes seems to recognize this last point, for he says: "If thou hadst taken away from the Jews of that time, who had their own arrangements of government and territory, the (right) to go out against their enemies and fight for their country, and destroy or in some way punish the adulterers or murderers or the doers of similar things, nothing would be left but that they should be utterly and wholly destroyed, enemies attacking the nation as being enfeebled and prevented by their own law from warding off their enemies";[3] and elsewhere he says of them: "They were allowed to take up arms in defence of their families and to destroy (their) enemies."[4] Yet he does not maintain this point consistently; for he argues elsewhere that the promise that the Jews should slay their enemies cannot be taken literally,[5] and he points out that the destruction of Jerusalem proved that God did not wish the Jewish State to stand any longer.[6]

THE DIVINE WARFARE.—*Christ's achievements* are often referred to under the figure of military exploits.[7] Allusions are also

[1] Orig. *Cels.* vii. 18: the promises of the Law were never literally fulfilled; the Jews therefore would not have been so zealous for the Law, had they understood it as Celsus does, i.e. literally. He discusses the whole subject, and offers several spiritual interpretations, in vii. 18–26.

[2] Orig. *Cels.* vii. 20: *φαμὲν τοίνυν ὅτι ὁ νόμος διττός ἐστιν, ὁ μέν τις πρὸς ῥητὸν ὁ δὲ πρὸς διάνοιαν, ὡς καὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν τινες ἐδίδαξαν.*

[3] Orig. *Cels.* vii. 26: for the Greek, see above, p. 385 n 2.

[4] Orig. *Cels.* iii. 7.

[5] Orig. *Cels.* vii. 19 (*ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ εἰρῆσθαι Ἰουδαίοις καταφονεύειν τοὺς πολεμίους λεκτέον ὅτι, εἴ τις ἀναλέγοιτο καὶ προσέχοι ἐπιμελῶς ταῖς λέξεσιν, εὕροι ἂν ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὴν ὡς πρὸς τὸ ῥητὸν ἔκδοχήν*), 21 (*ἀνάλογον δὲ τοῖς ἀποδεδομένοις περὶ τοῦ πλούτου* [i.e. that it is to be understood in a spiritual sense] *λεκτέον καὶ περὶ τῆς δυναστείας, καθ' ἣν εἶς δίκαιος διώξεσθαι λέγεται χιλίους καὶ δύο μετακινεῖν μυριάδας*), 22 (*ἠβηδὸν οὖν τὰ τῆς κακίας καὶ παγγενεὶ κτείνειν κελευέτω ὁ Θεὸς, οὐδὲν ἐναντίον διδάσκων οἷς Ἰησοῦς κατήγγειλε*), 24 init. (*Πάλιν τε αὖ τὸ δόξης ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῆς παρ' ἀνθρώποις οὐ κατὰ τὴν Ἰησοῦ μόνου διδασκαλίαν κωλύεσθαί φαμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν γραφήν*).

[6] Orig. *Cels.* vii. 26: *καὶ μὴ βουλομένη γε ἡ πάλαι μὲν τὸν νόμον δεδωκυῖα πρόνοια νῦν δὲ τὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐαγγέλιον κρατεῖν ἔτι τὰ Ἰουδαίων καθεῖλεν αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῷ ναῷ διὰ θυσιῶν καὶ τῆς ἀναγεγραμμένης λατρείας θεραπείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

[7] Iren. iv. xx. 11, xxxiii. 11, *fr.* 21 (ii. 223, 265, 490); Cl. *Protr.* x. 100 fin., 110, xi. 116, *Paed.* i. vii. 54, viii. 65; Tert. *Jud.* 7, *Cast.* 12 init., *Fug.* 10 (Christ called imperator); Hipp. *Noet.* 15; Orig. *Orat.* xxiv. 4 (see also below, p. 410 n 2); Cypr. *Test.* ii. 16; *Act. Thom.* 39.

made to the wars traditionally supposed to precede the Messianic age.[1] Tertullianus goes out of his way several times to explain that the military character ascribed to Christ in Scripture is to be understood figuratively and spiritually, not literally: war, literally understood, he says, would produce results the very reverse of those foretold as the work of Christ.[2] Origenes definitely says that Christ did not need to use against men, in the fashion of the former economy, whips, bonds, and torments.[3]

*Military metaphors and similes* are frequently used to illustrate various *aspects of the Christian life*.[4] Clemens has quite a number.[5] The pugnacious Tertullianus, despite his aversion from military life, was especially fond of them.[6] They were adopted in fact far more readily and extensively in the Western than in the Eastern Church.[7] The use of the one Latin word 'sacramentum' for the soldier's oath and for certain Christian observances facilitated the introduction of the military conception of Christianity. While nothing was further from Tertullianus' real meaning than that Christians should actually take arms on behalf of their religion,[8] yet the thought of Christians being soldiers was sufficiently vivid and real to enable him to play with the idea of an actual revolt,[9] and eventually led to the ordinary word for civilian, 'paganus,' being used to designate any one who was not a Christian.[10] Origenes,

[1] Tert. *Apol.* 20 (i. 193), *Marc.* iv. 39 (ii. 262f, 265f); Hipp. *Dan.* iv. xvii. 8f, xl. 3 (Michael fighting with the prince of Persia), xlix. 1, 4 (wars of Antichrist), *Gaius* (quoted by Haussleiter 78). Angelic armies appear in an Ophite work (chs. 13, 16) published by Schmidt with the edition (1905) of *Pistis Sophia* in *Die griechischen christl. Schriftsteller*, etc., 353, 357.

[2] Tert. *Marc.* iii. 13 init. (a ridiculous picture of the infant Immanuel acting as warrior: cf. *Jud.* 9 (ii. 721)), 14 init. (cf. *Jud.* 9 (ii. 723f)), iv. 20 (ii. 208f), v. 18 (ii. 327f), *Res.* 20.

[3] Orig. *Cels.* iv. 9: *οὐ δεόμενος κατὰ τὴν προτέραν οἰκονομίαν τῆς κατ' ἀνθρώπων χρήσεως μαστίγων καὶ δεσμῶν καὶ βασανιστηρίων.*

[4] On the similar language used in the mysteries, see Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 659f.

[5] Cl. *Protr.* x. 93, *Strom.* i. xi. 51, xxiv. 159f, ii. xx. 110, 120, iv. iv. 14–16, viii. 60, xiii. 91, xxii. 141, vi. xii. 103, xiv. 112, vii. iii. 21, xi. 66, xiii. 83, xvi. 100f, *Quis Dives* 25, 34f; also the passages referred to above, p. 408 n 7. Cf. Harnack *MC* 23–25, 96–98, where many of the passages are printed in full.

[6] Tert. *Mart.* 1, 3, *Apol.* 50 init., *Spect.* 24 fin., *Cul.* ii. 5, *Paen.* 6, *Orat.* 19, *Praescr.* 12, 41, *Cast.* 12 init., *Fug.* 10f, *Res.* 3, *Scorp.* 4 fin., *Pudic.* 22 fin., *Jejun.* 10, 17.

[7] Harnack *MC* 32: "Rhetorisch schwächer, sachlich stärker ist in der lateinischen Kirche des Abendlands der Begriff der militia Christi ausgeprägt. Dies zeigt sich schon bei Tertullian," u.s.w.

[8] "This rich and varied use of military metaphors, however, throws no light upon the opinions cherished by the early Christians about war in itself" (Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 657b).

[9] Tert. *Apol.* 37 (i. 251) (for the Latin, see below, p. 423 n 3).

[10] Harnack has treated the whole subject with great thoroughness in *MC* 32–40, 66f n, 68f; cf. *ME* i. 416–418 n.

as we have seen, found the idea of the Christian life as a spiritual warfare of great value as furnishing a key to much in the Old Testament that would have been repugnant to him, had he felt obliged to accept it in its literal meaning.[1] Military metaphors appear in his best-known works, but are naturally most fully worked out in his 'Homilies' on the books of Numbers, Joshua, and Judges.[2] A few similar illustrations and figures of speech are found in the other Christian writings of the time.[3] Military language was also occasionally used to describe different phases of the nature and activity of God.[4]

War as a Measure of Divine Discipline and Providence. —War was often regarded, like any other calamity, as a form of Divine chastisement. Theophilus, for example, quotes with tacit approval a 'Sibylline Oracle,' in which God is said to raise up against the wicked wrath and war and pestilence and other woes.[5] Irenæus says that the posterity of cursed Ham "was cut off by God"[6]—an allusion apparently to the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites. Tertullianus assumes the idea of war being a chastisement sent by the Creator as a doctrine common to himself and the Marcionites,[7] and presses in opposition to them the saying that Christ had come to send a sword.[8] Origenes speaks of "the former dispensation," under which it had been necessary to use

[1] See above, pp. 407f.

[2] Orig. *Princ.* III. ii. 5 (militibus Christi), IV. i. 14 (see above, p. 407 n 4), 24, *Orat.* xiii. 3f, xxiv. 4, *Cels.* vii. 21f, 52. Harnack collects the passages from Origenes' exegetical works in *MC* 26–31, 99–104. Note esp. *Hom. in Jos.* xv. 1 (xi. 130) (Nisi bella ista carnalia figuram bellorum spiritualium gererent, nunquam, opinor, Judaicarum historiarum libri discipulis Christi, qui venit pacem docere, legendi in ecclesiis fuissent ab apostolis traditi). Westcott says of the *Homilies on Joshua*: "The parallel between the leader of the Old Church and the Leader of the New is drawn with great ingenuity and care. The spiritual interpretation of the conquest of Canaan, as an image of the Christian life, never flags" (*DCB* iv. 107b).

[3] Minuc. xxxvii. 2; Cypr. *Donat.* 15 init., *Test.* iii. 117; Ps-Cypr. *Pasch.* 10; *Act. Thom.* 39, 126; *Act. Petr.* 36 (=*M. Petr.* 7; Lipsius i. 90) (ἄνδρες, οἱ εἰς Χριστὸν στρατευόμενοι· ἄνδρες, οἱ ἐπὶ Χριστὸν ἐλπίζοντες).

[4] Iren. II. ii. 3 (i. 255); Cl. *Strom.* VII. iii. 21; Tert. *Nat.* ii. 5 (i. 360), *Marc.* v. 5 (ii. 287) (Nec gratia enim fit nisi offensae; nec pax, nisi belli; . . . Quae ergo gratia a non offenso? quae enim pax a non rebellato?); Dion. Alex. περὶ φύσεως (Feltoe 142) (God marshalling the stars like an army).

[5] Theoph. ii. 36:

> τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς ἀδίκοις τε χόλον καὶ θυμὸν ἐγείρων,
> καὶ πόλεμον, καὶ λοιμὸν, ἰδ' ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα.

[6] Iren. *Demonstr.* 20 (87); cf. Iren. IV. xxxvi. 6 (ii. 282) (see below, p. 411 n 7), *fr.* 44 (ii. 509) (Balaam deservedly slain).

[7] Tert. *Marc.* i. 24 (ii. 76f): nec fulminibus tantum, aut bellis, et pestibus, aliisque plagis Creatoris, sed et scorpiis ejus objectus. etc.

[8] Tert. *Marc.* iv. 29 (ii. 240).

scourges and bonds and torments against men.[1] The history of the Jews furnished the most familiar instances of punitive wars of this kind;[2] and of all Jewish history the most significant incidents in this connection were the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans and the utter downfall of the Jewish State—incidents which were generally regarded by the Christians as a direct Divine punishment for the rejection and murder of Jesus and for the other national sins.[3] It is interesting to notice that Origenes, who frequently voices this belief, says elsewhere that we must guard against interpreting Scriptural references to the wrath of God and His punishment of offenders in a literal or materialistic way: we must seek, he says, for the spiritual meaning, that our feelings and thoughts about Him may be worthy.[4] He explains on another occasion that God's wrath is not a human passion, but a stern disciplinary measure, and that, though He may make use of the wicked in His administration of the world, the wicked are none the less censurable for that.[5]

Closely akin to the view which looked upon war as being, like famine, disease, or any other calamity, a Divine chastisement for human sin, was the view that regarded it as an ordinary instrument of that magisterial authority of the State, which the apostle had declared to be a Divine ordinance for the maintenance of peace and justice.[6] Thus it is that Irenæus says of God: "He requites most fairly according to their deserts those who are ungrateful, and do not realize His kindness: He repays with entire justice: and accordingly it says: 'Sending His armies, He destroyed those murderers, and burned their city.' Now it says: 'His armies,' because all men are God's . . . And for this reason the Apostle Paul . . . says: 'There is no power except from God'"; then follows a full quotation of Rom xiii. 1b–6.[7] Similarly, the idea of God appointing kings and rulers implies a providential control of inter-state wars: so Tertullianus: "Unless I am mistaken, every kingdom or empire is sought after by means of wars, and

[1] Orig. *Cels.* iv. 9 (for the Greek, see above, p. 409 n 3).

[2] Theoph. iii. 11; Tert. *Scorp.* 3; Orig. *Comm. in Mt.* t. xvii. 25 (iv. 136).

[3] Theoph. iii. 11; Tert. *Apol.* 26 fin., *Marc.* iii. 23 (cf. *Jud.* 13); Hipp. *Ant.* 30, *Dan.* iv. lviii. 3, *πρὸς Ἰουδαίους* 1, 5–10; Orig. *Orat.* xxxi. 7, *Cels.* i. 47, ii. 8, 13 fin., 34, 78, iv. 22, 32, 73, v. 43, vii. 26, viii. 42, 47, 69; Minuc. xxxiii. 4; Ps-Cypr. *Pasch.* 15.

[4] Orig. *Princ.* II. iv. 4: Sed et nos, sive in Vetere Testamento, sive in Novo, cum de ira Dei legimus, non secundum litteram quae dicuntur advertimus, sed spiritualem intellectum requirimus in talibus, ut ita sentiamus, sicut intelligere de Deo dignum est.

[5] Orig. *Cels.* iv. 70 (see above, p. 379f), 72 (God's wrath is *τι παραλαμβανόμενον εἰς τὴν διὰ σκυθρωποτέρων ἀγωγῶν παίδευσιν τοῖς τὰ τοσάδε καὶ τοιάδε ἡμαρτηκόσιν*, κτλ.).

[6] See above, pp. 373–380, for a fuller study of this conception of the State.

[7] Iren. iv. xxxvi. 6 (ii. 282f).

enlarged by means of wars . . . All nations have possessed empire in their own times. . . . Inquire who has ordained the changes of the times. . . . (It is) He (who) distributes kingdoms, and now has gathered that supreme (power) into the hands of the Romans."[1] He alludes to the defeat of Carthago in the Punic wars as happening "when the urn of worldly lots changed, and God showed preference for the Romans,"[2] and speaks of the repulse of the barbarians from the borders of the Empire as due to the Divine favour showed to its rulers.[3] A natural corollary of this position was that the Christians should pray for the strength and success of the imperial armies: but before studying this point, there is another aspect of the subject to be considered.

The Relative Justification of War.—Apart from the foregoing connections in which war came before the Christian mind divested of that moral reproach which was normally attached to it, most of the writers of this period use at times expressions—of varying degrees of deliberateness—tacitly or explicitly recognizing the relative rightfulness of war. Sometimes it is a purely unconscious and non-committal allusion to war as a familiar human institution: sometimes it is brought in for the sake of argument, the author temporarily adopting the ordinary standpoint of the world: sometimes it amounts to a full, though relative, approval. But not even this last, nor, a fortiori, either of the other two, carries with it the belief that a Christian could consistently be a soldier. The positions both of Tertullianus and Origenes are sufficient to prove this.

*Irenæus* mentions "the military arts" among the human activities generally recognized as useful.[4]

*Clemens* commends the simplicity of barbarians like the Celts and Scythians, who, unlike the luxurious, "wear their hair long, but do not adorn themselves. The fine hair of the barbarian has something terrible, and its auburn colour threatens war, the hue being somewhat akin to (that of) blood. These two barbarian races have hated luxury. . . . I approve of the simplicity of the barbarians."[5] In defending the Israelites for spoiling the Egyptians, he suggests, as one explanation of their conduct, that,

[1] Tert. *Nat.* ii. 17 fin. (i. 395f) (see above, p. 373 n 1).
[2] Tert. *Pall.* 1 (i. 916) (see above, p. 373 n 1). On the theory of lot or chance as governing the rise and fall of states, see below, pp. 514f.
[3] Tert. *Pall.* 2 (i. 925): Deo tot Augustis in unum favente, quot census transcripti! quot populi repugnati! quot ordines illustrati! quot barbari exclusi!
[4] Iren. II. xxxii. 2 (i. 373) (see above, p. 381 n 2); Bigelmair 297f.
[5] Cl. *Paed.* III. iii. 24f.

" as one might say that it happened in war, they thought it right to carry off the property of their enemies, by the law of the conquerors, as the stronger (carry off the property) of the weaker—and the cause of the war was just, for the Hebrews had come to the Egyptians as suppliants on account of famine, but they had enslaved the foreigners," and so on.[1] He speaks at some length of generalship as, like legislation and the administration of justice, one of the usual departments of the royal office, and in particular of the military genius of Moses, from whom, he says, Miltiades and Thrasybulus borrowed their tactics (!).[2] Some of his military illustrations of the Christian life are more than mere illustrations: thus, " (It is) not only the athletic warriors, (who) wage the contest of freedom in wars, but those who have been anointed by the Word (wage it) at banquets and in bed and in the courts, being ashamed to become captives of pleasure." [3]

*Tertullianus*, in the course of his polemical treatises, often alludes to war with the sole object of scoring a point off his opponents, consequently leaving his real opinions somewhat obscure. Thus he parries the charge of obstinate contempt of death with a 'tu quoque' allusion to the readiness with which pagans offered themselves for gladiatorial or military life.[4] In attacking the theory of metempsychosis, he observes that the population of the world had not remained constant, but had grown, fresh territory being occupied from time to time: " indeed," he says, " pestilence and famine and wars and upheavals of states must be reckoned as a remedy, a sort of check on the growing human race." [5] He speaks

[1] Cl. *Strom.* I. xxiii. 157.

[2] Cl. *Strom.* I. xxiv. 158 (Ἔστιν οὖν ὁ Μωυσῆς ἡμῖν προφητικός, νομοθετικός, τακτικός, στρατηγικός, πολιτικός, φιλόσοφος . . . then follows after a few words the passage quoted above on pp. 371f), 159 (quoted above, on p. 372), 160 (Ἰδέαις δὲ ἐνέχεται τὸ στρατήγημα τρισίν, ἀσφαλεῖ, παραβόλῳ καὶ τῷ ἐκ τούτων μικτῷ· συντίθεται δὲ τούτων ἕκαστον ἐκ τριῶν, ἢ διὰ λόγου ἢ δι' ἔργων ἢ καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα τούτων. ταῦτα δὲ ὑπάρξει πάντα ἐπιτελεῖν ἢ πείθοντας ἢ βιαζομένους ἢ ἀδικοῦντας ἐν τῷ ἀμύνασθαι, οἷς ἐμπεριέχεται ἢ τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦντας ἢ ψευδομένους ἢ ἀληθεύοντας, ἢ καὶ τούτων ἅμα τισὶ χρωμένους κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν. ταῦτα δὲ σύμπαντα καὶ τὸ πῶς δεῖ χρῆσθαι τούτων ἑκάστῳ παρὰ Μωυσέως λαβόντες Ἕλληνες ὠφέληνται. κτλ.), 161–163; cf. xxvi. 168 (ἔστι δὲ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῷ Μωυσεῖ ἡ πᾶσα ἀγωγὴ παιδευτικὴ μὲν τῶν οἵων τε γενέσθαι καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, θηρευτικὴ δὲ τῶν ὁμοίων τούτοις, ἥτις ἂν εἴη στρατηγική· . . . μόνον γοῦν τὸν σοφὸν οἱ φιλόσοφοι βασιλέα, νομοθέτην, στρατηγόν, δίκαιον, ὅσιον, θεοφιλῆ κηρύττουσιν).

[3] Cl. *Strom.* VI. xiv. 112; cf. IV. iv. 14, 16 (martyrs to be honoured as the Hellenes honoured those who died in war).

[4] Tert. *Nat.* I. 18 (i. 344): Si contemptu scilicet mortis gladius de majoribus fabulas fecit, utique non vitae amore gladio vos ad lanistas auctoratis, [metu] mortis nomen militiae datis.

[5] Tert. *Anim.* 30 (ii. 605): Revera lues et fames et bella et voragines civitatum pro remedio deputanda, tanquan tonsura inolescentis (Oehler reads insolescentis = growing haughty) generis humani.

almost scornfully of the unwarlike habits of Pythagoras, "who avoided the battles that were then going on in Greece." [1] In trying to prove that the body as well as the soul can be morally guilty, he draws a contrast between the way in which "a sword drunk with acts of brigandage" would be shunned as guilty, and the way in which "a sword (which is) honourably blood-stained in war, and (is) a worthier slayer of men (than the brigand's weapon)" would receive its meed of praise and consecration.[2]

*The Pseudo-Melitonian Apologist* asks the Emperor, with reference to one of his idol-gods: "In what way hopest thou that he will give thee victory in war? For lo, if thine enemies conquer thee, they strip him also." [3] *Minucius Felix* puts into the mouth of his heathen adversary Cæcilius the following words in support of the theory of Chance: "When the heat of war is raging, it is the better men who fall (rather than others)." [4]

Of all the authors of this period, however, by far the most interesting on this topic are *Julius Africanus* and Origenes, and that—as might indeed be expected—in markedly different ways. The former seems to have been far more of a widely-read scholar and scientist than a Christian; but his profession of Christianity is unquestionable, and it is that fact that gives an interest to statements of his which otherwise would not concern us at all here. "He dedicated to Alexander Severus an extensive encyclopædia of the natural sciences, medicine, magic, agriculture, naval and military warfare, and gave it the curious title of 'Embroidered Girdles' (κεστοί)." [5] In the section on military science, the author does not mince matters, but treats frankly of the different means of destroying the enemy, and even includes instructions for poisoning food, wine, wells, and air. But in this matter he is merely an individual curiosity, representing no one but himself. How little the ethical side of Christianity had touched him is clear from the fact that his 'Kestoi' included a section on aphrodisiac secrets, which was full of obscenities.[6]

[1] Tert. *Anim.* 31 (ii. 606): Ecce . . . Pythagoram . . . tam residem et imbellem, ut proelia tunc Graeciae vitans Italiae maluerit quietem, etc.

[2] Tert. *Res.* (208–213 A.D.) 16 (ii. 487): Gladium vero latrociniis ebrium quis non a domo tota, nedum a cubiculo, nedum a capitis sui officio relegabit . . . Atenim . . . gladius bene de bello cruentus et melior homicida laudem suam consecratione pensabit.

[3] Ps-Mel. 10 (121). [4] Minuc. v. 10. [5] Bardenhewer 163.

[6] Harnack (*MC* 73 n) says of the *Kestoi*: "Charakteristisch für die christliche Schriftstellerei ist diese encyklopädische Arbeit über allerlei Wissenswertes freilich nicht, vielmehr erregen manche der uns erhaltenen Fragmente gerechtes Erstaunen darüber, dass ein bedeutender christlicher Lehrer so etwas schreiben konnte. Ich würde im Anhang die auf die

*Origenes*, on the other hand, is a name of the first importance as well for the philosophy as for the history of our subject. His calm temper and unrhetorical seriousness give his words a much greater significance than we can attach to those of the excitable controversialist of Carthago. His recognition of the part played by war in the history of the race and the relative approval he accordingly gave to it come out in several passages in his reply to Celsus. Firstly, in speaking of the adaptation of the world for the preaching of the Gospel by the combination of all peoples in a single empire, he says: "The existence of many kingdoms would have been an obstacle to the extension of Jesus' teaching throughout the whole world, not only because of what has just been said, but also on account of people everywhere being compelled to bear arms and to make war for the(ir) countries: and this (was what) happened before the times of Augustus and still earlier, when war had to be waged, for instance, between Peloponnesians and Athenians, and similarly between others." [1] He concedes to Celsus that "the so-called wars of the bees may perhaps constitute a lesson for the just and orderly conduct of wars among men, if ever there is need (for them)." [2] He mentions in a tone of protest that Celsus tries to "depreciate as far as he can not only our—(the) Christians'—but all men's, cities

Militärwissenschaft bezüglichen Stücke abgedruckt haben, wenn sie bereits in einer guten Ausgabe vorlägen, allein sie harren noch des Herausgebers." The fragments of the στρατηγικά are printed in *Veterum Mathematicorum . . . Opera graece et latine pleraque nunc primum edita* (Paris, 1693), 275–303; notes by Boivin, 339ff. The text is admittedly corrupt, and the old-fashioned Greek script is used, so that altogether the author's meaning is not easy to arrive at. There are chapters headed περὶ ὁπλήσεως (discussing the varieties of offensive and defensive equipment in use among Greeks, Romans, etc.), περὶ πολεμίων φθορᾶς (mentions various methods of overcoming the enemy, besides simply fighting him; e.g. poisoning weapons, starving him out, poisoning food and then letting it fall into his hands, poisoning his water-supply; prescriptions for the poisons are given; the use of poison is justified in the case of barbarian enemies), οἴνου φάρμαξις, ἀέρος φάρμαξις (similar prescriptions — all very fanciful and frivolous). Guischard remarks (400): "Jules Africain pouvoit donc être orthodoxe, composer des commentaires sur la bible & en même temps un grimoire, & enseigner l'art d'empoisonner les fontaines." Cf. also *DCB* i. 57a; (on the literary questions) Gelzer i. 12ff; Harnack, *Gesch. der altchr. Litt.* i. 508f; Bigelmair 181; and above, p. 291 n 3.

[1] Orig. *Cels.* ii. 30: ἦν δ' ἂν ἐμπόδιον τοῦ νεμηθῆναι τὴν Ἰησοῦ διδασκαλίαν εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὸ πολλὰς εἶναι βασιλείας οὐ μόνον διὰ τὰ προειρημένα ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀναγκάζεσθαι στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίδων πολεμεῖν τοὺς πανταχοῦ· ὅ τε ἐγίνετο πρὸ τῶν Αὐγούστου χρόνων καὶ ἔτι γε ἀνωτέρω, ὅτε γε χρεία ἦν ὡς Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων εἶναι πόλεμον οὕτω καὶ ἑτέρων πρὸς ἑτέρους. I pass over the casual mention in i. 59 of stars appearing σημαίνοντας ἢ μεταστάσεις βασιλειῶν ἢ πολέμους ἢ ὅσα δύναται ἐν ἀνθρώποις συμβῆναι, κτλ.

[2] Orig. *Cels.* iv. 82: Τάχα δὲ καὶ οἱ οἱονεὶ πόλεμοι τῶν μελισσῶν διδασκαλία ἔγκειται πρὸς τὸ δικαίους καὶ τεταγμένους πολέμους, εἴ ποτε δέοι, γίνεσθαι ἐν ἀνθρώποις.

and constitutions and sovereignties and governments and wars for fatherlands." [1] As if allowing, even though unconsciously, for the easily overlooked fact that the rightness and wrongness of actions is largely relative to the subjective conditions of the doer, Origenes does full justice to the noble element in the sub-Christian ethic without compromising his own higher ethic. It is from this point of view that we have to regard his relative approval, not only of war, but even of assassination. Thus he speaks approvingly of Judith's act in slaying Holophernes,[2] and more generally of the act of conspiring against and assassinating a tyrant.[3] To assassinate a tyrant was an act of the most laudable heroism, according to the ethical code of historical Hellas;[4] and Origenes temporarily adopts this comparatively backward moral sentiment as relatively valid without implying that the act would be permissible in the case of one upon whom the full light of Christianity had come. It is impossible to avoid confusion in the study of Origenes' position—not to mention the risk of doing him a great injustice—without making adequate allowance for the distinction here noticed. How incorrect, for instance, it would be to infer from his approval of the exemption of pagan priests from military service,[5] that he would have approved of Christians taking up such priesthood![6] Finally,

[1] Orig. *Cels.* iv. 83: Εἰπὼν δ' ὁ Κέλσος περὶ τῶν μελισσῶν, ἵνα τὸ ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐξευτελίσῃ ἡμῶν οὐ Χριστιανῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίδων πολέμους, ἐξῆς ἐπιφέρει διεξιὼν μυρμήκων ἐγκώμιον· κτλ. It hardly needs to be said that Origenes does not here imply the existence of Christian patriotic wars, as a less rigidly literal translation in better English would more strongly suggest. Such an idea is impossible in view of what he says elsewhere—not to mention the obvious facts of the situation. The phrase is nothing more than a loosely-worded allusion to the usual institutions of government in Church and State.

[2] Orig. *Orat.* xiii. 2 (ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰουδὴθ ἁγίαν ἀνενεγκοῦσα προσευχὴν τοῦ Ὀλοφέρνου μετὰ Θεοῦ περιγίνεται, καὶ μία γυνὴ τῶν Ἑβραίων αἰσχύνην ἐποίησε τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ), 3 (Ἰουδὴθ γὰρ ἑρμηνεύεται αἴνεσις).

[3] Orig. *Cels.* i. 1: ὥσπερ γὰρ, εἰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τυράννου προλαβόντα τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀνελεῖν συνθήκας τινὲς κρύβδην ἐποιοῦντο, καλῶς ἂν ἐποίουν· οὕτω δὴ καὶ Χριστιανοὶ form associations against their tyrant the devil.

[4] Grote, *History of Greece*, iii. 26f.

[5] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 73 (see below, pp. 434f).

[6] The remarks of Bestmann (ii. 295: "vermutlich werden auch nicht wenige seiner Ansicht widersprochen haben, dass es erlaubt sei, den Tyrannen zu morden") and Bigelmair (110: "Origenes, der offen den Tyrannenmord für erlaubt, ja gut, erklärt") are beside the mark for this very reason. Clemens refers approvingly to the act of Anacharsis in shooting dead one of his subjects for trying to introduce the effeminate mysteries of the Mother of the Gods among the Scythians (*Protr.* ii. 24: Πολλὰ κἀγαθὰ γένοιτο τῷ τῶν Σκυθῶν βασιλεῖ, ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν. οὗτος τὸν πολίτην τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, τὴν παρὰ Κυζικηνοῖς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν τελετὴν ἀπομιμούμενον παρὰ Σκύθαις . . . κατετόξευσεν, κτλ.). Did that mean that Clemens, the Christian Gnostic, regarded the assassination of degraded idolaters as a practice that was "erlaubt, ja gut" for himself and his fellow-Christians?

when answering the question, what would happen if the Romans as a body left their own gods to worship the one God, he says that "praying with all concord, they will be able to overthrow far more enemies who pursue (them) than those whom the prayer of Moses, when he cried to God, and of those with him, overthrew. . . . But if, according to Celsus' supposition, all the Romans were to be persuaded, they will by praying overcome their enemies"—and then, realizing suddenly that he has slipped into a phrase not perfectly consistent with what he says elsewhere, he corrects himself, and continues—"or (rather) they will not make war at all, being guarded by the Divine power, which promised to save five whole cities for the sake of fifty righteous." [1]

It was remarked a few pages back that the natural corollary of the belief in the Divine control of war and in its relative justification was that *Christians should pray for the imperial armies*, that they might adequately fulfil the part assigned to them in the providential management of the world. This was, after all, but a simple extension of the custom of praying for the imperial rulers themselves. So it is that Tertullianus says that Christians pray constantly "for all emperors that their . . . rule may be secure, . . . their armies strong, . . . the world quiet." [2] Origenes says that it is the special province of Christians, who do not themselves fight, to "strive by prayers to God on behalf of those who render military service righteously and on behalf of him who reigns righteously, that all things opposed and hostile to them that deal righteously may be put down." [3]

Christians accept Military Service.—There is evidence to show that, during the period 180–250 A.D., considerable numbers of Christians served in the imperial armies, and that in many Christian

[1] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 69f; for some comments on the author's meaning see above, pp. 400f.

[2] Tert. *Apol.* 30 (i. 232f) (see above, p. 387 n 1).

[3] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 73 (see below, p. 435). Cf. Harnack *ME* ii. 53f n: "The bearing of the church's prayers upon this question" (the legitimacy of military service for Christians) "need not be exaggerated, however, since prayer was offered even for one's enemies, and since one could have very different ideas about the 'salus Romani exercitus' and the army itself. Besides, the prayer for the army formed part of the 'vota pro Caesare.' The emperor, even from the apocalyptic standpoint, had a certain divine right of existence as a bulwark against anarchy and the barbarian hordes; for the 'pax terrena' was a relative good, even from the strictest Christian standpoint, as being bound up with the desired 'mora finis' (in the sense of punitive judgment). Now the emperor needed soldiers to maintain this 'pax terrena.' They were part and parcel of the 'sword' which (Rom. xiii. 4) is recognized as a divine attribute of authority, and which no church-father ever dared to deny, in so many words, to the emperor." Similarly in *MC* 123.

minds—including some of considerable depth and unquestionable sincerity—no reproach was felt to attach to their action. This evidence must now be systematically presented.

Our starting-point must be the recollection of the fact that at the close of the previous period—about 173 A.D.—considerable numbers of Christians were to be found in the Legio Fulminata, which was recruited in Melitene in Cappadocia.[1]

Julius Africanus appears to have served as an officer in the expedition of Severus against the Osrhœnes in 195 A.D.[2]

*Clemens*, writing his 'Exhortation to the Hellenes,' perhaps about the same time, refers to military service without giving any indication that there was any impropriety or difficulty or problem connected with the engagement of Christians in it. "Be a farmer, we say, if thou art a farmer," so he addresses the heathen reader, "but know God while thou art farming. And sail, thou lover of navigation, but (sail) calling upon the heavenly Pilot. Has knowledge taken hold of thee when serving as a soldier? (then) listen to the General who orders what is righteous."[3] Some years later, when writing for Christian readers, he says: "Barefootedness is very becoming to a man, except when he is on military service."[4] In criticizing the love of wealth, he says: "But even now the soldiers wish to be adorned with gold, not having read that passage in the poet: 'He came to the war, wearing gold, like a young girl.'"[5] Under the heading of 'forbearance,' the Instructor "enjoins by John upon those in military service to be content with their wages only."[6] Clemens quotes the Mosaic regulations in regard to the exemption of certain classes of men from military service and of summoning the enemy to come to terms before attacking them, without any intimation that they would not be applicable to Christians.[7] He mentions "the soldier's hope and the merchant's gain," as examples of the "things present," which, like life, death, angels, etc., are powerless to oppose faith.[8]

[1] See above, pp. 277f.

[2] Gelzer i. 8: "Africanus scheint ursprünglich Militär gewesen zu sein; die Κεστοί zeigen denn doch eingehendere Kenntnisse des Militärwesens, als man gemeinhin nur aus Büchern gewinnt. Er kann auch nicht bloss gemeiner Soldat gewesen sein; schwerlich würde er sonst so leicht als einfacher miles christianus die Freundschaft des edessenischen Königshauses gewonnen haben. Die Erzählung der Κεστοί beweist, dass er unter Septimius Severus wenigstens den osrhoënischen Feldzug mitmachte." Cf. Harnack *C* ii. 89.

[3] Cl. *Protr.* x. 100—"which does not, of course, mean that one must give up the army" (Harnack *ME* ii. 55 n 4).

[4] Cl. *Paed.* II. xi. 117.

[5] Cl. *Paed.* II. xii. 121.

[6] Cl. *Paed.* III. xii. 91: Lc iii. 14.

[7] Cl. *Strom.* II. xviii. 82, 88.

[8] Cl. *Strom.* IV. xiv. 96. On Clemens' view of the permissibility of military

In the course of the persecution of Severus, perhaps in 202 A.D. or a little later, there occurred in Alexandria the conversion and martyrdom of the soldier Basileides. While still a heathen, he had received instruction under Origenes. During the persecution it fell to his lot to conduct the Christian maiden Potamiæna to execution; and in doing so he protected her from the insults of the crowd, and showed her much sympathy and kindness, for which she expressed her appreciation. Apparently he also had to preside at the execution, which consisted of boiling pitch being poured over the girl's body from the feet upwards. The experience issued in Basileides' conversion; at first he kept the change a secret, but it soon became public through his refusal as a Christian to take an oath when challenged to do so by his fellow-soldiers. He was led to the judge, confessed, and received sentence. He was visited in the prison by the Christians, and baptized, and the next day was beheaded. Nothing is said as to his conversion leading him to want to resign his commission in the army.[1]

*The evidence of Tertullianus* extends over a period commencing some years earlier and terminating some years later than the incident just described. Already in 197 A.D. he wrote to the pagans: "Ye cry out that the State is besieged—that there are Christians in the fields, in the fortresses, in the islands."[2] "We (Christians) are (but) people of yesterday; and we have filled everything that is yours—cities, islands (? or blocks of dwellings), forts, townships, places of assembly, the very camps, the tribes, the decuries, the palace, the Senate, the forum."[3] "With you we

service for Christians, see Neumann *SK* 115f; Holtzm. *RS* 25f; Bigelmair 181; Harnack *MC* 57f; De Jong 7–9 (he summarizes Clemens' position in the maxim "wel soldaat blijven, maar niet worden," i.e. "remain a soldier, but do not become one"); Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 664a.

[1] Eus. *HE* vi. iii. 13, v.; Harnack *ME* ii. 57, *MC* 74; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 123, 124 n. Along with Basileides, we should perhaps reckon Pudens, the military adjutant converted at the martyrdom of Perpetua (also 202 A.D.) (*Perpet.* ix. 1, xvi. 4, xxi. 1, 4f): as Moffatt (*DAC* ii. 669a) says: "Whether he remained a soldier or not, we are not informed" (cf. Cadoux *ECAW* 226f, 233f).

[2] Tert. *Nat.* i. 1 (i. 305f): Obsessam vocerifamini civitatem; in agris, in castellis, in insulis Christianos, etc. Similar words in *Apol.* 1 (i. 114f).

[3] Tert. *Apol.* 37 (i. 250f): 'Hesterni sumus et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum.' The 'implevimus' is, of course, an exaggeration. Cf. De Jong 12f ("de bewering, dat de Christenen reeds tegen het einde der tweede eeuw de legerkampen vervulden, is ten eenenmale onbetrouwbaar"). A reference is made by Tertullianus in *Apol.* 32 (i. 236f) to Christians taking the military oath (Sed et juramus, sicut non per genios Caesarum, ita per salutem eorum, quae est augustior omnibus geniis). Cf. the notes of Havercamp (in Migne *PL* i. 448, 462f) and J. E. B. Mayor (*Tertulliani Apologeticus . . . annotated*, etc., 358, 375–378).

go on voyages, and serve as soldiers, and till the soil, and trade; we mingle (our) crafts (with yours); we make our work public for your use." [1] He refers to the incident in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, when the drought afflicting the Roman army was removed "by the shower obtained by the prayers of the Christian soldiers (who were) by chance (serving under him)." [2] A little later, in arguing that no Christian ought to be a soldier, he lets us see that there were Christians who took the opposite view and supported their position by appealing to the examples of Moses, Aaron, Joshua, the Israelites, and even John the Baptist.[3] Yet he himself says that Paul, "teaching that everyone ought to live by his own labour, had introduced plenty of examples—(those namely) of soldiers, shepherds, (and) husbandmen." [4] Later we have from him an account of the circumstances which occasioned the composition of his treatise 'De Corona.' Shortly after the accession of Caracalla and Geta (211 A.D.), an imperial largess was being distributed to the Roman troops in Numidia, when one Christian soldier made himself conspicuous by refusing to put on the laurel garland which every one else was wearing. His fellow-Christians in the army—not to mention the heathen soldiers—and some at least of the Christian civilians as well, condemned his action on the ground that it was rash and presumptuous and likely to provoke persecution, and that nowhere in Scripture are we forbidden to be crowned.[5] The incident shows that there were at the time many Christians in the Roman army in Africa, and that some, possibly a majority of the members of the local church, raised no objection to their being there. It does not prove that the whole of the local church—still less that the Church gener-

[1] Tert. *Apol.* 42 (i. 273f) (see above, p. 313 n 2).
[2] Tert. *Apol.* 5 (i. 131f), *Scap.* 4 (i. 548) (see above, p. 278 n 1).
[3] Tert. *Idol.* 19 (i. 101) (see above, p. 407 n 2).
[4] Tert. *Marc.* v. 7 (ii. 294): Ex labore suo unumquemque docens vivere oportere, satis exempla praemiserat militum, pastorum, rusticorum. The passage referred to is evidently 1 Cor ix. 7; but it mentions soldiers by way of illustration only, and gives no verdict as to the legitimacy of their calling.
[5] Tert. *Cor.* 1 (i. 417f). He speaks thus of the views of those who criticized the soldier adversely: 'Exinde sententiae super illo, nescio an Christianorum, non enim aliae ethnicorum, ut de abrupto, et praecipiti, et mori cupido, qui de habitu interrogatus nomini negotium fecerit: solus scilicet fortis, inter tot fratres commilitones, solus Christianus. . . . At nunc quatenus et illud opponunt: ubi autem prohibemur coronari? hanc magis localem substantiam caussae praesentis aggrediar, ut et qui ex sollicitudine ignorantiae quaerunt, instruantur, et qui in defensionem delicti contendunt, revincantur, ipsi vel maxime Christiani laureati, quibus id solum quaestio est, quasi aut nullum aut incertum saltem haberi possit delictum quod patiatur quaestionem.' On the historicity of the incident, cf. Harnack *MC* 62.

ally — had no scruples at all about its members serving as soldiers.[1]

Our next piece of evidence is that of *the inscriptions*. In the year 217 A.D., the tomb of the imperial official, Marcus Aurelius Prosenes, received a supplementary inscription from his freedman, the Christian Ampelius, who described himself as "returning from the campaigns."[2] Another inscription—not later than 250 A.D.—found at Hodjalar (possibly Tymion) in Phrygia, gives us "the epitaph on the family tomb of two Christian soldiers."[3]

Lastly, *Cyprianus* tells us that the uncles of a certain Celerinus —a confessor of the time of Decius (250 A.D.)—had been soldiers and martyrs.[4]

[1] Harnack may possibly be right in saying (*ME* ii. 53) that at this time "the large body of Christians took it amiss if any soldier endangered his fellow-soldiers (or, under certain circumstances, the whole of the local church) by any outburst of Christian fanaticism"; but even this is not the same as saying that the majority of Christians believed it was right and good for Christians to be soldiers; and it is an exaggeration to say that the fact that this soldier was widely condemned "is conclusive proof that the Christian society of the time found no cause of complaint in the fact of its members serving in the legions, and that they did not regard such service as incompatible with their religion" (so B.-Baker *ICW* 25), or to affirm, on the strength of references in *Apol.* 37 and 42 (see above, pp. 419f) to the presence of Christians in the army, that Tertullianus was "sensible of no objection to it on the part of the Church" (so Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 662b).

In writing to Scapula a year or so later, Tertullianus says (*Scap.* 4 (i. 549)): 'Nam et nunc a praeside legionis et a praeside Mauretaniae vexatur hoc nomen, sed gladio tenus, sicut et a primordio mandatum est animadverti in hujusmodi.' Harnack (*MC* 59), on the strength of the fact that the 'praeses legionis' must have been the commanding officer of the Legio III. Augusta at Lambaesis, argues that the Christians he persecuted could only have been the soldiers under his command (so too J. H. Baxter in *Journ. Theol. Stud.* Oct. 1924, 26f); but if, as is probable, this officer was virtually governor of the province, his victims may equally well have been civilians (cf. Neumann *SK* 187 n).

[2] See above, p. 392. The inscription is restored as follows: Prosenes receptus ad Deum v non [apr]ilis Sa[uro in Camp]ania, Praesente et Extricato II. (consulibus). Regrediens in Urbe(m) ab expeditionibus scripsit Ampelius lib(ertus) (De Rossi I. 9; Marucchi 225). Neumann (*SK* 84 n 2) gives a slightly different restoration.

[3] Ramsay, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iv. (1883) 428f: Αὐρήλιοι Γάϊος καὶ Μηνόφιλος ἀπὸ στρατειῶν, παῖδες Αὐρ. . . . ὡς μηδενὶ ἑτέρῳ ἐξεῖναι ἐπισενενκεῖν ἢ θεῖναι ξένον νεκρὸν ἢ σόρον, μόνοις γνησίοις τέκνοις, κτλ. The last clause is held to stamp the inscription as Christian. The inscription appears also in Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. 717, with the insertion of ἡμῶν after γνησίοις.

[4] Cypr. *Ep.* 39 (33) 3: 'item patruus eius et auunculus Laurentinus et Egnatius in castris et ipsi quondam saecularibus militantes, sed ueri et spiritales Dei milites, dum diabolum Christi confessione prosternunt, palmas Domini et coronas inlustri passione meruerunt.' It seems clear that they had not left the army before their martyrdom (Harnack *MC* 76; cf. Bigelmair 190), though we have no further knowledge of the events that led to that result. Origenes (*Comm. in Mt.* t. xvi. 8 (iv. 24)) accuses certain haughty ecclesiastics —about 246 A.D.—of μονονουχὶ ζητεῖν ὡς οἱ βασιλεῖς δορυφόρους; but whether there

Before quitting this section of our subject, a few *general remarks* may be offered in regard to the status and condition of these Christian soldiers. To begin with, we know that, at the time when 'De Idololatria' (198–203 A.D.) and 'De Corona' (211 A.D.) were written, there were some Christians in the army, who had enlisted after their conversion.[1] These are the earliest pieces of positive evidence we have on this point, the more normal case in earlier times having unquestionably been that of the man who was converted when already a soldier. We do not know the exact extent of the compromises which the Christian soldier had to make. Abstention from bloodshed on the field of battle or in the administration of civil justice or military discipline—not to mention refusal to inflict imprisonment and corporal penalties (scourging, torture, and crucifixion)—was of course impossible. Some considerable sacrifice of scruple in the matter of contact with idolatry must also have been necessary, though how far this went we cannot say.[2] It has been suggested that the soldier discussed in 'De Corona' acted as he did, in order to secure for his Christian comrades in the army the same exemption from the semi-idolatrous garland that was enjoyed by the adherents of Mithras.[3] We shall see presently that the propriety of the position of these Christians in the army was far from being universally taken for granted in the Church,[4] and that attempts had to be made by them to defend it in the eyes of their fellow-Christians.

CHRISTIANS REFUSE MILITARY SERVICE.—Within the period 180–250 A.D., only Tertullianus, the 'Canons of Hippolytus,' and Origenes actually handle the concrete question of Christians refusing to serve in the Roman armies; but, in order to appreciate their utterances, it is necessary to see them against their proper background. This latter is given by *a number*

really was at this time a Church-police equipped with military weapons is very doubtful.

[1] Tert. *Idol.* 19 (i. 101) ('At nunc de isto quaeritur, an fidelis ad militiam converti possit, et an militia ad fidem admitti': before such a question could be asked, instances of the disputed practice must have occurred), *Cor.* 11 (i. 444) ('Ipsum de castris lucis in castra tenebrarum nomen deferre transgressio est. Plane, si quos militia praeventos fides posterior invenit, alia conditio est, ut illorum quos Joannes admittebat ad lavacrum,' etc.: clearly these latter were not the *only* cases that Tertullianus had to deal with, i.e. there were some who—as the previous sentence indicates—had gone into the army after conversion).

[2] Guignebert 197 ("Je suis porté à croire que les chrétiens soldats avaient ordinairement la conscience plus souple que ne le laisserait supposer la lecture des Pères et des *Actes des Martyrs*, qu'ils savaient faire de larges concessions aux exigences de leur métier," etc.); Harnack *ME* ii. 53. *MC* 67 (3).

[3] Harnack *ME* i. 418 n, ii. 56 n 2, *MC* 67f (8).

[4] See also above, p. 421 n 1.

*of passages, all pointing to the positive refusal of service as their logical implication,* but none of them stating it in so many words. The common element in these passages is an ardent sense of the righteousness of peace and the guiltiness of bloodshed. Thus Irenæus several times refers to the prohibition of killing.[1] He also refers to the great 'ploughshare prophecy' of Isaiah and Micah, and argues that it must apply to Christianity. "If," he says, "the law of liberty, that is, the Word of God, proclaimed to the whole earth by the apostles, who went out from Jerusalem, has made such a change that (the nations) themselves have made their warlike lances and swords into ploughs and changed (them) into sickles which He gave for reaping corn, into peaceful instruments, and now do not know how to fight, but when struck offer even the other cheek, the prophets did not say this of any one else, but of him who accomplished it."[2] Tertullianus, after sportively threatening the pagans with a Christian revolt, sets their fears at rest by saying that there was no chance of it, as, according to the teaching the Christians received, it would be their duty to be killed sooner than to kill.[3] He displays his own attitude to military life, when he confesses, in the person of his 'pallium,' that he is "no barking pleader, no judge, no soldier."[4] Clemens, besides his various utterances about peacefulness already quoted, says: "We do not train women like Amazons to be manly in war, since we wish even

[1] Iren. II. xxxii. 1 (i. 372), IV. xiii. 1 (ii. 181), *Demonstr.* 96 (147). Cf. *P. Scill.* 7 (Speratus dixit: Mala est persuasio homicidium facere).

[2] Iren. IV. xxxiv. 4 (ii. 272): for the Latin, see above, p. 402 n 5 (Isa ii. 3f; Micah iv. 2f). In view of these passages in Irenæus, I wonder whether it is correct to say: "There is nothing in his pages any more than in Justin's to betray the least consciousness that war as a function of the State seriously presented a problem to the conscience of the Church" (Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 662a).

[3] Tert. *Apol.* 37 (i. 251): Cui bello non idonei, non prompti fuissemus, etiam impares copiis, qui tam libenter trucidamur, si non apud istam disciplinam magis occidi liceret, quam occidere? An inaccurate version of this passage appears in B.-Baker *ICW* 23: "Tell me a war for which we have not been useful and ready, even when inferior in numbers; ready to be cut down, as none would be whose tenets were not that it is more lawful to be killed than to kill;" and it is quoted as showing that "the chief thing by which they" (Christian soldiers in the Roman armies) "were distinguished from their Pagan comrades—so far as concerned their action in the field—was their greater readiness to encounter death, in proportion as they had received a more excellent hope for the future." It will be noticed that Tertullianus says nothing whatever about any "more excellent hope": he says that Christians thought it more right to be slain than to slay. What use, from the military point of view, would soldiers with these convictions have been to the Roman generals? Yet Prof. B.-Baker's mistranslation is cheerfully copied, without verification or amendment, by Cunningham (251f), who confesses his indebtedness to *ICW* "for many references."

[4] Tert. *Pall.* 5 (i. 950): caussas non elatro, non judico, non milito, non regno, secessi a populo, etc.

the men to be peaceable." [1] The Bardesanic 'Book of the Laws of the Countries' seems to be referring to war when it says that the planet Mars does not "overpower the freedom of the Seres, and compel a man to shed the blood of his fellow with an iron weapon," the Seres having a law forbidding to kill.[2] Minucius Felix says: "It is not right for us either to see or hear a man being killed; and so careful are we to abstain from human blood, that we do not even touch the blood of eatable animals in (our) food." [3] Origenes, however, is the most clear and definite on the subject. After pointing out how God had providentially prepared the nations for the Gospel by means of the imperial Pax Romana, in place of the incessant wars that had preceded it, he goes on: "How would it have been possible for this pacific teaching, which does not even allow (men) to take vengeance on (their) enemies, to prevail, unless at the appearance of Jesus the world's affairs had changed everywhere into a milder state?" [4] Later, "if a revolt had been the cause of the Christians' combining, and if they had derived their origin from the Jews, to whom it was allowed to take arms on behalf of the(ir) families (*οἰκείων*) and to destroy their enemies, the Lawgiver of the Christians would not have altogether forbidden the destruction of man, teaching that the deed of daring against a man (*τὸ κατ' ἀνθρώπου τόλμημα*) on the part of his own disciples, however unrighteous that (man) may be, is never right—for he did not deem it becoming to his own Divine legislation to allow the killing of any man whatever." [5] "To those who ask us whence we have come, and who is our leader, we say that we have come in accordance with the counsels of Jesus to cut down our warlike and arrogant swords of argument into ploughshares, and we convert into sickles the spears we formerly used in fighting. For we no longer take 'sword against a nation,' nor do we learn 'any more to make war,' having become sons of peace for the sake of Jesus, who is our leader, instead of the ancestral (customs) in which we were strangers to the covenants." [6] Lastly, Cyprianus remarks:

[1] Cl. *Strom.* IV. viii. 61: *οὐ γάρ τινας Ἀμαζόνας τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀνδρείας ἀσκοῦμεν τὰς γυναῖκας, ὅπου γε καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰρηνικοὺς εἶναι βουλόμεθα.*

[2] *ANCL* xxiib. 101; cf. 102f. [3] Minuc. xxx. 6.

[4] Orig. *Cels.* ii. 30: *πῶς οὖν οἷόν τε ἦν τὴν εἰρηνικὴν ταύτην διδασκαλίαν καὶ μηδὲ ἐχθροὺς ἐπιτρέπουσαν ἀμύνεσθαι κρατῆσαι, εἰ μὴ τὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης τῇ Ἰησοῦ ἐπιδημίᾳ μετεβέβλητο πανταχοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμερώτερον;* Some preceding sentences from the same chapter will be found quoted above, p. 415 n 1.

[5] Orig. *Cels.* iii. 7; cf. 8 (*περὶ δὲ Χριστιανῶν, ἐπεὶ διδαχθέντες μὴ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐτήρησαν τὴν ἥμερον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον νομοθεσίαν, κτλ.*). Cf. also the important passage to the same effect (vii. 26) quoted above, p. 385 n 2.

[6] Orig. *Cels.* v. 33: *καί φαμεν γὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐρομένους ἡμᾶς, πόθεν ἥκομεν ἢ τίνα ἔχομεν ἀρχηγέτην, ὅτι ἤλθομεν κατὰ τὰς Ἰησοῦ ὑποθήκας συγκόψαι τὰς πολεμικὰς ἡμῶν

" God wished iron to be (used) for the cultivation of the earth, and therefore acts of homicide ought not to be committed (with it)." [1]

Coming now to *the definite objection of Christians to serving in the legions*, and taking the evidence of *Tertullianus* first, we find two passages in his writings in which the subject is handled. The first of these is in ' De Idololatria,' written while the author was still a loyal Catholic. After concluding the chapter in which he has dealt with the idolatrous character of the garb of officials generally, he takes up the question whether a Christian may enter the army, or a soldier be admitted to the ranks of the faithful. Is not this possible at least for the common soldier and the lower ranks of officers, who are free from the necessity of sacrificing and passing death-sentences ? He answers ' no ' ; for " there is no congruity between the Divine and the human ' sacramentum,' the sign of Christ and the sign of the devil, the camp of light and the camp of darkness : one soul cannot be owed to two, God and Cæsar." He refuses to treat the appeal to Scripture-precedents as serious. " How shall he wage war, nay, how shall he even be a soldier in peace-time, without the sword which the Lord has taken away ? For although soldiers had come to John and received the form of their rule, although even a centurion had believed, the Lord afterwards, in disarming Peter, ungirded every soldier." [2] The second passage is in ' De Corona,' written in 211 A.D., after the author had become a Montanist. He is arguing about the impropriety of Christian soldiers wearing garlands, and he touches on the prior question whether a Christian ought to be a soldier at all. Again, it is the impossibility of dual allegiance that determines his verdict. The military oath asks too much of a man who owes his allegiance

λογικὰς "μαχαίρας" καὶ ὑβριστικὰς "εἰς ἄροτρα" καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸ πρότερον ἡμῶν μάχιμον "ξιβύνας εἰς δρέπανα" μετασκευάζομεν. οὐκέτι γὰρ λαμβάνομεν "ἐπ' ἔθνος μάχαιραν" οὐδὲ μανθάνομεν "ἔτι πολεμεῖν," γενόμενοι διὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν υἱοὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὅς ἐστιν ἡμῶν ἀρχηγὸς, ἀντὶ τῶν πατρίων, ἐν οἷς ξένοι τῶν διαθηκῶν ἐτυγχάνομεν, κτλ. (Isa ii. 4).

[1] Cypr. *Hab. Virg.* 11 : ferrum esse ad culturam terrae Deus uoluit, nec homicidia sunt idcirco facienda.

[2] Tert. *Idol.* 19 (i. 101f) : Possit in isto capitulo etiam de militia definitum videri, quae inter dignitatem et potestatem est. At nunc de isto quaeritur, an fidelis ad militiam converti possit, et an militia ad fidem admitti, etiam caligata, vel inferior quaeque, cui non sit necessitas immolationum vel capitalium iudiciorum. Non convenit sacramento divino et humano, signo Christi et signo diaboli, castris lucis et castris tenebrarum ; non potest una anima duobus deberi, Deo et Caesari. (Then follows the passage quoted above, p. 407 n 2). Quomodo autem bellabit, immo quomodo etiam in pace militabit sine gladio, quem Dominus abstulit ? Nam etsi adierant milites ad Iohannem et formam observationis acceperant, si etiam centurio crediderat, omnem postea militem Dominus, in Petro exarmando, discinxit. Nullus habitus licitus est apud nos illicito actui adscriptus.

to Christ. "Is it right to occupy oneself with the sword, when the Lord proclaims that he who uses the sword shall perish by the sword? And shall the son of peace, for whom it will be unfitting even to go to law, be engaged in a battle? And shall he, who is not the avenger even of his own wrongs, administer chains and imprisonment and torture and executions?" Then follows a number of rhetorical antitheses between Christian and military duties; and Tertullianus goes on: "The very act of transferring one's name from the camp of light to the camp of darkness is a transgression. Of course, the case is different, if the faith comes subsequently to any who are already occupied in military service, as (was, for instance, the case) with those whom John admitted to baptism, and with the most believing centurions whom Christ approves and whom Peter instructs: all the same, when faith has been accepted and sealed, either the service must be left at once, as has been done by many, or else recourse must be had to all sorts of quibbling, lest anything be committed against God—(any, that is, of the things) which are not allowed (to Christians) even outside the army, or, lastly, that which the faith of (Christian) civilians has equally determined upon must be endured for God. For military service does not promise impunity for sins or exemption from martyrdom." No plea of necessity or risk of death can justify wrong-doing: the case is similar with public offices; one must either flee from them or endure martyrdom.[1]

[1] Tert. *Cor.* 11 (i. 442–446): Etenim, ut ipsam caussam coronae militaris aggrediar, puto prius conquirendum an in totum Christianis militia conveniat. Quale est alioquin de accidentibus retractare, cum a praeceden(443)tibus culpa sit? Credimusne humanum sacramentum divino superduci licere, et in alium dominum respondere post Christum? et ejerare patrem et matrem et omnem proximum, quos et lex honorari et post Deum diligi praecepit, quos et evangelium, solo Christo pluris non faciens, sic quoque honoravit? Licebit in gladio conversari, Domino pronuntiante gladio periturum qui gladio fuerit usus? Et proelio operabitur filius pacis, cui nec litigare conveniet? Et vincula et carcerem et tormenta et supplicia administrabit, nec suarum ultor injuriarum? Jam et stationes aut aliis magis faciet quam Christo? aut et dominico die, quando nec Christo? Et excubabit pro templis, quibus renuntiavit? Et coenabit illic, ubi apostolo non placet? Et quos interdiu exorcismis fugavit, noctibus defensabit, incumbens et requiescens super pilum; quo perfossum latus est Christi? Ve(444)xillum quoque portabit aemulum Christi? Et signum postulabit a principe, qui jam a Deo accepit? Mortuus etiam tuba inquietabitur aeneatoris, qui excitari a tuba angeli exspectat? Et cremabitur ex disciplina castrensi Christianus, cui cremare non licuit, cui Christus merita ignis indulsit? Quanta alia inde delicta circumspici possunt castrensium munium transgressioni interpretanda? Ipsum de castris lucis in castra tenebrarum nomen deferre transgressio est. Plane, si quos militia praeventos fides posterior invenit, alia conditio est, ut illorum, quos Johannes admittebat ad lavacrum, ut centurionum fidelissimorum, quem Christus probat et quem Petrus catechizat: dum tamen, suscepta fide atque signata, aut deserendum statim sit, ut a multis actum, aut omnibus modis

Before passing on to our next witness, there are three *remarks to be made* in connection with certain modern views of Tertullianus' attitude.[1]

In the first place, his very endeavour to find an application of Christianity to every department of life has been adversely criticized. His earnestness was, of course, commendable; but, it is urged, he was on wrong lines: "he failed, as every man is bound to fail, who conceives of Christianity in the light of a Rule, as a law of commandments contained in ordinances, rather than as a law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus."[2] We may concede that the province of Christian casuistry has its own proper limits, which Tertullianus and others doubtless at times overpass. But even the Pauline Epistles, not to mention the Synoptic Gospels, teach us that there is such a thing as "the Law of Christ,"[3] which, while springing from "the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus," issues in certain very definite and concrete principles of conduct.[4] This being so, it becomes the duty of every Christian, not only to work out the application of these principles to his own life, but also—

cavillandum, ne quid adversus Deum committatur, quae nec extra militiam permittuntur, aut novissime perpetiendum pro (445) Deo, quod aeque fides pagana condixit. Nec enim delictorum impunitatem aut martyriorum immunitatem militia promittit. . . . Nulla est necessitas delinquendi, quibus una est necessitas non delinquendi. . . . (446) Nam et voluntas poterit necessitas contendi, habens scilicet unde cogatur. Vel ipsam praestruxerim et ad caeteras officialium coronarum caussas, quibus familiarissima est advocatio necessitas; cum idcirco aut officia fugienda sunt, ne in delictis incidamus, aut et martyria toleranda sunt, ut officia rumpamus. De prima specie questionis etiam militiae ipsius illicitae, plura non faciam, ut secunda reddatur; ne si omni ope expulero militiam, frustra jam de corona militari provocarim.

The text is here and there uncertain in details. The phrase 'quae nec extra militiam permittuntur' is difficult to construe; but by retaining this reading instead of the suggested 'ex militia' (adopted by Rigaltius and Migne *PL* ii. 93), one does not get rid of the suggestion of desertion, as the translator in *ANCL* (xi. 348 n) seems to imagine.

Harnack (*MC* 67) says that Tertullianus does not put before soldier-converts the dilemma of desertion or martyrdom, "sondern eröffnet ihnen noch eine dritte Möglichkeit, nämlich nach Kräften Befleckung mit Heidnischem zu vermeiden." Quite so; but it has to be remembered that the 'Befleckung' in this case was, in Tertullianus' view at any rate, part of the very stuff and substance of the military calling; and his third alternative is put forward half ironically, as when he grants that a Christian may hold office provided that he takes no oath, never judges in a capital or criminal case, and never pronounces or inflicts penalties (*Idol.* 17 (i. 97f): see above, p. 360 n 3).

[1] Tertullianus' attitude on the incompatibility of war and Christianity is summarized by Harnack *ME* ii. 55f.

[2] So Scullard 212. Cf. the similar view of Luthardt, quoted above, p. 362 n 2.

[3] G vi. 2.

[4] Who, for instance, would ever plead that our Lord's prohibitions of adultery and unchastity could or ought to be disobeyed in the letter, while being observed in the spirit?

and this is particularly true of the Christian teacher—to assist others to do the same.

In the second place, Tertullianus has been accused both of inconstancy and of lack of candour, in boasting to pagans in one treatise of the large number of Christian soldiers in the army, and arguing with Christians in another that there ought not to be any there at all. But the chronology of his writings shows that his disapproval of military service for Christians dated from the beginning of his literary career, and was not a late development. And further, unless a writer is under an obligation to explain his whole mind on a subject every time he mentions it in a purely incidental way, the charge of disingenuousness is unwarranted. Each time that Tertullianus spoke to pagans of Christian soldiers without reproaching them, he was simply adverting to an obvious and admitted fact in order to prove something else. It would have been futile and irrelevant to introduce into a demonstration to pagans of the ubiquity and large numbers of the Christians a discussion on quite a different topic, particularly one upon which Christian opinion was divided. And as it happens, he does mention to the pagans quite plainly and in the immediate context the Christian objection to killing enemies in war.[1]

[1] Tert. *Apol.* 37 (i. 251) (see above, p. 423 n 3). Grotius (see below, p. 436 n 2) charges Tertullianus with inconsistency. Such too is the view of Doulcet: "Ce traité," he says (179 n) of Tert. *Cor.*, "n'est qu'une théorie de l'auteur.—Interrogeons Tertullien sur les faits: *Apologet.*, C. xlii.: Navigamus et nos vobiscum, *et militamus*, et rusticamur. . . . C. xxxvii.: Hesterni sumus et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, *castra ipsa*.—Voir pour sa réfutation en général, par lui-même, lorsqu'il n'était pas hérétique, *De Q. S. F. Tertulliano*, thèse soutenue en 1855 par M. A. de Margerie." I have not seen the last-named refutation. Cf. also B.-Baker *ICW* 23 (the presence of Christians in the army "in the opinion of Tertullian . . . redounded to their credit." But the fact that Tertullianus disapproved of Christians being soldiers when he wrote *De Idololatria* [see above, p. 425 n 2], i.e. "before he adopted Montanistic principles," as B.-Baker recognizes [*op. cit.* 25], upsets the treatment of his views as falling into a catholic period, during which he approved, and a Montanist period, during which he disapproved, of Christians being soldiers. Yet B.-Baker [22f] makes much of this distinction); Guignebert 192 ("Il y a des chrétiens dans l'armée; c'est là un fait qu'il constate et qui lui fournit un utile argument . . . mais il n'approuve pas plus les chrétiens d'être soldats qu'il ne les approuve de se livrer au commerce, en constatant qu'ils le font"); Bigelmair 180 ("Tertullian . . . hatte betont, dass die Christen . . . Kriegdienste thun, und hatte kein Wort des Tadels dafür gefunden"); Harnack *MC* 59 ("Aber Tertullian ist in der Art, wie er das Vorhandsein von Christen im Heere konstatiert hat, seinen heidnischen Lesern gegenüber nicht aufrichtig gewesen. Er tut so, als sei er mit dieser Tatsache ganz einverstanden; in Wahrheit aber missbilligt er sie auf stärkste"), 60 ("Man kann den heissblütigen Mann von dem Vorwurf einer doppelten Buchführung nicht entlasten." But how can it be said that Tertullianus expresses to his pagan

In the third place, it is important to notice that, great as is his horror of contamination by idolatry, his horror of contamination by bloodshed is equally great. It is the more needful to emphasize this point, as one or two modern writers show a tendency to ignore it.[1] In order to establish it, we need only to recall a few of the sentences already quoted. "How shall he wage war, nay, how shall he even be a soldier in peace-time, without the sword which the Lord has taken away? For . . . the Lord, . . . in disarming Peter, ungirded every soldier."[2] "Is it right to occupy oneself with the sword, when the Lord proclaims that he

readers approval of these Christians being in the army, when in the very next sentence [see beginning and end of this note] he proceeds to say that the reason why Christians are 'bello non idonei' is because, according to Christian teaching, it is more lawful to be killed than to kill?); De Jong 9ff.

Dr. Moffatt also, like Prof. B.-Baker, seems to have gone wrong over the chronology. In *DAC* ii. 662b, after quoting *Apol.* 37 and 42 (197 A.D.), he says of Tertullianus' private views that "*later on* he developed these into a rigid repudiation of military service as a sphere for genuine Christians" (italics for emphasis throughout mine); yet in *Idol.*, written 198–203 A.D. or possibly earlier (Harnack *C* ii. 295 n 2), the repudiation is already perfectly definite: in 664a (bottom) Dr. Moffatt names as the first who raised the problem "the very Tertullian who had *formerly* appealed to the army as proving the existence and spread of Christianity": in 664f he refers to both *Idol.* and *Cor.*, but in inverse order of date, and in a note urges the late date of *Cor.*, not mentioning that of *Idol.*: in 665a, after fully quoting *Cor.*, he proceeds to quote *Idol.*, with the words: "Tertullian takes up this problem *again* in the *de Idololatria*." It seems evident therefore that, while he admits (662b, 664b n—the latter a reference to possible early date of *Pall.*) that Tertullianus probably had "some private views about military service" as early as 197 A.D., Dr. Moffatt does not realize how early the true date of *Idol.* proves these views to have been developed. Nor does he observe that in *Apol.* 37, as has already been mentioned, the incidental allusion to the presence of Christians in the army is followed immediately by a declaration of the Christian view as to the illegitimacy of slaughter in war.

[1] B.-Baker *ICW* 25: "It is important to notice what Tertullian means by those offences against God which are inseparable from the soldier's life. It is not the modern idea at all. The special objections which he feels, *the only offences against Christian sentiment that seem to really weigh with him*, are the military oath—over which the heathen gods presided—and the pagan ceremonial with which so many military acts and operations were invested" (italics mine). This very inaccurate statement is approvingly quoted by Cunningham (253). Troeltsch (111 n 56) says that Tertullianus and Origenes "hätten sich trotz der Behauptung, dass das Bluthandwerk der Soldaten absolut unchristlich ist, gefügt, hätte nicht der Heeresdienst die Christen mit dem Kaiser- und Lagerkult in Beziehung gebracht." This statement is unwarranted even in regard to Tertullianus, and still more so in regard to Origenes, who never raises the difficulty of idolatrous contamination in the army at all. So too Dr. Moffatt: "The vexed question of military service *primarily* turns, for him" (Tertullianus), "upon the polytheistic and idolatrous practices which were bound up, more or less directly, with the entire fabric of Roman civilization" (*DAC* ii. 665a: italics mine). Why "primarily"? Tertullianus probably regarded both idolatry and bloodshed as fatal objections, and did not bother about which of the two was primary. Nor can I understand how Gass (93) can say: "Tertullian liess sich den christlichen Soldaten noch gefallen, nur ohne prunkenden Siegerkranz."

[2] Tert. *Idol.* 19 (Latin on p. 425 n 2).

who uses the sword will perish by the sword? And shall the son of peace, for whom it will be unfitting even to go to law, be engaged in a battle? And shall he, who is not the avenger even of his own wrongs, administer chains and imprisonment and torture and executions?"[1] "Is the laurel of triumph made up of leaves, or of corpses? is it decorated with ribbons, or tombs? is it besmeared with ointments, or with the tears of wives and mothers —perhaps of some even who are Christians?"[2]

We may venture with some confidence to conjecture that *Hippolytus* took as strong a view on the subject as Tertullianus did, if, that is to say, we may assume that some composition of his lies at the basis of the 'Canons of Hippolytus' and the other related documents, and that this composition dealt with the conditions of Church-membership. For, although neither the Canons in their present form, nor the 'Egyptian Church-Order,' are absolutely rigorous in their prohibition of military life for Christians, yet their inconsistencies and vacillations reveal the fact that both of them have been subjected to modifications and interpolations. Now it is far more likely that they were altered in the direction of leniency than in that of rigour. All that we know of the progress of Christian thought and practice on the question goes to support this assumption: and, that being so, we must look for the original regulations in the most thorough-going sentences embodied in the extant documents. On this point, we have the additional support of 'The Testament of our Lord'—a member of the same family of documents, dating in its present form from the latter part of the fourth century, and probably giving us in substance the original regulations as they survived unmodified among the more conservative Christians of Syria or Asia Minor. According to these regulations, a soldier could not be baptized unless he left the service, and if a catechumen desired to be a soldier, he had either to give up the project, or to be excluded from the Church.[3]

[1] Tert. *Cor.* 11 (Latin on p. 426 n 1).

[2] Tert. *Cor.* 12 (i. 448f). On the humanitarian motive in Tertullianus' statement of the case, cf. Guignebert 194.

[3] The evidence is set out in full in the accompanying tabular statement, which is reproduced on pp. 432–433 (with modifications), from my former work, *The Early Christian Attitude to War*, 122f, by the kind permission of the publishers, Messrs. Geo. Allen & Unwin.

Dr. Moffatt definitely suggests that Christian scruples about the taint of bloodshed appear in ecclesiastical rules for the first time *after* Constantinus' removal of the difficulty over idolatry (*DAC* ii. 671a). True, the extant documents are not earlier than the fourth century; but Dr. Moffatt ignores the now pretty generally recognized fact that these regulations go back in the main to the Church-Order of Hippolytus, in the first decades of the third century

(see, e.g., Frere, in Swete, *Church and Ministry*, 268f), and that their most rigid stipulations would naturally be the oldest in the collection. To speak of " a feeling abroad in certain circles " (after Constantinus' triumph) " which led up to the " (pacifist) " attitude adopted in the later *Canons of Hippolytus* and *Testament of our Lord*, not earlier than the end of the 4th cent.," is to give, in my opinion, an incorrect version of the facts. The relaxations introduced into later versions of the Church-Orders not only represent " the normal temper of the Church " of that time in distinction from contemporary extremists, but also the progressive abandonment of earlier moral purity and sensitiveness, under the influence of that corroding worldliness which the triumph of Constantinus did so much to spread and confirm. When we realize that the stringent prohibition of military life for Christians, which is found in the oldest Church-Orders, represents in all probability the view of a churchman of so early a date and so great an influence as Hippolytus, we shall be disposed to challenge statements like those of Dr. Moffatt (*DAC* ii. 662b) that " neither then " (end of second century) " nor afterwards did the Church ever decline to baptize a soldier, or to allow him to remain in the army," and of Professor Ramsay (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. 718) that " the Church as a whole never sanctioned this prohibition, or called on its converts to abandon the ranks or on its adherents to refuse to enter them." Grotius also argued similarly from the supposed *absence* of regulations prohibiting military service (*De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, I. II. ix. 2 and x. 2).

| The 'Egyptian Church-Order.' | | The 'Hippolytean Canons.' | | 'The Testament of our Lord.'[9] |
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| According to Funk (Latin, based on Coptic).[1] | According to Ethiopic Version, as given by Horner.[3] | According to Achelis (Latin, based on Arabic).[4] | According to Riedel (German, based on other Arabic MSS).[7] | |
| xi. 9. The soldier, who is under authority, thou mayest not allow him to kill men; if he is ordered (to do so), thou mayest not allow him to thrust himself forward,[2] nor to swear; if however he is unwilling (to comply), let him be rejected. | *Statute* 28. . . . A soldier of the prince they shall not receive, and if indeed they received him, if he was commanded to kill he shall not do (it); and if he does not leave off he shall be rejected. | xiii. 71. A man who has accepted the power of killing, or a soldier, may never be received at all.<br>xiii. 72. But those who, when they were soldiers, were ordered to fight, but otherwise have abstained from all evil speech, and have not placed garlands on their heads, but have acquired every mark of distinction (omne signum autem adepti sunt). . . .[5] | 13. Persons who possess authority to kill, or soldiers, should not kill at all, even when it is commanded them, and should not utter any evil word.<br>They should not carry on their heads any garlands, which they receive as marks of distinction (Abzeichen). | ii. 2. If any one be a soldier or in authority, let him be taught not to oppress or to kill or to rob, or to be angry or to rage and afflict any one. But let those rations suffice him which are given to him. But if they wish to be baptized in the Lord, let them cease from military service or from the [post of] authority, and if not let them not be received. |
| xi. 10. He who has the power of the sword or is ruler of a city, clad in purple, let him either leave off or be rejected. | *Statute* 29. Concerning other persons. Either he who is a soldier among the believers and among the instructed, or a stargazer or magician and the like, and a magistrate with the sword or chief of præfects, and he who is clad in red, let him leave off or be rejected. | xiii. 73. But every man who, having been raised to the rank of prefecture or precedence or power, is not clothed with the adornment of justice which is according to the gospel,[6] let him be separated from the flock, and let not the bishop pray in his presence. | Every one who receives a distinctive (and) leading position, or a magisterial power (Herrschergewalt), and does not clothe himself with the unarmedness (Waffenlosigkeit) which is becoming to the gospel,[6] should be separated from the flock, and the bishop should not pray with him. | |

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| xi. 11. If a catechumen or a believer wishes to become a soldier, let them be rejected, for they have despised God. | And a catechumen or believer, if they wish to be a soldier, shall be rejected, because it is far from God. | xiv. 74. Let not the Christian become a soldier of his own will, unless he is compelled by a commander. Let him have the sword; but let him beware lest he become guilty of the charge of shedding blood.<br>xiv. 75. If it be found out that blood has been shed by him, let him abstain from participation in the (Christian) mysteries, unless perchance he shall be corrected by a singular change in his character (morum), accompanied by tears and lamentation. Nevertheless, let his gift be not a (mere) sham, but (given) with the fear of God. | 14. No Christian should go and become a soldier, unless he is compelled to.[8] Let not a commander, who has a sword, draw any (guilt of) bloodshed upon himself.<br><br>If he has shed blood, he should not take part in the (Christian) mysteries, until he is cleansed by chastisement and tears and sighs. Let him not clothe his office as commander with deceit, but with the fear of God. | Let a catechumen or a believer of the people, if he desire to be a soldier, either cease from his intention, or if not, let him be rejected. For he hath despised God by his thought, and, leaving the things of the Spirit, he hath perfected himself in the flesh, and hath treated the faith with contempt. |

[1] Funk *ECAp.* ii. 107: cf. Horner 312f.

[2] se obtrudere. Maclean (146) and Horner (*l.c.*) translate "hasten to the work." Dr. F. E. Brightman (in *Essays on the Early History of the Church and Ministry*, ed. Swete, 1918, 326) says, à propos of "the Hippolytean *Order*" (by which term he designates the 'Egyptian Church-Order'), that to "do homicide" means "apparently, to act as an executioner." He adds in a footnote: "The text (11 § 9) adds a further condition, or two further conditions, which evidently puzzled the oriental translators, so that it is difficult to make out what it was. I suspect it was: 'and if he receives a command he must be prompt to execute it and so not fail to keep his oath'—in short, he must endeavour to be a good soldier." (The passages stand unaltered in the second edition—1921.) I fail to see in the evidence before us any adequate objective grounds for Dr. Brightman's suspicions.

[3] Horner 149. The Ethiopic version is often nearer the original than the Coptic, on which the Latin of Funk is here based. It is adopted here by Conolly in his tentative version of the Egyptian Church-Order (*JS* VIII. 4. 174, 181), though he substitutes certain readings from Horner's collations for those in his text, in places where MS. authority and intrinsic character of readings seemed to him to combine in recommending a change (Conolly 174 with n): thus in the first clause he omits the words, "and if indeed they received him," and changes "commanded" to "condemned." His other alterations in these passages are insignificant. The preceding clause in the Ethiopic excludes him who teaches hunting, or fighting, or war.

[4] Achelis in *TU* VI. 4. 81–83.

[5] Add "may be received"?

[6] Conolly (*JS* VIII. iv. 181 n) says: "Here C. H. contemplates the case of *Christian* prefects, or the like, an idea foreign to the context."

[7] Riedel 206f.

[8] Harnack (*MC* 73) brackets this clause [wenn es nicht notwendig für ihn ist] as "certainly a later addition." Riedel (207) gives as an alternative rendering: "unless a commander, who has a sword, compels him; let him not draw," and so on.

[9] Cooper and Maclean 118; cf. 208f.

We turn now to *Origenes*. Besides his strong general statements as to the impossibility of Christians fighting[1]—some of which might conceivably be regarded as denying simply or mainly the possibility of the Christians fighting for their own community against their persecutors—he definitely takes up the question of Christians being invited and appealed to, as they were for example by Celsus, to serve in the imperial legions. We have already seen how he rebutted the charge that the Empire would fall a prey to the barbarians if all were to do as the Christians did, by pointing out that, on this hypothesis, the barbarians too would become Christian, and therefore peaceable,[2] and how he urged that, even supposing the people of the Empire were converted and the barbarians still remained heathen, the former would still be adequately protected from the latter without fighting them, by the efficacy of prayer and the guardianship of Providence, Christians being the salt necessary for the preservation and holding-together of the earthly order of things.[3] After having thus disposed of the illogical hypothesis of his opponent, he proceeds with his main apologia on positive lines. "Celsus next urges us to help the Emperor with all our strength and to labour with him (in the maintenance of) justice and to fight for him and serve in the army with him, if he require (us to do so), and to bear military command with (him). And to this it has to be said that we do help the Emperors according as occasion (requires), with a help that is, so to say, Divine, and putting on 'the whole armour of God.' And this we do in obedience to the apostolic voice which says: 'I therefore exhort you firstly that supplications, prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings be made for all men, for Emperors and all who are in high station'; [4] and the more devout one is, so much the more effectual is he in helping the Emperors than are the soldiers who go forth in battle-array and kill as many as they can of the enemy. And then we should say this to those who are strangers to the faith and who ask us to serve as soldiers on behalf of the community and to kill men: that among you the priests of certain statues and the temple-wardens of those whom ye regard as gods keep their right hand(s) unstained for the sake of the sacrifices, in order that they may offer the appointed sacrifices to those whom ye call gods, with hands unstained by (human) blood and pure from acts of slaughter: and whenever war comes, ye do not make the priests also serve.

[1] See above, p. 424. [2] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 68 (see above, pp. 398f, 401).
[3] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 69, 70 (see above, p. 399). [4] 1 T ii. 1f.

If then it is reasonable to do this, how much more (reasonable is it, that,) when others are serving in the army, these (Christians) should do their military service as priests and servants of God, keeping their right hands pure and striving by prayers to God on behalf of those who are serving as soldiers righteously and of him who is reigning righteously, in order that all things opposed and hostile to those that act righteously may be put down? And we, in putting down by our prayers all demons—those who stir up warlike (feeling)s and prompt the violation of oaths and disturb the peace—help the Emperors more than those who to all appearance serve as soldiers. And we labour with (him) in the public affairs—we who offer up prayers with righteousness, with exercises and practices that teach (us) to despise pleasures and not to be led away by them. And we fight for the Emperor more (than others do): we do not serve as soldiers with him, even though he require (us to do so), but we do serve as soldiers on his behalf, training a private army of true-religion (εὐσεβείας) by means of intercessions to the Deity.[1] And if Celsus wishes us to exercise military command on behalf of (our) country, let him know that we do this also, not doing it in order to be seen by men and to obtain empty glory in their eyes: for in secret (and) under the control of our inner reason are our prayers, sent up as from priests on behalf of those in our country. And Christians benefit the(ir) countries more than the rest of men, (by) educating the(ir fellow-) citizens and teaching them to be devout towards the God of the State, (and by) taking up into a sort of Divine and heavenly State (πόλιν) those who have lived well in the smallest states."[2] Origenes then takes up the question of Christians refusing public office, and elaborates still further the idea of the better service for which they think it right to reserve themselves.[3]

*Origenes' position* is, on the whole, clearly and consistently put; but some confusion in the *interpretation and criticism* of it has arisen owing to a failure to grasp the significance of his candid recognition of the temporary place and value of what was good in pagan ethics and his limitation of abstention from the use of arms to that growing minority whom Christianity had enabled to make a more effective contribution to the cause of social righteousness. Those two conditions once clearly grasped, most modern criticisms of Origenes are seen to rest on a misapprehension. Thus,

[1] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 73 (Greek quoted in part above, p. 364 n 1).
[2] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 74 (Greek quoted in part above, p. 364 n 1).
[3] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 75 (Greek quoted in part above, p. 364 n 1).

the suggestion that Origenes did not mean his disapproval of Christians being soldiers to be taken seriously in practice, or that he meant it to apply only to the Christian clergy, must be set aside as obviously inaccurate.[1] Nor is his recognition of the possibility of a just war sufficient ground for impeaching his consistency and inferring that his view as regards Christians is not to be pressed.[2] Such impeachments and inferences ignore the vital fact that the hypothetical ' just war ' was always, with Origenes, a war between non-Christians. His prophecy about the conversion and pacification of the barbarians is sometimes regarded as having been sadly stultified by the actual course of subsequent events.[3] But it has to be remembered that the conditions on which Origenes based this hope were not fulfilled; the barbarians were not converted to Christianity as he understood it. It was only because the Church at large failed to maintain the full Christian ethic for which he pleaded,[4] that the scene of Christian barbarians invading the Empire was made possible. Lastly, the tacit assumption that Origenes' position on its negative side was obviously incompatible with the necessities of social life[5] rests on the quite unwarranted

[1] B.-Baker *ICW* 30: " From all these passages together it is perhaps fair to conclude that Origen considered the Christian ideal incompatible with war, but would in practice have permitted Christians to engage in war. It is clear that he regarded it as a Christian duty to pray for ' those that are warring justly.' Further, as it is quite certain that there were many Christians in the armies at the time when Origen was writing, it is not improbable that in his specific answer he is thinking particularly of the Christian clergy. Several of his phrases suggest this limited application." Similarly, once again, Cunningham (252): " It is clear that the Great Alexandrian did not regard War as a thing in which the Christian was wrong to take part "—a statement obviously the reverse of the truth. Cf. the passage from Troeltsch quoted above, p. 429 n 1.

[2] So Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, I. II. ix. 2 (Origenes and Tertullianus inconsistent); Schmidt 284; Guizot, in a note to Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ed. by Wm. Smith, ii. 189 (" Origen, in truth, appears to have maintained a more rigid opinion (Cont. Cels. I. viii.); but he has often renounced this exaggerated severity, perhaps necessary to produce great results, and he speaks of the profession of arms as an honourable one (l. iv. c. [83] 218 . . .)"); Guignebert 196 (" Mais déjà Origène semble admettre au moins la guerre défensive ": a note refers to " C. Celse, iv. 82–83 "); Bigelmair 180f (" Auch Origenes hat zuweilen milder geurteilt," for he meets a point brought forward by Celsus " mit der zu seiner sonstigen Stellung eigentümlich kontrastierenden Bemerkung, dass die Kriege der Bienen ein Vorbild seien für die gerechten und geordneten Kriege der Menschen "). Jean Barbeyrac (*Traité de la Morale des Pères de l'Église* (1728), 104f n) recognizes that Origenes does not contradict himself in this matter.

[3] Neumann *SK* 240 (" Diese Erwartung hat sich bekanntlich nur halb erfüllt: die Barbaren sind Christen geworden, aber das römische Reich ist doch unter ihren Schlägen zusammengebrochen "); Bigelmair 177.

[4] " It was not Christianity that took possession of the Roman empire, but an imperial adventurer who took possession of an all too complaisant Christianity " (H. G. Wells, *God the Invisible King*, 144).

[5] Troeltsch 123f (" Bei solchen Voraussetzungen liegt jede Erwägung

supposition that he was foolish enough to desire and advocate and expect an immediate and wholesale abandonment by society of its usual methods of dealing with internal and external enemies, without any of those compensating safeguards and improvements which the gradual and steady growth of Christianity would ensure.[1] Such is not a true representation of his programme. He contemplated, as has already been pointed out, two gradual processes going on side by side: firstly, the gradual diminution of crime and of the risk of foreign aggression through the spread of Christianity, and secondly, the gradual substitution (by the same means) of spiritual influence for physical coercion—of a more, for a less, effective treatment of crime and aggression. What ground does such a programme give for the charge of anarchy ? [2]

über soziale Möglichkeiten ferne, jeder Gedanke daran, dass die christliche Kritik der Gesellschaft auch eine organische Reform derselbe bedeuten müsse. Dafür, dass sie auch dann noch zusammenhält, wird Gott sorgen. Es genügt die Amputation der verbotenen Berufe, das übrige wird stehen bleiben, . . . andererorts fehlt es nicht an Vermittelungen und Beschwichtigungen, die die Notwendigkeit dieser Berufe für das soziale System einsehen und darum auch hier das Bleiben in dem Berufe empfehlen") : cf. Lecky ii. 39 (" The opinions of the Christians of the first three centuries were usually formed without any regard to the necessities of civil or political life").

[1] See above, p. 400 n 5.

[2] A by-form of this criticism appears in Gwatkin *ECH* i. 191. " Even Origen," he says, " only quibbles in his answer that they do not serve in the army because they support the emperor with their prayers, that they fight for their country by educating their fellow-citizens in true piety, that they help to govern it by devoting themselves to the nobler and more needful service of the church of God. All this evades the point—that men have no right to renounce at pleasure their duties to their country " : he goes on to say that the question was still unsettled, and that Christians not unreasonably " shrank from a public life fenced in at every point with all sorts of heathen observances." Now the party guilty of evading the point in this case is surely not the ancient Apologist, but the late lamented historian himself. For Origenes never mentions the danger in military service of contamination by idolatry—the only bar of which Gwatkin takes any account (see also i. 236). The all-important consideration with Origenes was the fact —as he regarded it—that a Christian was not permitted by God to kill under any circumstances. This point Gwatkin entirely ignores ; and, in speaking of military service as a duty to one's country, he is, of course, simply assuming without argument the very point under debate. (Cf. the similar tacit assumption in the reproach levelled by Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 669a at the conscientious objector, Maximilianus [for whom see below, pp. 585ff]: " In spite of all threats the youth *refused to do his duty*" [italics mine]). Still less justified is Gwatkin's allusion to Origenes' position as a renunciation of duty " at pleasure." Cf. also his remark in ii. 250 : " They were found to be worthy citizens like their neighbours, but for a few quakerish eccentricities."

Dr. Moffatt does not seem to me to do justice to the brilliant apologetic of Origenes. His estimate of the immeasurable value of the Pax Romana to the growth of the Church (*DAC* ii. 663a) is, in view of the recurrent persecutions and civil wars, of the extension of the Church beyond the Empire, and of its survival of the Empire's fall, an exaggeration ; and the consequent Christian duty of fighting for the Pax Romana is therefore not established. He

Before we quit this subject, a few remarks may be offered as to *the extent to which this Christian refusal of military service prevailed.* It will be remembered that Tertullianus in 211 A.D. said that 'many' soldiers had left the service immediately on their conversion to Christianity,[1] that the original Church-Order of the early part of the third century, which was later expanded into the present 'Canons of Hippolytus' and the 'Egyptian Church-Order,' and which probably consisted of regulations drawn up by Hippolytus himself, seems to have insisted on soldier-converts obtaining their discharge and to have forbidden other converts to become soldiers on pain of excommunication, and that Origenes, writing in 248 A.D. or thereabouts, on behalf of the Christians as a body, said: "We do not serve as soldiers with him" (i.e. the Emperor), "even though he require (us to do so)."[2] Origenes, in fact, speaks as if he knew of no Christians in the army at all;[3] and there is nothing to prove that he must have known of some in his part of the world. This fact shows that the tendency to refuse service

regards Origenes' consciousness of the problem as "slight," and the political conditions as too undeveloped "to enable any satisfactory view to be propounded" (666a. Cf. 666b: "these airy excuses," "an unhealthy conscience;" 667a: "the risk of giving Roman citizens a false and poor impression of Christian sagacity"). He ignores the relativity of Origenes' pacifism to the Christian status, and consequently falls into the mistake of supposing him to have suggested general and immediate disarmament (666b) and not to have really faced the barbarian danger (667a: "When Origenes talked about the possibility of the barbarians becoming Christians, at a time when Rome was face to face with the wild Goths on the northern frontiers, he forgot that there is a time and a season for everything, even for dreaming dreams"). He regards the difficulty over polytheism and idolatry as far more serious than that over bloodshed, and considers both the criticisms of Celsus and the answer of Origenes as beside the point because they did not touch on it (666b, 668a). He also speaks of "the Gnostic and Manichæan tendency which was implicit in the fanatical anti-civic repudiation of force voiced by Tertullian and Origen" (667b). I should be disposed to question the existence of any such tendency; but in any case, it is no more implicit in the writings of these Fathers than it is in the teaching of Jesus. (Mani's date is 215–276 A.D.)

[1] Tert. *Cor.* 11 (i. 444): aut deserendum statim sit, ut a multis actum. (For the context, see above, p. 426 n 1.) Harnack (*MC* 66f) waters down Tertullianus' 'multis' into "vielleicht viele."

[2] Orig. *Cels.* viii. 73 fin. (see above, p. 435).

[3] Neumann's remark (*SK* 241): "Wenn Origenes Heer und Feldherrn unter den Widersachern der Christen aufführt, so setzt er eben auch unter den Soldaten Bekenner des Christenthums voraus," seems to me quite unwarranted. The military were the enemies of Christianity, because they were the usual instruments of official persecution. More accurate is the judgment of De Jong, who says (15): "Aangezien Origenes hier niet alleen een eigen meening, maar het christendom in 't algemeen verdedigt, moeten wij wel aannemen, dat ook in zijn tijd . . . de groote meerderheid der Christenen, en wel voornamelijk uit afkeer voor bloedvergieten, tegen den krijgsdienst gekant was en slechts een gering aantal er aan deelnam."

in the legions was, even towards the middle of the third century, still very strong in the Christian Church.[1] Enlistment in actual practice was still, so far as we know, almost voluntary;[2] and it is perfectly clear that, although the Christians in the army in north-west Africa were in no way penalized by the Church, yet the rightness of their position was not by any means taken for granted,[3] and they were evidently placed under some necessity of justifying it.[4] No Christian author undertook to defend it; and, so far as we can judge from the scanty evidence before us, the apology for it took the form, not of a far-sighted appreciation of social necessity,[5] but of an appeal to the precedents of Scripture. It has been asked why Tertullianus refused to treat the Scriptural argument as serious;[6] but it is clear that, however sincerely it was advanced, the way in which it was framed often indicated great simple-mindedness.[7] Possibly the gain and credit of having the power of Christ displayed in the devil's camp was also appealed to.[8] Doubtless, too, the very practical considerations of safety and convenience played their part.[9] However that may be, it is quite inaccurate to regard the position of these Christian soldiers as enjoying

[1] Gwatkin virtually admits this (*ECH* ii. 267: " . . . the great corporations of the Christians even yet maintained their selfish isolation," in the time of Decius).

[2] Arrius Menander, a Roman jurist of the time of Severus and Caracalla, wrote: 'qui ad dilectum olim non respondebant, ut proditores libertatis in seruitutem redigebantur. sed mutato statu militiae recessum a capite poena est, quia plerumque uoluntario milite numeri supplentur' (*Digest* XLIX. xvi. 4, 10: aptly quoted but inaccurately paraphrased by Guignebert 190 n: " Autrefois . . . on punissait de mort le citoyen," etc.).

[3] On the increasing prominence of this question with the growing tendency of Christians to mix with the world, cf. Harnack *MC* 69.

[4] I cannot help thinking that Harnack (*MC* 67) goes beyond the evidence and the probabilities of the case in saying: " Tertullians Angriff auf den Dienst der Christen im Heere war etwas Neues, bisher Unerhörtes ": this is not proved by the fact that he did not appeal to any " bisher schon bestehende rigoristische Sitte und Praxis."

[5] Pace Troeltsch, who (124) speaks of " Vermittelungen und Beschwichtigungen, die die Notwendigkeit dieser Berufe für das soziale System einsehen," etc., as operating " seit dem dritten Jahrhundert."

[6] Harnack *MC* 61; cf. 67 (4); Bigelmair 180.

[7] Tertullianus tells us, that they appealed to Moses' rod, to Aaron's buckle, and to John's leather belt! (*Idol.* 19; see above, p. 407 n 2). Bigg remarks (*CE* 27) in another connection: " It was this same inability to grasp the idea of progress which led to the wholesale importation of ideas and practices from the Old Testament into the Christian Church."

[8] Harnack *ME* ii. 53 n 2. The army was not, however, a specially fertile field for the extension of Christianity (*op. cit.* i. 368; but cf. Bigelmair 183): " Africa is the only country where we may feel inclined to conjecture that the relations between Christianity and the army were at all intimate " (Harnack *ME* i. 368 n 2).

[9] Bigelmair (177–179) goes fully into these. Cf. Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 664a.

the general approval of the whole Church.[1] Another point worth considering is that we must be on our guard against exaggerating the influence of the gradual waning of the eschatological hope on the readiness or otherwise of Christians to enter the army.[2] It is significant that the writer who went furthest in justifying the Christian refusal to serve, was the sanest and keenest of all early Christian thinkers, and shared only to a very small degree and in a very modified form the orthodox eschatological views of the Church of his day.

GLADIATORIAL AND OTHER SHOWS.—It is in this period that we get the first traces of Christian attendance at the amphitheatre, and therewith the discussion of its propriety. Hitherto Christian feeling had been solid in its abhorrence of this form of public amusement, and most writers of this period speak of it in terms of strong disapprobation.[3] As with military service, it was not only the

[1] An extreme form of this inaccuracy appears in B.-Baker *ICW* 31f ("it would seem that it is not till . . . the last forty years of the third century, when the practical life and example of Christ and the Apostles was receding far into the background . . . that any active opposition to war in the abstract (apart from the pagan rites with which it was connected) is discernible in the practice of the Christians." Cf. 29: "By this time, therefore" [i.e. 249 A.D.], "many Christians shrank from military service," etc.), and Cunningham 253 ("there seems to have been an increasing aversion to military service on the part of Christians in the third century"). But the *True Word* of Celsus shows us that the Christians as a general rule refused service at least as early as 180 A.D. Cf. also Bestmann ii. 295 ("Über die Pflicht zum Kriegsdienst hat seine Kirche doch auch anders gedacht, als ihr Apologet," i.e. Origenes); B.-Baker *ICW* 25 ("the Christian society of the time found no cause of complaint in the fact of its members serving in the legions"); Bigelmair 177, 179 ("darum hat es in der römischen Armee immer viele christliche Soldaten gegeben"), 180 (Tertullianus "mag . . . wohl vielfach gar einsam in seiner Umgebung gestanden haben, etwa wie der Soldat, der den Kranz ablegt und die militärischen Abzeichen wegwirft, der einzige von seinen vielen Kamaraden ist"); Harnack *ME* ii. 53 ("As for the rigorous party, they hardly made anything of their prohibitions"), 56 ("Origen, too, was one of the stricter party"), 57 ("Finally, Lactantius was another rigorist. . . . But these rigorists effected no change whatever in the actual situation"), *MC* 73 ("Aber diese Anweisungen der Moralisten sind im 3. Jahrhundert keineswegs befolgt worden"); Cunningham 252 ("Military service was uncongenial to Christians, but was not regarded as in itself wrong"); Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 340 n; Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 663b ("The rigorist party in the Church"), 664a ("What makes this remark" [of Clemens, *Protr.* x. 100, for which see above, p. 418 n 3] "all the more significant is that Clement feels no need of arguing the point; he was stating the normal Christian principle"), 664b ("a certain feeling of dislike to the army was in the air, among some circles of Christians," i.e. 200–250 A.D.). I must leave it to the reader to judge for himself, with all the evidence before him, how far these expressions are accurate.

[2] Harnack *ME* ii. 53 ("Even Christians took service freely or compulsorily, and the idea of a speedy annihilation of all things faded away"); Troeltsch 111 n ("Die Bedenken gegen den Heeresdienst schwinden. . . . Da ist doch die nicht mehr eschatologische Kirche noch quietistischer und konservativer als die eschatologische").

[3] Theoph. iii. 15 (*τὰς θέας τῶν μονομάχων ἡμῖν ἀπείρηται ὁρᾶν, ἵνα μὴ κοινωνοὶ*

bloodshed from which Christians shrank, but also fear of contact with idolatry. It was this consideration—together with a disapproval of levity and immorality—that moved Christians to put, not only the amphitheatre, but also the theatre, and festal assemblies generally, out of bounds.[1] This rejection of the drama has been adversely criticized ;[2] but, granting that it was not so well founded as the aversion to the amphitheatre, and that the drama even contained much that was good,[3] yet it must have been next to impossible for Christians to avail themselves of the good without suffering from the evil.

It was probably the treatment of all shows and festivals—gladiatorial, theatrical, and religious alike—as a single custom, and the recognition that all of them were not wholly bad, that led to certain of the less scrupulous Christians attending them. Their heathen friends would naturally urge them to go, arguing that such shows were innocent and enjoyable.[4] Those who went

καὶ συνίστορες φόνων γενώμεθα) ; Iren. I. vi. 3 (i. 55f) (of the Gnostics—ὡς μηδὲ τῆς παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις μεμισημένης τῶν θηριομάχων καὶ μονομαχίας ἀνδροφόνου θέας ἀπέχεσθαι ἐνίους αὐτῶν) ; Cl. *Paed.* III. xi. 77 (. . . οὐκέτι γὰρ παιδιαὶ αἱ φιλοδοξίαι ἀνηλεεῖς εἰς τοσοῦτον θανατῶσαι) ; Tert. *Nat.* i. 10 (i. 330) (Plane religiosiores estis in gladiatorum cavea, ubi super sanguinem humanum . . . proinde saltant dei vestri, etc. : nearly the same words in *Apol.* 15 [i. 173]), 18 (i. 344) (non vitae amore gladio vos ad lanistas auctoratis), *Apol.* 9 (i. 145f, 148), *Spect.* 11f, 16, 19, 25, *Cul.* i. 8, *Pall.* 6 (on Tertullianus' reasons for objecting to gladiatorial shows, cf. Ziegler 172, Guignebert 481–489, Bigelmair 266ff) ; Minuc. xxxvii. 11 (nam in ludis currulibus quis non horreat . . . in gladiatoriis homicidii disciplinam ?) ; Cypr. *Donat.* 7 (paratur gladiatorius ludus, ut libidinem crudelium luminum sanguis oblectet, etc. etc.).

[1] Cl. *Protr.* ii. 34, *Paed.* III. xi. 76f ; Tert. *Nat.* i. 10 fin. (i. 330f), *Apol.* 38 fin., 42 (i. 274) (spectaculis non convenimus), *Cul.* i. 8 (i. 711), *Spect.* passim (a collection of arguments proving that public shows, including athletic and gladiatorial contests and theatrical performances, are idolatrous and Satanic and thoroughly improper : cf. Bigelmair 270f) ; Hipp. *Can.* xii. 67 (puts the θεατρικός on the same level as the gladiator : cf. *Const. Eg.* xi. 4 [si quis scenicus est vel spectacula in theatro facit, aut desinat aut reiciatur]) ; Minuc. xii. 5 (non spectacula uisitis), xxxvii. 12 (in scenicis etiam non minor furor et turpitudo prolixior : nunc enim mimus uel exponit adulteria uel monstrat, nunc eneruis histrio amorem dum fingit, infligit : idem deos vestros induendo stupra, suspiria, odia dedecorat, idem simulatis doloribus lacrimas uestras uanis gestibus et nutibus prouocat : sic homicidium in uero flagitatis, in mendacio fletis) ; Cypr. *Donat.* 8 (Conuerte hinc uultus ad diuersi spectaculi non minus paenitenda contagia : in theatris quoque conspicies, quod tibi et dolori sit et pudori, etc. etc.) ; Orig. *Cels.* iii. 56, 57 (τὰς ἀκολάστους θέας), 58 (τὰ ἄσεμνα τῆς κωμῳδίας καὶ τοὺς ἀκολάστους τῶν ἰάμβων, κτλ.).

[2] Ziegler 172 : " Bedenklich aber war es, wenn das Christentum in dieser schroffen Weise sich dem Besten, was das griechische Altertum geschaffen hatte, verschloss und es mit dem Makel des Unchristlichen behaftete." Cf. Bigelmair 277f.

[3] Tertullianus recognized this (*Spect.* 27 (i. 59) : Sint dulcia licet et grata et simplicia, etiam honesta quaedam, etc.) : but he regarded the good as a subtle device of the devil to disguise the poison. Cf. Bigelmair 275, 278.

[4] Tert. *Spect.* 1 ; Orig. *Cels.* viii. 21.

tried to justify their action in the eyes of their fellow-Christians by pleading that attendance was not forbidden in Scripture, that all things made by God are good, that no place can of itself defile us, and so on.[1] Over against these pleas would stand the protest of the separatists, whom no arguments could convince that the sight of human bloodshed was a legitimate form of amusement for Christians,[2] and for whom the rejection of the amphitheatre would mean the rejection of all public shows.

We do not know for certain that any suggestion was made in this period that the profession of the Christian faith was compatible, not only with witnessing gladiatorial shows, but with being a gladiator oneself. The provision of the 'Canons of Hippolytus' that no gladiator was to be admitted to Christian instruction, unless he was first purified from his unclean works,[3] indicates that the thing was not impossible. A dubious sidelight on the question is shed by the epitaphs of the imperial official Marcus Aurelius Prosenes, one of which describes him as 'Procurator Munerum,' i.e. superintendent of the Emperor's gladiatorial games, and the other reveals the fact that he was—at least by the time of his death—a Christian.[4]

[1] Tert. *Spect.* 2f, 8, 14, 20.

[2] Tert. *Spect.* 25 (i. 57): Avertat Deus a suis tantam voluptatis exitiosae cupiditatem.

[3] Hipp. *Can.* xii. 67: 'Quicunque fit θεατρικός vel gladiator et qui currit . . . vel qui cum bestiis pugnat . . .—hi omnes non admittuntur ad sermones sacros, nisi prius ab illis immundis operibus purgentur.' The corresponding sections of the *Egyptian Church-Order* read: 'Si quis scenicus est vel spectacula in theatro facit, aut desinat aut reiciatur' (xi. 4). 'Auriga, similiter pugnans vel pugnam frequentans, aut desinat aut reiciatur' (xi. 6). 'Qui gladiator est vel gladiatores pugnare docet vel venator est venans vel famulus publicus in ludo gladiatorio occupatus, aut desinant aut reiciantur' (xi. 7).

[4] See above, pp. 392 n 5 and 421 n 2: cf. Neumann *SK* 84; Bigelmair 158f. Metaphors and similes drawn from the athletic games (and sometimes the gladiatorial contests also) occur in Cl. *Strom.* vii. iii. 20, xi. 67, *Quis Dives* 3; Tert. *Praescr.* 2, *Scorp.* 6; Orig. *Cels.* i. 69 (Jesus a μέγαν ἀγωνιστήν), viii. 55.

# CHAPTER VIII

## THE INSTITUTIONS OF FAMILY-LIFE, PROPERTY, AND SLAVERY

FAMILY-LIFE.—In regard to *the general position of women* in Christian thought and society, there is little that is distinctive of the period we are now studying. Broadly speaking, Clemens is its feminist, and Tertullianus its woman-hater. The former emphasizes the virtual equality of the sexes in religious and moral capacity;[1] the latter, on the other hand, considers that women should regard themselves as responsible for all the gloomy consequences of Eve's sin (they are the 'janua diaboli') and as doomed to bear its penalties, and urges Christian women accordingly to behave humbly, to dress simply and modestly, to discard luxury and personal ornaments, and thus to present a befitting contrast to the heathen women.[2] He insists on woman's subordinate position being recognized by her being forbidden to officiate in such public Church-functions as teaching or baptism.[3] Ample testimony is paid to the chastity of Christian women and to the marked moral improvement wrought in them by conversion.[4]

The tendency to look askance at even admittedly permissible forms of sexual intercourse, and to regard *virginity and celibacy*

[1] Cl. *Paed.* I. iv. 10, *Strom.* IV. viii. 59–63, xix. 118–124: he qualifies his feminism by saying *φιλοσοφητέον οὖν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐμφερῶς τοῖς ἀνδράσι, κἂν βελτίους οἱ ἄῤῥενες τά τε πρῶτα ἐν πᾶσι φερόμενοι τυγχάνωσιν, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ καταμαλακισθεῖεν* (*Strom.* IV. viii. 62), and by laying stress in Pauline terms on the due subordination of women (*ib.* 63–65).

[2] Tert. *Cul.* passim, *Marc.* v. 8 (ii. 296, 298): cf. Theoph. ii. 23 (referring to the story in Genesis: *πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι κατανοῆσαι τὴν μὲν ὠδῖνα, ἣν πάσχουσιν ἐν τῷ τοκετῷ αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λήθην τοῦ πόνου ποιοῦνται, ὅπως πληρωθῇ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος εἰς τὸ αὐξάνεσθαι καὶ πληθύνεσθαι τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων;*); Cl. *Paed.* III. ii. 5 (*οὐ γὰρ γυναικός, ἀλλ' ἑταίρας τὸ φιλόκοσμον*); Cypr. *Test.* iii. 36 (mulierem ornari saeculariter non debere).

[3] Tert. *Bapt.* 17, *Praescr.* 41, *Marc.* v. 8 (ii. 298); Cypr. *Test.* iii. 46 (mulierem in ecclesia tacere debere).

[4] Tert. *Apol.* 50 (i. 301) (Nam et proxime, ad lenonem damnando christianam potius quam ad leonem, confessi estis labem pudicitiae apud nos atrociorem omni poena et omni morte reputari), *Scap.* 4 (i. 549) (matrimonium nullius adulteramus); Orig. *Cels.* iii. 56 (*τοὐναντίον γὰρ τὰ μὲν γύναια ἀκολασίας καὶ διαστροφῆς τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν συνόντων ἀφίσταμεν καὶ πάσης θεατρομανίας καὶ ὀρχηστομανίας καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας*).

as more meritorious than the married state remained in full force.[1] *Marriage*, however, was regarded as a very good and providentially ordained second-best.[2] The writer Apollonius sharply censured Montanus and his prophetesses for enjoining and practising the separation of husband and wife.[3] Certain heretical sects, like the Valentinians, regarded marriage as obligatory.[4] According to Clemens, intercourse between husband and wife was permissible only for the purpose of procreating children.[5] It sometimes happened that one—usually the woman—of a heathen couple was converted to Christianity : in such cases the marriage-tie remained binding. But those who were already Christians were not, strictly speaking, permitted by the Church to marry pagans, though some appear to have done so.[6] In regard to the legal aspect of marriage, *Callistus*, bishop of Rome 217–222 A.D., made a new departure of some importance. Women of high rank were not allowed by Roman Law to form legal marriages with men of low birth, freedmen or slaves, though society permitted a morganatic connection between such parties. Callistus pronounced such marriages legal in the eye of the Church—a concession for which he was severely criticized by Hippolytus.[7] To depart from the law of the State on so fundamental a matter as the regulation of marriage—and that in the direction, not of strictness, but of concession—was a step of great boldness, and indicates in a marked way the Church's growing consciousness of independence and power over against the State.[8]

[1] Cl. *Paed.* I. iv. 10 (no sexual desire in the next world : cf. Orig. *Cels.* iv. 29), *Strom.* III. vii. 57 (cf. Neumann *SK* 169f) ; Polycrates ap. Eus. *HE* v. xxiv. 2, 5 ; Tert. *Apol.* 9 fin., *Cul.* ii. 9 (i. 727f) (Non enim et multi ita faciunt, et se spadonatui assignant propter regnum Dei ? . . . Itaque castigando et castrando, ut ita dixerim, saeculo erudimur a Domino), *Pat.* 13, *Ux.* i. 3–6, 8, *Cast.* 1, 9, 12f, *Virg.* 10, 17, *Marc.* i. 29, v. 15 (ii. 319), *Res.* 61, *Monog.* 3 ; Eus. *HE* VI. viii. 1–5 (Origenes' alleged castration of himself) ; Orig. *Comm. in Mt.* t. xiv. 25 (iii. 324–326), *Cels.* i. 26 fin., vii. 48 ; Minuc. xxxi. 5 ; Cypr. *Hab. Virg.* 3ff, 11, 18, 20–23, *Test.* iii. 32 ; Novat. *Trin.* 29 fin. ; *Act. Thom.* passim ; *Act. Petr.* 33f = *M. Petr.* 4f : Westermarck ii. 410–412, 420f.

[2] Theoph. ii. 28 ; Cl. *Strom.* I. i. 1, II. xxiii., III., IV. xx. 125–129, VII. xi. 64, xii. 70 (cf. Neumann *SK* 169f) ; Tert. *Ux.* i. 2f, ii. 8, *Marc.* i. 29, iv. 17 (ii. 200), 29 (ii. 238), 38 (ii. 260f), v. 7 (ii. 293f), 15 (ii. 319), 18 (ii. 328f), *Monog.* 1, 3, Hipp. *Dan.* IV. xix. 7 ; Orig. *Comm. in Mt.* t. xiv. 17 (iii. 307–309), 23 (iii. 320f), *Cels.* viii. 55f ; Minuc. xxxi. 5.

[3] Eus. *HE* v. xviii. 2 : *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ διδάξας λύσεις γάμων.*

[4] Tert. *Val.* 30.

[5] Cl. *Paed.* II. x. 91, 95.

[6] Tert. *Ux.* ii. 1–7 ; Cypr. *Test.* iii. 62, *Laps.* 6 ('iungere cum infidelibus uinculum matrimonii'—said of Christians before the Decian persecution of 250 A.D.) : Bigelmair 96–98, 247–254.

[7] Hipp. *Ref.* ix. 12 (7) (D. and S. 460). On concubinage, cf. Hipp. *Can.* xvi. 80, *Const. Eg.* xi. 14f.

[8] Cf. Ziegler 178f (he regards Callistus' marriage-regulations as intended to raise the status of slaves) ; Neumann *SK* 202 (" Die Ehe bildet die erste

On the question of *second marriages*, feeling was divided, the stricter school condemning them as akin to fornication,[1] the laxer (represented by Callistus) legalizing them.[2]

*Divorce*, as a separation leaving the partners free to re-marry, seems to have been universally disapproved, except perhaps in cases of unchastity.[3]

*Sexual excesses*, such as were common among pagans, were, as before, severely condemned,[4] though here again Callistus succeeded in relaxing the old stringency—so far as Church-discipline was concerned. He allowed those guilty of sexual sins to regain admission to the Church by going through the prescribed forms of penance. "Thus unchastity is removed from the list of unpardonable sins, leaving only idolatry and murder. The change was doubtless good policy, for it brought the sinners to the church of Callistus. It seemed a sad decline to rigorists like Hippolytus who would permanently refuse communion to all gross sinners." [5]

*The destruction of offspring*, either by abortion or exposure, was regarded with horror as equivalent to murder.[6] The duties of husbands and wives, parents and children, are often adverted to in traditional terms.[7]

At a period when Christians might at any moment be called upon to choose between denying their faith and laying down their lives, there must often have arisen the sharpest *conflict between the prompt-*

Grundlage jedes Staates, und die Ordnung der Gesellschaft ist durch das Eherecht bedingt. Es war eine Nichtachtung des Staates, es war ein Angriff auf seine Satzung, wenn Kallistus dazu rieth, von dem bestehenden Eherechte abzusehen, und wenn die Kirche verbotene Ehe für gültig erklärte"), *H* 125–131; Bigelmair 96–99, 253; Harnack *KS* 147; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 229.

[1] Tert. *Pat.* 13, *Ux.* passim, *Herm.* 1 (cf. *DCB* iii. 1f), *Cast.* 1–3, 8f, *Virg.* 10, *Monog.* passim; Hipp. *Ref.* ix. 12 (7) (D. and S. 460); cf. Orig. *Cels.* iii. 48.

[2] Hipp. *l.c.*: Neumann *H* 119–121.

[3] Theoph. iii. 13; Iren. iv. xv. 2 (ii. 188); Tert. *Marc.* iv. 34 (ii. 247–250), *Monog.* 5, 9f; Orig. *Comm. in Mt.* t. xiv. 16–18, 23 (iii. 303–310, 320f); Cypr. *Test.* iii. 90.

[4] Theoph. iii. 13; Iren. ii. xxxii. 2 (i. 373), iv. xiii. 1, xvi. 5 (ii. 181, 192); Cl. *Paed.* ii. x. 91, iii. iii. 21; Tert. *Nat.* i. 15f, *Apol.* 9, 39 (i. 262–264), *Bapt.* 18, *Ux.* i. 4; Hipp. *Can.* xv. 76 (fornicator or bawd or sodomite not to be instructed or baptized "until they abstain from all such works": cf. *Const. Eg.* xi. 2 [Si quis leno est id est, meretrices sustentans, aut desinat aut reiciatur], 12 [meretrix vel paedicator vel qui se castravit vel aliud quidquam fecit, quod dicere nefas est, reiciantur; sunt enim polluti]); Minuc. xxxi. 1–4; Orig. *Cels.* iv. 26; Cypr. *Test.* iii. 63f, *Donat.* 8f.

[5] Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 228f; Hipp. *Ref.* ix. 12 (7) (D. and S. 458–460).

[6] Abortion:—Tert. *Apol.* 9 (i. 146f); Hipp. *Ref.* ix. 12 (7) (D. and S. 460); Minuc. xxx. 1–3. Exposure:—Cl. *Paed.* iii. iii. 21, *Strom.* ii. xviii. 92f; Tert. *Nat.* i. 15f, *Apol.* 9 (i. 151f); Minuc. xxx. 1–3, xxxi. 4; Orig. *Cels.* viii. 55.

[7] The relevance of the subject being somewhat indirect, references are needless. On the conception of the household as a religious unit, see Cl. *Strom.* vi. xviii. 167.

*ings of family-affection and the obligations of religious loyalty.* The claims of parent, wife, and child constituted a standing temptation to deny one's Christianity before the secular tribunal. Apart also from formal persecution, there would inevitably arise numerous cases of difficulty and friction (especially where Christianity and paganism were represented within the same family circle), due to the cleavage between kinsfolk's wishes and Christian duty. Christian writers, therefore, frequently take occasion to warn themselves and others of the danger of allowing family ties—sacred as these were admitted to be—to override the duties more specially connected with the Christian profession.[1] We get a harrowing exemplification of this Christian firmness in the story of the martyrdom of Perpetua.[2]

PROPERTY.—In regard to the question of *the means of subsistence,* the fundamentals on the Christian position were—simplicity in manner of living,[3] reliance without anxiety upon God for the provision of necessities,[4] the rightfulness of a moderate amount of property,[5] and the recognition of the ordinary forms of honest trade and industry as not only legitimate, but obligatory, means of support.[6] It was, however, also felt to be permissible

[1] Cl. *Paed.* III. vii. 38f, *Strom.* IV. viii. 67f, xix. 123, VI. xii. 100, VII. xii. 70, 79, *Quis Dives* 22 (*εἰ γοῦν ἄθεος εἴη τινὶ πατὴρ ἢ υἱὸς ἢ ἀδελφὸς καὶ κώλυμα τῆς πίστεως γένοιτο καὶ ἐμπόδιον τῆς ἄνω ζωῆς, τούτῳ μὴ συμφερέσθω μηδὲ ὁμονοιείτω, ἀλλὰ τὴν σαρκικὴν οἰκειότητα διὰ τὴν πνευματικὴν ἔχθραν διαλυσάτω*), 23; *GEb* 6 (11); Tert. *Idol.* 12; Hipp. *Dan.* II. xxi. 2; Eus. *HE* VI. ii. 6; Orig. *Mart.* 11, 14, 37f.

[2] *Perpet.* iii. 1–4, v., vi. 2–8, ix. 2f: cf. Lecky i. 391.

[3] Clemens has much to say on the evils of luxury, etc. See Cl. *Paed.* I. xii. 98, II. i., ii., x. 103ff, xi., xii.; Tert. *Cul.* i. 5f, 9, *Pall.* 5 fin.; Ps-Just. *Orat.* 4; Orig. *Cels.* vii. 23; Cypr. *Donat.* 3, 15, *Hab. Virg.* 7ff, *Test.* iii. 34: Uhlhorn *Ch.* 131–134; *DCA* ii. 1065f; Bigelmair 231–233, 237–244. On the simple poverty of John the Baptist, cf. Cl. *Paed.* II. x. 112; *GEb* 2 (10f).

[4] Cl. *Paed.* I. v. 17, xii. 98, II. x. 102f; Tert. *Orat.* 6, *Marc.* iv. 29 (ii. 237f); Orig. *Cels.* vii. 24, but cf. *Orat.* xxvii. (prayer for daily bread meant spiritually, not literally: same suggestion also in Tert. *Orat.* 6).

[5] Cl. *Quis Dives* 12f, 26: cf. Uhlhorn *Ch.* 129–131. To abandon one's industry and dispose of one's property were characteristic features of the extreme apocalyptic temper: Hipp. *Dan.* IV. xix.

[6] Iren. IV. xxx. 1 (ii. 248); Cl. *Paed.* III. xi. 78f; Tert. *Apol.* 42 (i. 273) (see above, p. 313 n 2), *Marc.* v. 7 (ii. 294) (see above, p. 420 n 4), *Cor.* 8; *Const. Eg.* xxvii. 1 (Omnes fideles hora, qua expergiscuntur, priusquam aliquod opus faciunt, ad Dominum orent et sic operibus sese convertant), xxxii. 1 (similar instructions to pray: tumque ad opera sua progrediantur). On Callistus' experience as a banker, see Hipp. *Ref.* ix. 12 (7) (D. and S. 452, 454). On the industry of Christ's earthly life, see Tert. *Cor.* 8 init.: curiously enough, Origenes denies that the statement quoted by Celsus to the effect that Jesus was a carpenter was to be found anywhere in the Gospels used by the Church (*Cels.* vi. 36). On the general question of labour and trade in the Church, see Uhlhorn *Ch.* 134–137; Harnack *ME* i. 173–176; Guignebert 351–362 (for Tertullianus' views in particular); Bigelmair 313–317; Troeltsch 117–120.

under certain circumstances to subsist on the charitable gifts of others. This was the condition, for the most part, of the Christian clergy—of those at least whose ecclesiastical duties occupied the whole or nearly the whole of their time: they would receive support from the funds of the Church, but apparently without there being any fixed scale of salaries. Nor was the line between the clergy and the laity at this early date so sharply drawn but that clerics would in many cases need to do a certain amount of secular work for their living.[1] Origenes depended for a time on the bounty of a rich lady,[2] but afterwards kept himself for several years in strict ascetic style on four obols a day, which he obtained by the sale of his own collection of ancient authors, and refused the financial help which his friends frequently offered him.[3] He regarded all material property as in a sense belonging to Cæsar, the ruler of this world, and the extent of one's indebtedness to him varied directly in proportion to the amount of one's possessions.[4]

It is to this period that the earliest records belong of the real concern of the leaders of the Church in regard to *the character—whether legitimate or otherwise—of the industrial callings pursued by Christians*. Granting that the Christian has to mix in the business of the world, but not in its sin, where is the dividing-line between the two to be drawn in actual practice? Tertullianus took up the subject as an important one, and handled it with his accustomed thoroughness. There were some heathen trades, such as pandering, sorcery, divination, etc., which obviously no ordinary Christian would either undertake or patronize.[5] But the various industries, connected in varying degrees of nearness or remoteness with idolatry, were not so easily disposed of. The rank and file of the Church probably evinced an increasing laxity in the determination of their standard. Tertullianus pleaded for greater strictness and consistency. He held it to be wrong for a Christian, not only to worship idols, but to make them. On this point there can be no doubt that he had a strong backing among the faithful: he tells us of the great grief that was felt among them when idol-makers

[1] The Montanist leaders and prophets were reproached because they received salaries and organized the collection of gifts (Eus. *HE* v. xviii. 2, 4f, 7, 11: cf. the reproach levelled at the Monarchian Natalius for accepting the post of "bishop of this heresy, with a salary, to be paid by them, of 150 denarii a month," *op. cit.* xxviii. 10, 12). Cf. Bigelmair 299f; also Cl. *Quis Dives* 13, 26 (ἢ καὶ τὸ τούτου μᾶλλον ἀνέγκλητον, εἰ εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ τὴν τύχην νέμοντος εἰς οἶκον τοιούτων [i.e. the rich] ἀνθρώπων εἰσῳκίσθη).

[2] Eus. *HE* vi. ii. 13: cf. Origenes' defence of Jesus for accepting support from the women he healed (Orig. *Cels.* i. 65).

[3] Eus. *HE* vi. iii. 9, 11. [4] See above, pp. 369f n 8. [5] Tert. *Apol.* 43.

were admitted to the Church and even to the ministry.[1] To those who pleaded in excuse that they must make a living somehow, he replied that this was no justification.[2] On the same ground of idolatrous contamination, he uttered warnings about a number of subsidiary crafts, though admitting that they were legitimate enough when applied to the ordinary needs of men.[3] Astrology, of course, was forbidden.[4] The profession of the schoolmaster involves the tacit, but incriminating, recognition of the heathen gods.[5] The trade of the incense-seller is similarly objectionable ;[6] so, too, is the observance of pagan holidays. Contracts concluded with heathen religious formalities ought to be broken off ; and so on. No plea of the necessity of providing for one's children could excuse a man for participating in any such activity.[7]

The 'Canons of Hippolytus' show us the Church-authorities dealing with the question. A candidate for admission to the Church, when the genuineness of his application has been tested, is to be questioned concerning his daily work.[8] Goldsmiths, silversmiths, painters, and other craftsmen were allowed to pursue their callings, in so far as they ministered to ordinary human uses, but they were not to fashion idolatrous images : if they did so after baptism, they were to be excommunicated until they had performed appropriate penance.[9] Actors, gladiators, fighters with wild beasts, charioteers, runners, huntsmen, and priests of idols, were not to be admitted as listeners to the meetings for worship and exhortation, until they were cleansed from their unclean works, and were not to be baptized until an interval of probation had elapsed.[10] Of the view taken of the magisterial, military, and pædagogic callings, we have already spoken fully elsewhere.[11] No fornicator, bawd, sodomite, liar, sluggard, augur, magician, astrologer, soothsayer, interpreter of dreams, juggler, political agitator, maker of talismans, usurer, criminal, etc., was to be taught or

[1] Tert. *Idol.* 3–7 : Bigelmair 311. [2] Tert. *Idol.* 5.
[3] Tert. *Idol.* 8. On Tertullianus' prejudice against the arts in general as being heathen, worldly, and therefore Satanic, see *Nat.* ii. 16, *Spect.* 10, *Cul.* i. 8, ii. 5, 10, *Cor.* 8.
[4] Tert. *Idol.* 9. [5] Tert. *Idol.* 10. [6] Tert. *Idol.* 11.
[7] Tert. *Idol.* 12ff, 23. On Tertullianus' views, cf. Neumann *SK* 135f ; Bigelmair 306ff.
[8] Hipp. *Can.* x. 60f (interrogeturque de opificio) ; *Const. Eg.* x. 1ff, xi. 1 (Inquirantur opificia ac negotia eorum, qui introducendi sunt, ut constituantur, qualia sint).
[9] Hipp. *Can.* xi. 65f ; *Const. Eg.* xi. 3 (Si quis sculptor vel pictor est, erudiantur, ne idola faciant ; aut desinant aut reiciantur).
[10] Hipp. *Can.* xii. 67f ; *Const. Eg.* xi. 4, 6–8.
[11] See above, pp. 323, 362, 430ff.

baptized, until it was known from the evidence of witnesses that he had given up all such doings.[1]

It is in this period also that *the theory of property* begins to exercise Christian minds. The intimate connection between the possession of wealth and some of the least attractive features of pagan life caused a certain theoretical stigma to attach in many minds to the possession of even a moderate amount of property. The modern idea that there is no such thing as clean money was already causing some little anxiety. Irenæus, in meeting the charge of the Marcionites that the Israelites acted unjustly in despoiling the Egyptians just before the Exodus, replies with a theory of property which represents it as little better than specially permitted theft. The following is a brief summary of his argument. We Christians derive all we possess from an unrighteous source; for we got it either before conversion by acting avariciously ourselves, or after conversion from gentiles, who themselves obtained it avariciously. Ours is the true Exodus; and we all bring over from the gentiles more or less wealth. If God had not agreed to the action of the Israelites in that first typical exodus, no one could have been saved by the second. Nay, the Israelites were even more justified in their action than we are, for the Egyptians had made themselves Israel's debtors, while we are debtors to the Romans and others, inasmuch as we receive peace, profit, and plenty from them. If the Marcionite criticism was made by a pauper, we could excuse it on the ground of his ignorance of our daily needs; otherwise he is simply accusing others of what he is doing himself. God knew we should put the substance we receive from others to a good use, converting it to the Lord's service.[2] This reasoning recalls the speculations of Origenes on the subject of property, suggested to him by the Lord's words: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." Origenes does not work out a complete or consistent theory of property, but regards it as a sort of necessary evil, virtually inevitable in view of the bodily needs (though Peter was able to say: "Silver and gold have I none"), and yet betokening a certain moral imperfection, and making us, partially at least, subject to Cæsar, and so not wholly submissive to God.[3]

[1] Hipp. *Can.* xv. 76–79; *Const. Eg.* xi. 2, 12f. On Christian sensitiveness as to doubtful or immoral trades, cf. Bigelmair 310–313; Troeltsch 122f; Bartlet *P* 99 f.

[2] Iren. IV. xxx. 1–3 (ii. 248–251). The spoiling of the Egyptians and the Mamon of unrighteousness were favourite topics for illustration and discussion (Iren. *l.c.* fin.; Cl. *Quis Dives* 31; Tert. *Fug.* 13, *Marc.* ii. 20; Orig. *Ep. Greg.* 2).

[3] See above, pp. 369f n 8.

But apart from the ultimate problem of property, a more immediate and practical question was presented to the Church in the *growing proportion of wealthy people* within her own borders, and the accompanying evils of excess, luxury, worldliness, and Mamon-worship.[1] In face of these new conditions, there does not seem to have been any failure to repeat the traditional Christian depreciation of wealth,[2] condemnation of usury,[3] and glorification of poverty and of contentment with narrow means.[4] A new and original contribution, however, was made to the whole question of the ethics of property by *Clemens*, in a special treatise entitled 'Who is the Rich Man that is saved?' He took the story of the rich young man, to whom Jesus said: "Sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor"; and discussed the meaning and application of this story to the Christian life of his day. His position briefly is this: wealth is a burden, endangering salvation, though not hopelessly preventing it: Christ's words just quoted are not meant literally, but require the possessor to cast away all passionate and anxious devotion to his wealth: it is possible to remain wealthy and at the same time be good, to cast away one's possessions for unchristian reasons (like Anaxagoras and Democritus) and at the same time be wicked: those who lack the necessities of life are usually too depressed and preoccupied over their bodily needs to attend to higher matters: it is better to be thrifty, and to keep sufficient for our own wants and those of our needy neighbours than to cast it all away: what Christ really wants us to do is actually to cast away our selfish passions, and *to be prepared* in case of need to cast away our wealth. If the function of wealth

[1] On the growth of wealth, etc., in the Church during this period, see Bigelmair 49, 213ff; Troeltsch 112ff. Cf. the frequent warnings against luxury uttered by Clemens: also Cypr. *Laps.* 6, which testifies to the avarice of many Christians, including clergy and bishops, just before 250 A.D.

[2] Iren. III. viii. 1, xiv. 3, IV. ii. 4 (ii. 27, 77, 148); Cl. *Paed.* II. iii. 38f, III. vi., vii. 37, *Strom.* II. v. 22, IV. vi. 30f; Tert. *Cul.* i. 5f, 9, *Pat.* 7, *Marc.* iv. 15 (ii. 193f), 33 (ii. 245f); Hipp. *Dan.* II. xxi. 2; Cypr. *Donat.* 12, *Hab. Virg.* 7–11, *Test.* iii. 61; Orig. *Mart.* 11, *Cels.* vii. 18, 21, 23; Minuc. xxxvi. 6: gambling and dicing forbidden, Cl. *Paed.* III. xi. 75.

[3] Apollonius ap. Eus. *HE* v. xviii. 11 (*προφήτης δανείζει;*); Cl. *Paed.* I. x. 95; Tert. *Marc.* iv. 17 (ii. 199f); Hipp. *Can.* xv. 76 (no one 'qui . . . foeneratur' is to be instructed or baptized, until he has given it up: there does not seem to be any parallel in *Const. Eg.*); Cypr. *Test.* iii. 48 (Non faenerandum): Bigelmair 318–322; Bartlet *P* 100 ("Among forms of tainted money the Church reckoned usury, mainly having in mind the poorer class of borrower in time of distress, who could ill afford to pay the high current rate of interest, and often fell as a debtor into the power of the lender. The lending of business capital on terms offering good chances of repayment was not in question").

[4] Cl. *Strom.* VII. xi. 65; Tert. *Pat.* 7; Eus. *HE* VI. iii. 9–13; Minuc. xii. 2, xxxvi. 3–7; Orig. *Cels.* ii. 41. Tertullianus' words 'Omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos' (*Apol.* 39 (i. 262)) are only a rhetorical boast (cf. *DCA* i. 740a).

is simply to finance and patronize death, why should it ever have arisen from the earth? Clemens of course adds a good deal as to the duty, virtue, and rewards of almsgiving.[1] His view of wealth is not quite that set forth in the Gospels, which was largely determined by the temporary needs of the Palestinian apostolic mission and also the eschatological hope; but it was a legitimate attempt to apply the central principles of the Gospel-teaching on the matter to Christian life under its altered conditions, and as such it is of considerable importance.[2] Some sentiments on the subject of wealth and poverty akin to those of Clemens are expressed by Hippolytus and Origenes.[3]

The way in which the Christian conscience accommodated itself to the possession of wealth becomes easier to understand, when we remember that the objection which was felt to discredit it was rather its tendency to avert the possessor's affections and interests away from spiritual things, than the modern socialist idea that it is in itself an injustice to the rest of society. That idea does not seem to have been strongly present to the early Christian mind;[4] and thus Christians found themselves able to tolerate and approve the possession of riches, while at the same time they reiterated the old prophetic demand for the abolition of social wrongs,[5] and ascribed a high measure of value to the *giving of alms* to the poor.[6] Alms were given primarily and mainly to

[1] Cl. *Quis Dives* passim, esp. 26: τί δ' ὅλως πλοῦτον ἐχρῆν ἐκ γῆς ἀνατεῖλαί ποτε, εἰ χορηγὸς καὶ πρόξενός ἐστι θανάτου;

[2] Neumann *SK* 169 ("Gewiss ist die Deutung, welche Clemens den Worten des Evangeliums leiht, nach den Gesetzen philologischer Erklärung nicht zu halten, aber sie ruht auf den Bedürfnissen einer Zeit, in welcher sich der neue Glaube von den unteren Schichten des Gesellschaft schon zu den höheren Stufen emporhob"); Carlyle 134 ("Clement's interpretation of our Lord's words is not, so far as we know, a common one, but it is of considerable importance"); Bartlet *P* 100f (summary), 101 (Clemens' view "was not exactly the primitive one, which resulted largely from expectation of a near end to the present order of things; but it had at its heart the same idea of property, whether material or spiritual, as a stewardship from God for the good of all within our reach"), 102 (Clemens "goes beyond the primitive Christian mode of thought in a modern direction").

[3] Hipp. *Dan.* III. vi. 8; Orig. *Cels.* vi. 16.

[4] Bartlet *P* 103: "Clement does not feel called on to urge that this" (i.e. a competency) "should be brought within the reach of all; that so every man might have the means of self-expression through the true use of some property of his own, rather than be dependent upon the charity of others. But this defect was common to ancient thought generally, while in Christianity 'charity' was placed on a more ideal basis." But see above, p. 285.

[5] Theoph. iii. 12; Iren. IV. xvii. 1–3, xxxvi. 2 (ii. 195–197, 278); Cl. *Paed.* I. x. 95, III. xii. 89f; Tert. *Marc.* ii. 19, iv. 14 (ii. 189); Cypr. *Test.* iii. 1, 81 (mercedem mercennario cito reddendam).

[6] Iren. IV. xii. 5, xvii. 3 (ii. 179f, 196); Cl. *Paed.* III. vi. 35, vii. 37, xii. 93, *Strom.* VII. xii. 69, *Quis Dives* 30–35, *fr.* (iii. 224) (Δυνατὸς ἦν ὁ Πατὴρ ποιῆσαι

needy Christians;[1] but also in some measure at least to pagans.[2]

SLAVERY.—That a life of slavery involved, even from the Christian point of view, real limitations in character and intellect, appears from a number of casual allusions, as for instance those of Clemens, where he says that "one must abstain from all 'slave-manners' and excess" at table,[3] and of Origenes, where he says that Celsus, in displaying his unreasonableness, "acts like the most servile of the enemies of the Word,"[4] and again, that Christians wished to instruct all, "so as to show slaves how they may recover a free mind, and be ennobled by the Word,"[5] and again, that the Christian teacher did not discourse (i.e. mainly, as Celsus suggested he did) on the Divine wisdom "to the most uneducated and to slaves and to the most unlearned."[6] We can observe a recognition of the same fact in the marked tendency to use slavery as an illustration of the elementary or undesirable in religious experience,[7] rather than, as formerly, of the normal and proper.[8]

There was considered to be nothing extraordinary in the fact that a Christian possessed slaves, nor was manumission looked upon in any way as a general duty.[9] In many cases these slaves

μηδένα πένητα, ἀλλὰ τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν ἂν περιῃρεῖτο, συμπάσχειν οὐδεὶς ἠξίου. Νῦν ἀλλήλων ἕνεκα καὶ εὐποροῦμεν καὶ ἀπορούμεθα, ἵνα τόπος γενώμεθα τῇ εὐποιΐᾳ); Hipp. *Dan.* III. v. 2, vii. 3; Cypr. *Hab. Virg.* 11, *Test.* iii. 1f (quotes Prov. xvi. 6: Eleemosynis et fide peccata purgantur, and Sirach iii. 30: Sicut aqua extinguet ignem, sic eleemosyna extinguet peccatum).

[1] Cl. *Strom.* VII. xii. 69, *Quis Dives* 33 (alms to be given to all Christians indiscriminately), *fr.* (iii. 225) ('Ελεεμοσύνας δεῖ ποιεῖν, ὁ λόγος φησίν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ κρίσεως καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ γεωργὸς σπείρει οὐκ εἰς ἅπασαν γῆν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀγαθήν, ἵνα αὐτῷ καρποφορήσῃ, οὕτω δεῖ σπείρειν τὴν εὐποιΐαν εἰς εὐλαβεῖς καὶ πνευματικούς, ἵνα τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὐκαρπίας διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν ἐπιτύχῃς); Cypr. *Test.* iii. 75 (suorum et maxime fidelium curam plus unumquemque habere debere).

[2] This is clear from Cl. *Strom.* VII. xii. 69 (the true Gnostic gives alms and help to enemies and persecutors, as well as to friends) and from Tertullianus' reply to the pagan reproach that Christianity was adversely affecting the temple-revenues: 'Non enim sufficimus et hominibus et diis vestris mendicantibus opem ferre, nec putamus aliis quam petentibus impertiendum' (*Apol.* 42) (i. 275): cf. Harnack *ME* i. 162.

[3] Cl. *Paed.* II. i. 13. [4] Orig. *Cels.* ii. 47. [5] Orig. *Cels.* iii. 54.

[6] Orig. *Cels.* vi. 13; cf. also *Princ.* II. ix. 3, where he mentions the humiliating condition of slavery among the various types of life to which different men have been allotted.

[7] Iren. IV. ix. 1, xiii. 4, xvi. 5, xvii. 1, xxx. 2, V. ix. 4 (ii. 169, 183, 192, 193, 249, 344); Cl. *Protr.* ix. 83, *Paed.* I. ix. 87; Tert. *Paen.* 6 (i. 654), *Ux.* ii. 8 init., *Cor.* 13 (i. 451); Orig. *Orat.* x. 1, xvi. 1 (προσευχώμεθα τοίνυν . . . ὡς Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ κυρίῳ, οὐ πάντως δούλου ὄντι κυρίῳ), xxii. 2. Other illustrative allusions to the dark side of slavery occur in Tert. *Apol.* 14 init., 27, *Nat.* ii. 13 (i. 386); Ps-Mel. 10 (120); Hipp. πρὸς Ἰουδαίους 6.

[8] Tert. *Cul.* ii. 10 fin., *Pat.* 10 (i. 605), *Praescr.* 12, *Marc.* i. 23 (ii. 74); Orig. *Princ.* III. i. 11, *Orat.* xxii. 1, 3, xxviii. 3; Cypr. *Hab. Virg.* 7.

[9] Allusions to manumission occur in Cl. *Paed.* III. vii. 38; Tert. *Res.* 57 (ii. 544); Orig. *Cels.* v. 43. On the toleration of slavery by the Christians of this

would be pagans. Thus Tertullianus numbered among the strangers and enemies to the truth "our domestics—from their very nature";[1] and pagans suggested that evidence of Christian crimes might be obtained from slaves, whom curiosity prompted to peep through cracks and holes at their masters' meetings.[2] Nor does it seem from the language used by Church-writers that the slaves of a Christian master (while necessarily enjoying certain privileges, if they were themselves also Christians) were exempt from the usual disabilities and even penalties to which their social position rendered them liable. "I would exhort those who are married," says Clemens, "never at home to kiss their wives in the presence of slaves. For Aristoteles does not allow one ever to laugh at slaves, and by no means must a man's affection for his wife be shown in their presence."[3] "We are gravely offended with our slaves," says Tertullianus, "if they assume to themselves the right of vengeance over their fellow-slaves."[4] "A cup that is soiled with our own dirt, or not mixed to our taste, we usually smash, and then get the more angry with (our) slave."[5] In arguing that the resurrection-flesh will be immune from suffering, he says: "I ask thee, if thou hast emancipated thy slave, seeing that the same flesh and feelings will remain, which were formerly exposed to whips and shackles and brandmarks, will they for that reason have to suffer the same things (again)? I trow not."[6] The Christian Carpophorus, as soon as his fugitive slave was brought back to him, clapped him into the pistrinum (the domestic tread-mill of the Roman slave-owner) and kept him there till the Christians asked that he might be set at liberty in the hope that he would refund the money he had made away with.[7] "We men," says Origenes (but perhaps the inclusion of Christians in this is not to be pressed), "when we are training slaves or sons, while they are still incapable of reason, on account of their age, coerce them with threats and fear; but when they have got a grasp of

period, and the relative rarity of manumissions as compared with what was usual among the pagans, cf. Uhlhorn *Ch.* 190–195. Ziegler (178f) regards Callistus' marriage-regulations as an attempt to raise the status of slaves (see above, p. 444).

[1] Tert. *Apol.* 7 (i. 137) (see above, p. 406 n 1).

[2] Tert. *Nat.* i. 7 (i. 317): domesticorum curiositas furata est per rimulas et cavernas.

[3] Cl. *Paed.* III. xii. 84.

[4] Tert. *Pat.* 10 (i. 605).

[5] Tert. *Res.* 16 (ii. 487).

[6] Tert. *Res.* 57 (ii. 544): . . . caro atque anima . . ., quae flagellis et compedibus et stigmatibus obnoxiae retro fuerant, etc.

[7] Hipp. *Ref.* ix. 12 (7) (D. and S. 454) (. . . προσελθόντες ἀδελφοὶ παρεκάλουν τὸν Καρποφόρον, ὅπως ἐξαγάγῃ τῆς κολάσεως τὸν δραπέτην, κτλ.).

what is good and useful and honest, then, the fear of stripes being over, they acquiesce in everything that is good, persuaded by language and reason." [1]

At the same time, the Christian mind could hardly fail to realize the essential equality of master and slave in the sight of God. Kings and paupers, rulers, slaves, and freemen, would all be judged at the last.[2] "Take away slaves from their masters," says Clemens, "(and) thou wilt find that the masters differ in no respect from the money-bought, either in gait or look or voice—so like to the slaves are they. But they are distinguished from the slaves by being weaker and having been brought up in a more sickly way." [3] "Slaves are to be treated as ourselves, for they are men as we are; for, if thou considerest, God is the same to all, to the free and to the slaves." [4] The Gnostic 'Acts of Thomas' contain a protest against the very institution of slavery, on the ground of the equality of all before God.[5] The Church addressed herself to the conversion of slaves as much as to that of freemen.[6] Yet, in admitting a slave-candidate to membership in the Church, his social status was not ignored. If his master was a Christian, his permission had to be obtained before the slave could be admitted as a hearer; if he reported against the slave's character, the slave was rejected. If the master was a heathen, the slave was taught that he must please his master, "lest blasphemy arise." [7]

Slaves, like any other form of wealth, are apt to be a temptation to the Christian, and Clemens therefore deprecates the keeping of a large number of them.[8] He says that "those who have been redeemed from utter slavery," i.e. Christians, are "good masters of slaves," [9] and he quotes the Pauline regulations as to the master's duties: "Ye masters, treat your servants well, abstaining from

[1] Orig. *Princ.* III. v. 8 (xxi. 355).
[2] *Act. Apoll.* 25.
[3] Cl. *Paed.* III. vi. 34.
[4] Cl. *Paed.* III. xii. 92.
[5] *Act. Thom.* 83 (Bonnet 198f): καὶ ἀνθρώποις ὑμῖν οὖσιν ὥσπερ τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῴοις ἐπιτιθέασιν ὑμῖν φόρτους, τοῦτο νομίζοντες οἱ τὴν ἐξουσίαν καθ' ὑμῶν ἔχοντες ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὲ ἄνθρωποι οἷοι καὶ αὐτοί εἰσιν εἴτε δοῦλοι εἴτε ἐλεύθεροι· οὔτε γὰρ τοὺς πλουσίους ἡ κτῆσις ὀφελήσει τι, οὔτε τοὺς πένητας ἡ πενία ῥύσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δίκης.
[6] Orig. *Cels.* iii. 54 (see above, p. 452 n 5). Notable instances are the martyrs Revocatus and Felicitas (*Perpet.* ii. 1; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 127) and, of course, the notorious Callistus.
[7] *Const. Eg.* x. 3 (Inquiratur autem, qualis vita eorum sit, num uxorem habeat an servus (domini) fidelis sit et dominus ei permittat: tunc audiat), 4 (Si dominus ei testimonium non perhibet, eum bonum esse, reiciatur), 5 (Si dominus gentilis est, doceas eum, ut domino placeat, ne blasphemia oriatur). Hipp. *Can.* x. 63f is apparently a later adaptation: it forbids the baptism of the slave of a heathen master without the master's consent.
[8] Cl. *Paed.* III. iv. 26, vii. 38, *Strom.* VII. xii. 70.
[9] Cl. *Protr.* x. 107.

threats, knowing that their Master and yours is in heaven, and that there is no respect of persons (with Him)." [1] "Servants are to be treated as oneself." [2] The Gnostic never despises his brother, and so must treat his servant as "equal and like" to himself.[3] "One must not punish servants at fault, but rebuke them." [4] Tertullianus commends patience as a master's duty.[5] Origenes finds a parallel to the goodness of God hardening Pharaoh's heart in the way in which a master's kindness is usually said to spoil an unworthy slave.[6] He quotes with approval the Jewish law which forbade a co-religionist to be kept as a slave for more than six years.[7]

In regard to the duties of Christian slaves, these are described as consisting of patience, obedience, and honest and faithful service.[8]

[1] Cl. *Paed.* III. xii. 95, *Strom.* IV. viii. 65; Cypr. *Test.* iii. 73.
[2] Cl. *Paed.* III. xii. 92.
[3] Cl. *Strom.* VII. xii. 69.
[4] Cl. *Paed.* III. xii. 93.
[5] Tert. *Pat.* 15. For Tertullianus' views on slavery, see Guignebert 373ff.
[6] Orig. *Princ.* III. i. 11.
[7] Orig. *Cels.* V. 43.
[8] Cl. *Paed.* III. xii. 95, 96 (for the slave of a Christian master), *Strom.* IV. viii. 65, 67f (for the slave of a wicked master); Tert. *Pat.* 4, 10, 15; Cypr. *Test.* iii. 72.

# PART VI.—THE PERIOD OF FINAL STRUGGLE AND SETTLEMENT, 250–313 A.D.

## LITERARY INTRODUCTION

FOUR authors come over to us from the previous period. The only writings of *Gregorius Thaumaturgus* that concern us are his 'Canonical Epistle' (254 A.D.),[1] and the fragment of his dialogue with Ælianus:[2] of *Dionysius of Alexandria* we have to take the letters (250–265 A.D.) and the treatise 'Concerning Promises' (253–257 A.D.).[3] The whole of the works of *Cyprianus*, bishop of Carthago, are important. Besides the collection of his letters, which cover the whole period from 250 A.D. to his death in 258 A.D., and include a few written by others, we have 'De Laude Martyrii' (early 250 A.D.),[4] 'De Lapsis,' 'De Catholicae Ecclesiae Unitate' (251 A.D.), 'De Dominica Oratione,' 'Ad Demetrianum' (252 A.D.), 'De Mortalitate,' 'De Opere et Eleemosynis' (252–256 A.D.), 'De Bono Patientiae,' 'De Zelo et Livore' (256 A.D.), and 'Ad Fortunatum (de Exhortatione Martyrii)' (257 A.D.). In connection with him also we must mention the record of the Synod of Carthago held Sept. 1, 256 A.D. (the so-called 'Sententiae Episcoporum LXXXVII'), the 'Life of Cyprianus' by the deacon *Pontius*, probably written shortly after his martyrdom, the 'Acta Proconsularia,' narrating the proceedings that led up to his death, and a group of treatises usually included with his works, but probably—in some cases, certainly—not by him, viz. 'Quod Idola Dii non sint' (of unknown date), 'De Rebaptismate' (256 A.D.), 'Ad Novatianum' (about 257–258 A.D.), 'Adversus Judaeos' (? about 250 A.D.), and 'De Aleatoribus' (? 260–300 A.D.). From the schismatic *Novati-*

[1] Routh iii. 256–264.

[2] Basilius *Epist.* ccx. 5 (Migne *PG* xxxii. 776).

[3] The fragments of the Letters are for the most part preserved by Eusebius; but there is a convenient edition of all the remains by Feltoe (*Cambridge Patristic Texts*).

[4] Its authorship has been seriously questioned; but we may provisionally treat it as coming from Cyprianus. Cf. Krüger 299.

*anus* comes 'De Cibis Judaicis' (250 A.D. or soon after), and probably also the Pseudo-Cyprianic treatises 'De Spectaculis' and 'De Bono Pudicitiae.'

To the very first years of our period probably belong the 'Instructiones' and the 'Carmen Apologeticum' of the Christian poet, *Commodianus*.[1] To about the same epoch (the middle of the third century) belongs *the Apostolic Didascalia*, a work on the various aspects of Church-management and Christian conduct, composed presumably in Syria.[2] Syria was apparently the provenance also of certain Clementine writings produced during our period. *The Clementine Homilies* and *Clementine Recognitions* appear to be two independent abridgments, dated respectively before 350 A.D. and during the period 350–375 A.D., of a large work, now lost, entitled Περίοδοι Πέτρου and supposed to have been written about 265 A.D. While the 'Homilies' and 'Recognitions' probably contain a certain amount of extraneous matter, yet, inasmuch as they are abridgments rather than expansions of the Περίοδοι, their contents may be utilized as reflecting with sufficient accuracy (in the absence of definite marks of fourth-century date) the conditions of Christian thought and life in Syria during the period 250–313 A.D. Their character is Catholic, with a tinge of Essenistic Judaism.[3] Probably contemporary with the Περίοδοι is the *Letter of Clemens to Jacob*, which is usually prefixed to the 'Homilies.'[4] With the Clementine writings we may group the two *Epistles to Virgins* extant in Syriac.[5] They are a Syrian production of the third century.[6]

[1] Krüger 319f; Bardenhewer 225–227; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 257 n: Harnack, however, places him "nicht lange nach der diokletianischen Verfolgung" (C ii. 442).

[2] The original Greek has perished; but a Syriac version and some Latin fragments are extant. See above, p. xxxviii. The date of the work is discussed by Funk (*DCAp.* i. ivf), Harnack (*C* ii. 488–501), and Achelis and Flemming (*TU* (*NF*) x. 2. 366–377). While all agree that it belongs to the third century, opinions are divided as to whether it should be assigned to the earlier or later part of it. Perhaps the safest course would be to split the difference, and say about 250 A.D. (so Bartlet in *Encyc. Brit.* (11th edn.) vi. 493a)—but not during a time of persecution. Achelis and Funk incline to the latter half of the century.

[3] See above, p. 293 n 2. For the *Homilies* I have used the edition of Dressel, Göttingen (Dieterich) 1853. The *Recognitions* are extant (as a whole) only in the Latin translation of Rufinus: vide Gersdorf's *Bibliotheca Patrum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum Selecta*, vol. i., Leipzig (Tauchnitz) 1838.

[4] Dressel (see last note) 10–24; Harnack *C* ii. 527 top. The companion *Letter of Peter to Jacob* (Dressel 3–6) was attached to one of the *sources* of the Περίοδοι, a Jewish-Christian Gnostic writing—Κηρύγματα Πέτρου—perhaps written about 200 A.D. (*op. cit.* 536, 538): but it contains nothing of any significance for our subject, except a recognition of the wrongfulness of swearing an oath (iv. 1).

[5] I have used the English version in *ANCL* xiv. 367–395.

[6] For the whole of the Clementine Literature, see Bartlet in *Encyc. Brit.* (11th edn.), vi. 490ff.

Other authors in the last decades of the third century are *Anatolius*, to whose ἀριθμητικαὶ εἰσαγωγαί we shall have occasion to refer; *Methodius*, bishop of Olympus, whose treatises 'Concerning Chastity' (συμπόσιον ἢ περὶ ἁγνείας), 'Concerning Free Will,' 'Concerning the Resurrection,' etc., contain some points of interest;[1] *Pierius* of Alexandria, of whom only a few fragments are extant;[2] and *Victorinus* of Petavium, who wrote a treatise 'De Fabrica Mundi' and a 'Commentary on the Apocalypse,' of both of which only fragments are extant,[3] and who was probably the author also of the treatise 'Adversus Omnes Haereses,' appended to the 'De Praescriptione Haereticorum' of Tertullianus.[4] With these we must mention *Theonas*, bishop of Alexandria 282–300 A.D., to whom is attributed a letter to Lucianus, the Christian major-domo of Constantius or Diocletianus. The letter, it is true, has been strongly suspected of being a seventeenth-century forgery; but the case has not been conclusively proved, and the contents bear so immediately on our subject, that I have thought it best to embody quotations from it—in the notes, at all events—though its evidence must, of course, be used only with great caution.[5] To the same general period probably belong the *Pseudo-Justinian* 'Cohortatio ad Gentiles,' written probably in Greece;[6] the Christian Hymn, a fragment of which

[1] Some of the writings of Methodius are preserved in Old Slavonic. A German version of these was given by Bonwetsch in *Methodius von Olympus* I. *Schriften* (Erlangen und Leipzig (Deichert) 1891). Since then Bonwetsch has published a complete edition of Methodius in a volume (1917) of the series *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig). My references are to the latter, and occasionally to Migne.

[2] Routh iii. 429–431; *TU* v. 2. 169ff.

[3] For *De Fabrica Mundi* see Routh iii. 455–463, Haussleiter xxvi.–xxx., 3–9. Of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* two recensions are extant, a longer and a shorter. The shorter is the nearer to the original, but it contains much that does not come from Victorinus and omits much of his work. The changes were made by Hieronymus, who worked over Victorinus' *Commentary*, expunged the chiliastic parts, and otherwise amended it in accordance with his own views. We have, however, the closing section of the *Commentary* in its original form, published by Haussleiter from a Vatican MS. in the *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, April 26, 1895, 193ff. Haussleiter has also more recently (see above, p. xli.) published a complete edition of Victorinus in the Vienna *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, and has included a restoration of the original text of practically the whole *Commentary* (16–154, even numbers). Cf. Krüger 348f; Harnack *C* ii. 429; Bardenhewer 227f; Haussleiter xxivf, xxx.–lxvi.

[4] Harnack *C* ii. 430f; Krüger 349.

[5] Cf. Harnack *C* ii. 67 n 2; Bardenhewer 158f. Krüger (225f) defends its genuineness. Harnack argues strongly for the theory of forgery in *TU* (*NF*) IX. 3 (1903) 93–117.

[6] Harnack *C* ii. 157.

is preserved in the Amherst Papyri ;[1] and the 'Ecclesiastical Canons.'[2]

To the first ten or fifteen years of the fourth century belong the letter of the imprisoned *Phileas*, bishop of Thmuis, to his flock concerning the martyrs of Alexandria (305 A.D.) ;[3] the 'Canonical Letter' on repentance by *Peter*, bishop of Alexandria (306 A.D.) ;[4] the 'Canons' of the *Synod of Illiberis* (Elvira) (306 A.D. or more probably before 303 A.D.) ;[5] the treatise of the rhetorician *Arnobius* 'Adversus Nationes' (304–310 A.D.) ;[6] the Apology of *Pamphilus* of Cæsarea for Origenes (about 308 A.D.), of which we have only the first book in a Latin translation by Rufinus and a few testimonia from other authors ;[7] the anonymous *Dialogus de Recta Fidei*, in which Adamantius (possibly, but not probably, meant to be Origenes) refutes two Marcionites, two Valentinians, and a Bardesanite (300–313 A.D.) ;[8] and the lengthy and important works of the rhetorician *Lactantius*, viz. 'De Opificio Dei' (303–304 A.D.), 'Divinae Institutiones' in seven books—his principal work (304–305 A.D.), 'De Ira Dei' (305 A.D.), and 'De Mortibus Persecutorum' (about 314 A.D.).[9] Along with these must be taken certain of the works of the historian *Eusebius* of Cæsarea. His literary activity covers roughly the first forty years of the fourth century. His 'Ecclesiastical History,' including the shorter recension of the Acts of the 'Martyrs of Palestine,' and his 'Life of Constantinus' are both indispensable for our purpose, though the latter was wholly, and the former at least partially, composed after 313 A.D. Besides these, use has been made of his treatise 'Against Hierocles' (about 300 A.D.),[10] the 'Praeparatio Evangelica' (about 303–314 A.D.), and the 'Demonstratio Evangelica,' of which books i.–iv. were prob-

[1] *Amherst Papyri* i. (1900) 23–28 ; Harnack dates it 250–330 A.D. (*C* ii. 179).
[2] Krüger 358ff ; Bardenhewer 160–162 ; Harnack *SAC* 7ff.
[3] Routh iv. 87–91 ; Harnack *C* ii. 70. [4] Routh iv. 23–45.
[5] For the date see Hefele 137 ; Dale 44 ; Collier in *Encyc. Brit.* (11th ed.) ix. 301. Harnack (*C* ii. 450–452) argues for 295–302 A.D., on the ground that the *Canons* make no reference to recent persecution.
[6] Harnack *C* ii. 415.
[7] Routh iii. 491–499, iv. 341–392 ; Lommatzsch xxiv. 263–412.
[8] Krüger 245–247 ; Harnack *C* ii. 149–151 : see above, p. xxxiii. Zahn believes, Krüger suggests, and Bakhuyzen (xviif of edn. in *Die griech. christl. Schriftsteller*, etc.) and Harnack deny, that Adamantius is meant to be Origenes.
[9] Bury in Gibbon ii. 531f ; Harnack *C* ii. 424f. The *Institutiones* contain certain passages, addressed to Constantinus and couched in adulatory terms (I. i. 13–16 and VII. xxvi. 11–17), also four brief apostrophes to that Emperor (II. i. 2, IV. i. 1, V. i. 1, VI. iii. 1), which were not inserted until after 313 A.D. Cf. Krüger 312 bottom ; Bardenhewer 205 ; Harnack *C* ii. 419f.
[10] Harnack *C* ii. 117f.

ably written before 313 A.D., books v.–x. shortly after, and books xi.–xx. are lost, except a fragment of book xv.[1] To the year 314 A.D. belong the 'Canons' of the *Synod of Arelate* (Arles) and of the *Synod of Ancyra*. The *Egyptian Church-Order*[2] or 'Constitutions of the Egyptian Church' are thought by some to have arisen about 300 A.D. or early in the fourth century,[3] though they have also been claimed recently as a genuine composition of Hippolytus of Rome. They have already been fully utilized for the period ending 250 A.D.; but even assuming their composition by Hippolytus, the fact that they were accepted as authoritative during the period now before us makes it worth while to consider them again in connection with it.[4]

Lastly, reference must be made to various *Martyr-Acts*, almost entirely those of men who suffered in the persecutions of Decius and Diocletianus and his colleagues. Nearly all martyr-acts contain a certain amount of fictitious matter. The limits between truth and fiction can no longer be drawn with exactitude. I have used only such of them as seem to be fairly well attested.[5] We are fortunate in possessing the 'Acta Proconsularia' connected with the condemnation of Cyprianus. Rufinus' Latin version of the defence made by *Lucianus* before the judge at Nicomedia (312 A.D.) may very well be genuine.[6]

I have excluded, either on grounds of late date or irrelevance of subject-matter or both, the Pseudo-Cyprianic 'Epistula ad Vigilium' and 'Exhortatio de Paenitentia,' the anti-manichæan works connected with the names of Alexander of Lycopolis and Bishop Archelaus, the long anonymous poem in five books 'Adversus Marcionem,' the Διασυρμὸς τῶν ἔξω φιλοσόφων of Hermias,[7] the later works of Eusebius, the 'Epitome' of Lactantius, the 'Pistis Sophia,' and other Gnostic productions.

[1] Gifford III. i. xi–xiv; Harnack *C* ii. 119f; Ferrar i. ix–xiv.
[2] Text in Funk *DCAp.* ii. 97–119, and *TS* VIII. 4. 175ff.
[3] Bardenhewer 354; Maclean 161.
[4] See above, pp. 288–290.
[5] Harnack (*C* ii. 463–482) discusses the most important of them. Where possible, I have used Gebhardt's text rather than Ruinart's. A few references will be found to some of the Acts translated from the Armenian by Conybeare. In regard to the *Passio Typasii*, which is printed in *Anal. Bolland.* ix. 116–123, and which I have several times had occasion to quote, it is to be observed that, in *MC* 83 n 4, Harnack withdraws the favourable judgment he had given of these Acts in *C* ii. 481f.
[6] Routh iv. 5–7; Krüger 245.
[7] Harnack *Gesch. der altchr. Litt.* i. 782, *C* ii. 196f: per contra, Krüger 137f; Bardenhewer 69. See below, p. 496 n 6.

# CHAPTER I

## THE WORLD AND THE CHURCH

THE EVIL STATE OF THE WORLD.—It had long been customary—as our previous investigations will already have indicated—for Christians to show themselves painfully aware of the moral corruption of the pagan world around them. The period of the great general persecutions, when the antagonistic feelings between Christians and pagans were sharpened, was hardly likely to witness much weakening of this traditional view. Cyprianus addresses to Demetrianus a long and passionate indictment of the various iniquities prevalent in the pagan world.[1] Commodianus says that to the pagans God is nothing other than the earthly life.[2] The 'Didascalia' speaks of the pagans as "not knowing God,"[3] and warns Christians against committing evil deeds—more particularly, fornication—"as the gentiles do."[4] The second Clementine 'Epistle to Virgins' says: "We do not copy the heathen in anything, . . . but in everything are estranged from the wicked."[5] The 'Clementine Homilies' specify a number of pagan misdeeds, and speak of "ten thousand other such evils which dwell in the world, like a lot of smoke in a house."[6] "Most men," they say, "neither think nor do anything with judgment."[7] Arnobius declaims at length on the dreadful amount and variety of sin and suffering that infest human life;[8] and he concludes that "the

[1] Cypr. *Demetr.* 10–12; cf. 3 (et decrescit ac deficit . . . innocentia in foro, iustitia in iudicio, in amicitiis concordia, in artibus peritia, in moribus disciplina), *Ep.* 76 (76) 7 (de istis tenebris et laqueis mundi).

[2] Commod. *Carm.* 608: Nec deus est illis aliquid nisi saeculi uita.

[3] *Didasc.* II. lii. 1 (Hoc faciunt, quamquam gentiles sunt nec noverunt Deum), lx. 2 (pagans called 'errantes'), VI. v. 2 (gentiles iudicantur ob inscitiam).

[4] *Didasc.* IV. xi. 1 (Docete filios vestros artificia . . . ne propter otium luxuriae inserviant neque, a parentibus suis non instructi, mala opera faciant sicut gentiles), 6 (. . . ne adulescentes in impetu iuventutis fornicentur instar gentilium): cf. Ps-Cypr. *Aleat.* 8 (quotes: 'exite de ea populus meus, ne particeps sis delictorum eius [Ap xviii. 4] . . . et inmundum ne tetigeritis' [Isa lii. 11]), 9 fin. (quotes: 'continete uos ab omni iniustitia saeculi').

[5] *Cl. Ep. Virg.* ii. 6.

[6] *Clem. Hom.* i. 18; cf. v. 9, where the licentious letter of Appion is described as "the culture of the Hellenes, which affords generous foundation to fearless sin."

[7] *Clem. Hom.* vi. 23.

[8] Arnob. ii. 39–43.

world was constituted as a seat and home, in which every outrage should be daily perpetrated, all evil deeds performed, plots, frauds, deceits, avarice, robberies, violence, crime, presumption, obscenity, disgrace, wickedness, and all the other evils which men all the world over devise with injurious mind and contrive for one another's downfall." [1] Lactantius also dilates in a number of passages on the wickedness of the non-Christian world.[2] We notice that the 'Clementine Recognitions,' Arnobius, and Lactantius, all speak of the pagan's loss of happiness, as well as of his sin.[3] Eusebius often censures the wrong-doings of paganism; but, inasmuch as his mind is occupied with the failure of the ancient Hellenic philosophers and the triumphs of Christianity in his own day, he generally thinks of pagan sin as a feature of bygone ages and speaks of it in the past tense.[4] The adoption of Christianity is usually spoken of by authors of this period as a liberation from a state of danger and darkness.[5] Commodianus is especially fond of telling his pagan readers that he was once in the same sad case as they are now.[6]

There can be no doubt that the facts of the case went far to justify the severity of the Christian judgment illustrated in the passages just quoted and referred to. Yet some deduction from its more extreme and sweeping expressions must be made, not only in view of the fact that the thought and language were in many cases traditional and conventional, but also in view of the

[1] Arnob. ii. 43; cf. ii. 13 (non quod uitiis omnibus et cupiditatibus abstinetis, etc.), 45, 54f, vi. 24.

[2] Lact. *Inst.* i. xx. 25f, iv. i. 2–6, v. ix. 14–18, x. 15–18, xiv. 19f, vii. vi. 2 (haec [i.e. proper worship of God] summa rerum est, hoc arcanum Dei, hoc mysterium mundi, a quo sunt alieni qui sequentes praesentem uoluptatem terrestribus et fragilibus se bonis addixerunt et animas ad caelestia genitas suauitatibus mortiferis tamquam luto caenoue demerserunt), xv. 7 (nostra haec tempora, quibus iniquitas et malitia usque ad summum gradum creuit).

[3] *Clem. Recog.* iv. 9–11, 14; Arnob. ll.cc.; Lact. *Inst.* iv. i. 2 (quam ob causam profecto saeculorum ueterum mutata felicitas est).

[4] Eus. *PE* 11b–12a, 74d, 140a–d, 299b–301a, *DE* i. vi. 21b, 22d, iii. ii. 96c (i. 39f, 110f). Flavius Vopiscus, a heathen author who wrote about 300 A.D., speaking of the Egyptians, said: 'nam sunt Christiani, Samaritae et quibus praesentia semper tempora cum enormi libertate displiceant' (*Firmus, Saturninus*, etc. vii. 5 (in *Hist. Aug.* ed. Peter ii. 225)).

[5] Cypr. *Dom. Orat.* 36 (gentiles, qui necdum inluminati sunt), *Fort.* 7 heading (Ereptos de faucibus diaboli et de laqueis saeculi liberatos), *Ep.* 55 (51) 7 ('saluti multorum providendum'—of reconciling penitent 'lapsi' to Church), 57 (53) 3 (readmission of 'lapsi' described as the giving of peace); Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 2 (ueteres ac pristinas tenebras sola lucis paratura uincebat), 3 (stupore gentilitatis nondum fundatis sensibus [of novices] adhaerente), 4 (. . . qui eum ad agnitionem uerae diuinitatis a saeculari errore correxerat); *Didasc.* v. v. 3, xiv. 22, xvi. 5–7; Eus. *PE* 14b.

[6] Commod. *Instr.* i. 7f, 26, 33, *Carm.* 3–12, 63f, 83: cf. Arnob. i. 39.

recognition which Christian authors occasionally accord—tacitly, it may be, unconsciously, and even inconsistently—to *the existence of a certain amount of genuine virtue even in pagans.* For instance, in the 'Didascalia,' Christians are thrice advised to take a lesson from the practice of pagans—from the reverence they pay to their priests, from the carefulness with which they try cases of murder, and even from their diligence in religious worship.[1] Cyprianus compares Christ avenging an insult done to God by a heretic with a man of this world avenging an insult offered to his father.[2] The 'Clementine Homilies' recognize the existence of chaste pagans, who would enter the Kingdom of God on the score of their chastity, were it not for the law which made baptism a condition of entrance.[3] In the 'Recognitions,' Peter says to the crowds: "Whatever things were done well (by us, when we were idolaters), these it is right to observe now also; because, if anything is rightly done by those who are in error, it is certain that it has been taken from the truth; and because, if anything is not rightly done in the true religion, there is no doubt but that it has been borrowed from error: for good, even if it has been done by those in error, is good; and evil, even if it has been done by those who follow the truth, is evil. Or shall we be so foolish that, if we see that he who worships idols is sober, we who worship God refuse to be sober, lest we seem to do the same things as he who worships idols? Not so." He thus recognizes the attainment of a certain standard of righteousness by the pagans, in demanding that the Christian should exceed it.[4] Lactantius refers to Julius Cæsar's forgetfulness of injuries, and bases on it a sort of a fortiori argument for Christian conduct.[5] He mentions the self-sacrifice of a Pythagorean who offered to die for his friend as a sort of analogy to the readiness of the Christians to die for God.[6] He grants that certain pagans "seem religious and by nature good," and "live with holy manners in the utmost fidelity and innocence," but he adds that, because they do not worship the true God, "punish-

[1] *Didasc.* II. xxviii. 8f, lii. 1f, lx. 2–4.

[2] Cypr. *Ep.* 73 (72) 19 (see below, p. 488 n 7).

[3] *Clem. Hom.* xiii. 21: . . . διὰ τοῦτο λίαν ἀθυμῶ περὶ τῶν ἐν πλάνῃ σωφρονούντων, ὅτι ἄνευ ἐλπίδος ἀγαθῆς σωφρονεῖν ἑλόμενοι πρὸς τὸ βαπτισθῆναι ὀκνηρῶς ἔχουσιν. διὸ οὐ σώζονται, κτλ.

[4] *Clem. Recog.* vi. 13 (. . . Et per omnia nos qui aeterni saeculi haereditatem speramus, debemus praecellere eos qui praesens tantum saeculum norunt, etc.); cf. *Clem. Hom.* xi. 32.

[5] Lact. *Inst.* VI. xviii. 34, 35 (quodsi hoc ille faciebat, homo non a caelesti tantum, sed a publica quoque ciuilique iustitia remotissimus, quanto magis id nos facere debemus qui immortalitatis uelut candidati sumus?).

[6] Lact. *Inst.* V. xvii. 22–24.

ment deservedly follows piety of this kind." [1] On these lines he compares the justice of the Athenian Cimon to a headless body, and says that the philosophers, " though they be good by nature, yet have no knowledge, no wisdom." [2] In criticizing the ethic of the Hellenic philosophers and poets on account of its serious limitations, he tacitly grants that within these limitations it was good and sound ; i.e. it taught boys and young men to pursue temperance and abstain from luxury.[3] In censuring them for neglecting the duty of burial, he recognizes that in certain things " they grasped some advantage, (and) being held by a certain inkling (odore) of truth, they wandered less far." [4] Eusebius says of the primitive savages : " Though they did not know the Supreme God, nor the path of true religion, yet inspired by conceptions of natural religion they agreed in self-taught principles about the existence of a Divine power, regarded it as and called it God, and considered the name one of salvation and beneficence." [5] Even allowing, however, for these deductions, there can be no doubt that in the main the considered judgment of Christian writers was that the state of the human race, in so far as it was not Christian, was hopelessly evil.

We are not concerned here to study in detail the various theories put forward by speculative Christian writers as to *the source of evil.* In general it may be said that they connected practical immorality very closely with intellectual error as to the Divine nature and its accompanying mistakes in method of worship, carrying these again back to the malicious agency of the demons and of their chief, the devil. Thus Lactantius ascribes human sin to ignorance of the chief good,[6] the neglect of God,[7] the desertion of the Divine religion,[8] and the worship of wicked gods.[9] He gives a full account of the devil and his satellites, the demons, whom he calls " authors of the evil things that are done " and considers responsible for sin and disease and ignorance of God.[10] He maintains that God

[1] Lact. *Inst.* v. x. 13, 14 (merito igitur huiusmodi pietatem poena consequitur et offensa diuinitas scelere hominum praue religiosorum graui eos infortunio mactat : qui licet sanctis moribus uiuant in summa fide atque innocentia, tamen quia deos colunt, quorum ritus inpios ac profanos Deus verus odio habet, a iustitia et a nomine uerae pietatis alieni sunt).

[2] Lact. *Inst.* VI. ix. 8–16.

[3] Lact. *Inst.* VI. iii. 5–9, 15.

[4] Lact. *Inst.* VI. xii. 25f.

[5] Eus. *DE* VIII. int. 363d, 364a (ii. 97)—but he adds immediately that this elementary theism was speedily corrupted into beast-worship and king-worship.

[6] Lact. *Inst.* I. xx. 25f.

[7] Lact. *Inst.* IV. i. 2–6, V. viii. 5.

[8] Lact. *Inst.* V. vi. 12.

[9] Lact. *Inst.* V. viii. 5, x. 15–18.

[10] Lact. *Inst.* II. xiv., xv., III. xxix. 13–20.

permits evil to exist as being necessary for the existence, credit, and triumph of the good.[1] The philosophic doctrine of Fate was rejected as inconsistent with the providence of God and the responsibility of man.[2] In the 'Clementine Homilies,' we find a strongly dualistic theory: God had assigned the present age, being a short one, to evil, and the future eternal age to good; men were free to give themselves up to either.[3] Peter, however, declares himself unwilling to enter into a discussion of the ultimate explanation of evil.[4] In the 'Recognitions,' the golden age of sinlessness and immunity from suffering is represented as having been terminated by man's forgetfulness of his indebtedness to God: the root-evil is represented as ignorance, which is fostered and maintained by the devil: another way of putting it is to say that men's immorality is due to their subjection to demons, to whom God had assigned those whom He foresaw would be inclined to evil (an Origenistic touch); the demons, however, had no power over those who had not first done their will.[5] Eusebius has a well-developed theory. God endowed all men with free will and placed all the gentiles under guardian-angels, who, though they did their best, yet allowed their charges to worship the heavenly bodies. Later, however, the angels were involved in an unequal contest with Satan and his demonic satellites, who obliterated their provincial boundaries, threw their rule into confusion, and seduced the whole human race (except the Jews) into idolatry and unspeakable vice. At length Christ came to the help of the discomfited angels, and overthrew Satan and the demons.[6]

*The views of Arnobius on the subject* are so abnormal as to make him quite unrepresentative of any one but himself. He states that "natural infirmity makes a man a sinner, not the choice of will or of judgment."[7] He devotes a long section of his second book[8] to a discussion of the origin and dignity of the human soul, combating the usually accepted ideas as to its Divine parentage, its inherent superiority to that of animals, its natural immortality—belief in which, as well as belief in its necessary mortality, he treats as obviously conducive to sin[9]—and so on, but contenting himself for

[1] Lact. *Inst.* II. xvii. 1, III. xxix. 16, 20, V. vii.
[2] See below, p. 496 n 2. [3] *Clem. Hom.* xv. 7, xx. 2.
[4] *Clem. Hom.* xx. 6: he does not want it to appear ὅτι ἀλήθειαν ἐπαγγελλόμενος κηρύσσειν τὸν περὶ κακίας λόγον ἀγνοῶ· εἰ δὲ εἴποιμι, φοβοῦμαι, μὴ ἄρα οὐκ ἀρέσκῃ Θεῷ ζητεῖσθαι τὸ κακόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀγαθὸν μόνον.
[5] *Clem. Recog.* iv. 9ff, v. 4, 18, 33, viii. 55; cf. ix. 3f on human freedom and the prince of this world.
[6] Eus. *DE* IV. i. 144f, vi. 155d—x. 163 (i. 163f, 175–183).
[7] Arnob. i. 49. [8] Arnob. ii. 16–60. [9] Arnob. ii. 29f.

the most part with merely negative conclusions. He rejects the belief that God "either made anything faulty and less than right, or was the cause to anything of miseries and dangers, or ordained, commanded, and bade issue from His own arrangement the very activities by which (human) life is passed and spent. These are too little for Him and destroy the power of His greatness; and, so far from His being believed to be the author of those things, whoever imagines that man was begotten of Him incurs the charge of sacrilegious impiety—man, a thing unhappy and miserable, who grieves that he exists, who hates and bewails his condition, who understands that he was begotten for no other reason than lest evils should not have material through which to diffuse themselves, and in order that there might always be miserable beings on whose tortures some latent Cruelty, adverse to humanity, might feed." [1] He finally gives up as insoluble the problem as to the ultimate origin of evil and its relation to the supremacy of God's Will.[2]

Characteristics of Christianity.—The old faith in the *universalism* of the Christian gospel, in the sense of its being a challenge addressed to all human beings indiscriminately, was, of course, as strong as ever. We find the usual quotations from Scripture about the call of the gentiles and the usual references to the world-wide mission of the apostles.[3] We shall see presently how Christians prided themselves on the fact that professed adherents of Christianity were to be found in every part of the then known world. But it is worth observing that there seems to be no representative during this period of the *hope of the ultimate salvation of all men.* The traditional doctrine that the sinner was irrevocably damned, if unrepentant at the moment of death,[4] had hardened as time went on; and there was no speculator of sufficient insight and courage to carry on the pioneer work of Origenes in this field. References to the subject, apart from the frequent threats of eternal fire, are rare. Eusebius, indeed, says that Christ "saved

[1] Arnob. ii. 46. [2] Arnob. ii. 54–56.

[3] Commod. *Carm.* 264, 292, 380ff; *Didasc.* vi. viii. 1; Ps-Cypr. *Quod Idola* 14 fin., *Jud.* 5; *Clem. Hom.* iii. 59; *Clem. Recog.* i. 42; Lact. *Inst.* iv. xi. 8–10, xii. 18; Eus. *PE* 3c, 7d, 9bc, *DE* passim: cf. Arnob. ii. 2 init. ('et non in cunctos et lumen praetendit uitae et periculum ignorationis amouit?'—but the reading is somewhat doubtful), 64 (non aequaliter liberat qui aequaliter omnes uocat? aut ab indulgentia principali quemquam repellit aut despuit, qui sublimibus infimis seruis feminis pueris uniformiter potestatem ueniendi ad se facit?); Eus. *PE* 3a. In *DE* i. ii. 11–17 (i. 7–11), Eusebius is at pains to prove that Christianity is a religion quite distinct from Judaism on the one hand and Hellenism on the other.

[4] Cypr. *Demetr.* 25, *Mort.* 15; *Clem. Recog.* v. 28; Lact. *Inst.* vi. iv. 4f, vii. xxvii. 8f.

the whole inhabited world" ;[1] but this is simply a rhetorical allusion to the fact that Christianity was disseminated everywhere. Arnobius, in replying to the pagan question as to why Christ did not actually liberate every one, tacitly admits that all do not accept salvation, though all are invited to do so.[2] In the 'Clementine Recognitions,' Peter oddly states: "Since it was necessary that, in the place of those who remained unbelieving, the gentiles should be called, in order that that number which had been shown to Abraham should be filled up, the healthful preaching of the Kingdom of God is being sent into the whole world."[3] To the question, "Why does God allow evil?" Lactantius replies: "That evil may fight with good, that vices may be opposed to virtues, that He may have some whom He may punish, others whom He may honour."[4]

As we shall see still more clearly when we come to speak of the doctrine of the One Church, the assumption that *Christianity was the exclusive means of salvation* from worldly sin and its punishment was integral to the whole Christian outlook of the period. It tacitly underlies virtually all thought concerning the pagan world, and also comes often to overt expression.[5]

In an age when the rigorous ethical standards of earlier days were increasingly liable to relaxation, when Christian thought was concentrating more and more on questions of orthodoxy and heresy as the all-important topics,[6] and when extensive persecution tended to bring out the refusal to participate in pagan worship more and more as the chief mark of distinction between Christian and non-Christian, the vital *need of practical righteousness* was still fairly kept in mind, and the demand for it was still frequently

[1] Eus. *Hier.* 4 (6): τῇ ἰδίᾳ θεότητί τε καὶ ἀρετῇ πᾶσαν ἔσωσε τὴν οἰκουμένην.

[2] Arnob. ii. 64: Si tibi fastidium tantum est, ut oblati respuas beneficium muneris, quinimmo si tantum sapientia praeuales, ut ea quae offeruntur a Christo ludum atque ineptias nomines, quid inuitans expectatur, cuius solae sunt hae partes, ut sub tui iuris arbitrio fructum suae benignitatis exponat? etc.

[3] *Clem. Recog.* i. 42. On the curious idea of the completion of a certain limited number of Christians, see *Didasc.* v. xv. 4 (. . . usque dum impletur numerus eorum, qui salvantur, mille milia et centena milia milium, sicut in David scriptum est). Cf. Ps lxviii. 17, Dan vii. 10.

[4] Lact. *Inst.* II. xvii. 1.

[5] Cf. *Clem. Recog.* i. 51 (Hunc ergo [i.e. Christ] Deus destinavit in fine mundi, quia impossibile erat mortalium mala purgari per alium); Arnob. ii. 65 (Christianus ergo ni fuero, spem salutis habere non potero? ita est, ut ipse proponis. partes enim salutis dandae conferendique animis quod tribui conuenit necessariumque est adplicari solus [sc. Christus] ab Deo patre iniunctas habet et traditas, etc.). For the doctrine 'nulla salus extra ecclesiam,' see below, p. 470 n 1.

[6] "Die Exklusivität der Christenheit bestand nur noch in ihrem Glauben, nicht mehr in ihrem Leben," u.s.w. (Harnack *KS* 150).

heard.[1] In spite of numerous and even surprising departures from the recognized Christian code of conduct,[2] it was still possible to point to the moral change wrought in men by the adoption of the new faith as one of the best proofs of its Divine origin.[3] Lactantius says: "How effective the precepts of God are in the minds of men, because they are both simple and true, is proved by daily experiences. Give me a man who is easily angered, scurrilous, unrestrained; with a very few of God's words 'I will make him as quiet as a sheep.' Give (me one who is) grasping, greedy, close-fisted; I will give him (back) to thee forthwith generous and distributing his money liberally. Give (me one who is) frightened of pain and death; (and) now he will scorn crosses and fires and Perillus' bull. Give (me one who is) lustful, adulterous, gluttonous; (and) now thou shalt see him sober, chaste, continent. Give (me one who is) cruel and bloodthirsty; (and) now that madness will be changed into pure clemency. Give (me one who is) unjust, foolish, sinful; forthwith he will be equitable and wise and innocent; for by the one bath (of baptism) all wickedness will be abolished. So great is the power of Divine wisdom that, (when once it is) infused into man's breast, at one stroke once for all it expels folly, the mother of misdeeds; and for effecting this there is no need of payment or books or nightly studies. These things are done gratis, easily, quickly, let only the ears be open and the breast thirsty for wisdom."[4] "Our people," he says later, "do nothing but what is equitable and good": pagans might see from this that our religion is true. "For it cannot happen that those, who in all the actions of their lives do not go wrong, should do so in the main point, that is, in religion."[5]

Most significant, however, as a sign of the times is the distinction

[1] Commod. *Instr.* ii. 21f; *Clem. Ep. Virg.* ii. 6; *Didasc.* II. vii., xxxviii. 4, xxxix. 5; *Clem. Hom.* xi. 32; *Clem. Recog.* vi. 13f; Lact. *Inst.* VI. xxv. 10, 12f.

[2] Cf. e.g. Cypr. *Ep.* 54 (50) 3 (as to tares in the Church), *Unit.* 20; *Didasc.* II. xliii. 1; *Can. Illib.* passim (penances and punishments for various moral offences).

[3] Arnob. i. 42, ii. 5 ('nulla iam natio est tam barbari moris et mansuetudinem nesciens, quae non eius amore uersa molliuerit asperitatem suam et in placidos sensus adsumpta tranquillitate migrauerit'; he describes Christians as 'omnium uirtutum amore correpti'), 12 (Christ's virtues 'tantas subdidit adpetitionum flammas'); Eus. *Hier.* 4 (6), *PE* 7d, 12b–13c, *DE* I. vi. 12c, 15f, 21–24, vii. 27b, x. 40c (i. 28, 31–33, 39–42, 45, 62), II. iii. 75a (i. 89), III. ii. 94a, 96cd, 102f, 109f, 132a (i. 108–152), VII. iii. 356c, 359c (ii. 91, 93).

[4] Lact. *Inst.* III. xxvi. 3–11.

[5] Lact. *Inst.* v. ix. 22–24: cum igitur uideant se ac suos ea quae diximus gerere, nostros autem nihil aliut operari nisi aecum et bonum, poterant, si quid saperent, ex hoc intellegere et illos qui bonum faciunt pios esse et se inpios qui nefanda committunt, etc. etc.

Eusebius draws between *the two standards of Christian morality*—the one ("a kind of secondary grade of piety") accommodated to the more elementary majority, permitting marriage, political activity, military service, farming, trade, and secular interests generally, and providing special times for religious instruction; and the other "above nature, and beyond common human living," for the specially religious, enjoining celibacy, poverty, aloofness from the world, and entire devotion to the service of God.[1] Here we have the definite beginning of the age-long Catholic distinction between religious and lay morality.

THE CHURCH.—Owing no doubt in part to the strong pressure put upon the Church from without by the general persecutions, and also to the dread of schism aroused by the perversity and success of Novatianus and later of the Donatists, this period of Christian history witnessed the addition of great emphasis to the old belief in the essential oneness of the Church. "Of what church (art thou)?" asks the Governor Polemon of Pionius, after the latter had confessed himself a Christian. "Of the Catholic Church," was the answer, "for there is no other recognized by Christ."[2] The letters of Cyprianus abound in passages insisting on this theme;[3] and his treatise 'De Catholicae Ecclesiae Unitate' was, as the title shows, wholly devoted to enforcing it.[4] Adherence to this view of

[1] Eus. *DE* I. viii. 29b–30b (i. 48–50) (30ab reads: ὁ δ' ὑποβεβηκὼς [i.e. the normal life of the Christian *laity* as distinct from that of the clergy] ἀνθρωπινώτερος, οἷος καὶ γάμοις συγκατιέναι σώφροσι καὶ παιδοποιΐαις, οἰκονομίας τε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τοῖς κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον στρατευομένοις τὰ πρακτέα ὑποτίθεσθαι, ἀγρῶν τε καὶ ἐμπορίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πολιτικωτέρας ἀγωγῆς μετὰ τοῦ θεοσεβοῦς φροντίζειν, οἷς καὶ ἀσκήσεων καιροὶ μαθητείας τε καὶ τῶν θείων λόγων ἀκροάσεως ἡμέραι ἀφωρίσθησαν, κτλ.). For translation of this passage, see below, p. 578. There are anticipations of this doctrine of a twofold standard of morals in Paul, the Gospel of Mt, the *Didache*, Hermas, and the Great Thinkers (see above, pp. 79 n 9, 148 n 2 fin., 214 n 1, and 298 n 5). I have sketched the early history and discussed the ethical validity of this theory in an article in *The Hibbert Journal* for Jan. 1923, 327–336. On the growing relaxation of Christian morality, see Harnack *KS* 149f.

[2] *M. Pionii.* ix. 2 (Τῆς καθολικῆς, οὔτε γάρ ἐστιν ἄλλη παρὰ τῷ Χριστῷ); cf. 6, 8, xix. 5; *Acta Fructuosi* etc. 3 (Ruinart 266: In mente me habere necesse est Ecclesiam Catholicam ab oriente usque in occidentem diffusam); *Adamant.* ii. 22 (Quem [i.e. the One God] recta sequitur ecclesia quae dicitur catholica, quae solo ueram obtinet sectam, cui opto etiam ego congregari et unus effici ex his qui iam recte de Deo uel intelligunt uel fatentur), v. 28 (declinantes a uia recta et ecclesiasticis dogmatibus).

[3] Cypr. *Ep.* 43 (39) 5, 51 (46) 2, 54 (50) 1, 55 (51) 24 (quisque ille est et qualiscunque est, christianus non est qui in Christi ecclesia non est), 69 (75) 2–4, 71 (70) 2, 73 (72) 2, 74 (73) 4, 11: cf. also the letters of Cornelius (49 (45) 2) and of Firmilianus (75 (74) 1) in the same collection.

[4] See especially Cypr. *Unit.* 4–8, 23; and cf. Vict. *Comm. Apoc.* i. 7 (28, 30) (unam esse catholicam Paulus docuit: . . . in his ergo septem ecclesiis puta fieri de una ecclesia), iv. 5 (54), xii. 1 (106), 4 (112) (ecclesiam omnem catholicam).

the oneness of the Church expressed itself in dogmatic assertions that there could be no salvation outside it, even for martyrs,[1] and in the passionate denunciation of those who broke the unity of the Church by schism.[2] The 'Epistle of Clemens to Jacob' compares the Church to a ship at sea, the rocks representing "the judges in high places, threatening terrible things."[3] Eusebius, of course, makes many allusions to the Church, speaking of it once as "a new nation,"[4] frequently as world-wide and "gentile," and always taking its oneness for granted.[5]

PROPAGANDA.—It is refreshing to notice, in a period when persecution, heresy, and schism tended to provoke bitterness and antipathy towards all who stood outside the Church, that the basal Christian sentiment of *loving concern for the world* was still a strong and living factor in the Christian heart. Cyprianus told the Proconsul Paternus that it was the Christians' custom to pray to God night and day not only for themselves but for all men.[6] In the 'Didascalia,' prayer is enjoined for the unconverted, more particularly for Jews and heretics.[7] Astyrius, while watching the crowd celebrating heathen rites at Paneas, "pitied the(ir) delusion, and then, looking up into heaven, besought the God of all through Christ to confute the demon that was misleading the people and to stop men being deceived."[8] The martyr Paulus, just before his execution, prayed aloud for the conversion of the Jews, Samaritans, and gentiles, including the bystanders.[9] "I grieve," says the honest Commodianus, "for the crowd of citizens, because it goes, perishing in its ignorance, to seek vain gods."

[1] Cypr. *Ep.* 43 (39) 6 fin., 55 (51) 17, 24, 29, 57 (53) 4, 59 (54) 8, 69 (75) 4, 71 (70) 1, 73 (72) 21 (salus extra ecclesiam non est), 74 (73) 11, *Unit.* 6 (habere non potest Deum patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem—[for the conception of the Church as mother, cf. also Cypr. *Ep.* 10 (8) 1 init., etc. etc., *Laps.* 9; *Didasc.* II. lxi. 4]), 14; *Clem. Hom.* xi. 25, xiii. 21 (salvation impossible for the unbaptized).

[2] Cypr. *Ep.* 44 (40) 2, 55 (51) 21, 24, 29, 69 (75) 1, 6, *Unit.* passim; Dion. Alex. *Letter to Novat.* (Eus. *HE* VI. xlv.); *Syn. Carth.* 11 (cum . . . Johannes apostolus eos qui ab ecclesia exeunt antichristos dicat); Commod. *Instr.* ii. 25; *Didasc.* VI. i.; Eus. *DE* VI. xviii. 290b (ii. 31f), X. viii. 506a–c (ii. 231f).

[3] *Clem. Ep. Jac.* 14: Ἔοικε γὰρ ὅλον τὸ πρᾶγμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας νηΐ μεγάλῃ . . . καὶ παρεικάσθω . . . τὰ . . ἀκρωτήρια καὶ τὰ τραχέα τῶν τόπων τοῖς ἐν ὑπεροχαῖς δεινὰ ἀπειλοῦσι δικασταῖς). Cf. above, p. 299.

[4] Eus. *DE* III. vi. 131cd (i. 151).

[5] Eus. *DE* saepe: see also below, pp. 471f.

[6] Cypr. *Act. Procons.* 1.

[7] *Didasc.* V. xiv. 22 (beati qui lugent super interitum infidelium), xvi. 8 (Propterea ergo precamini et orate pro eis [i.e. Jews] . . . ut orationibus vestris remissione digni fiant et convertantur ad Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum), xix. 2–4, VI. xiv. 4f.

[8] Eus. *HE* VII. xvii.

[9] Eus. *Mart.* viii. 10.

"Alas! I grieve (my fellow-)citizens, that ye are thus blunted by the world."[1] In similar strain Arnobius: "What say ye, O ignorant ones, most worthy of tears and pity?"[2] The 'Dialogus de Recta Fidei' opens with a statement by Adamantius taking it for granted that all lovers of truth desire to strengthen the generation in which they live by the principles of a better life.[3] Lactantius nobly declares, on behalf of his fellow-Christians: "We believe this to be to our advantage, that we should love you, and confer all things upon you who hate us."[4]

It was this spirit that was the mainspring of the propagandist work of the Church. The zealous interest taken in this work often appears clearly in the proud and triumphant tone in which reference is made to the *large and increasing numbers of the Christians*,[5] and to the fact that the Gospel had been preached and converts made in every nation of the known world.[6] But there is still more direct and practical testimony to the Church's sense of her responsibility for the evangelization of the world.[7] *The missionary work of the Church* seems to have continued in

[1] Commod. *Instr.* i. 1, 22. [2] Arnob. ii. 5.

[3] *Adamant.* i. 1 (Quicunque amatores sunt ueritatis et honestati morum student omneque aeuum, quo in huius mundi luce uersantur, emendatioris uitae firmare cupiunt institutis, non aliter poterunt quae proba et perfecta sunt obtinere, nisi, etc.); cf. i. 24 (. . . regnum . . . Romanorum . . ., in quo regno reguntur gentes quas sibi Christus in haereditatem dari poposcit).

[4] Lact. *Inst.* v. xii. 4: cf. Eus. *DE* III. i. (i. 101f), x. iv. 480ab (ii. 207).

[5] *M. Pionii* xiii. 4 (*εἰπάτωσαν οὖν ἡμῖν, ποίου βιοθανοῦς πᾶς ὁ κόσμος μαθητῶν ἐπληρώθη*;); Cypr. *Unit.* 3 (devil sees 'idola derelicta et per nimium credentium populum sedes suas et templa deserta'), *Demetr.* 17 (nimius et copiosus noster populus); Arnob. i. 55 (unde tam breui tempore totus mundus ista religione completus est, aut in unam coire qui potuerunt mentem gentes regionibus dissitae, uentis caeli conuexionibusque dimotae?); Lact. *Inst.* v. xiii. 1–5; Eus. *PE* 8b, 9b, 253c, *DE* passim, esp. I., II. iii., and III. For an estimate of the proportion of Christians to the whole population at this date, see Uhlhorn *C* 402.

[6] Ps-Cypr. *Quod Idola* 11; Commod. *Carm.* 382 (et cuius in nomine crederemus gentes ubique); Arnob. ii. 5 (nonne uel haec saltem fidem uobis faciunt argumenta credendi, quod iam per omnes terras in tam breui temporis spatio inmensi nominis huius sacramenta diffusa sunt; quod nulla iam natio est tam barbari moris et mansuetudinem nesciens, quae non eius amore uersa molliuerit asperitatem suam et in placidos sensus adsumpta tranquillitate migrauerit?), 12; Lact. *Mort. Pers.* iii. 5 (. . . ut iam nullus esset terrarum angulus tam remotus quo non religio Dei penetrasset, nulla denique natio tam feris moribus uiuens, ut non suscepto Dei cultu ad iustitiae opera mitesceret); Eus. *Hier.* 4 (6) (*καὶ εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν μυρία πλήθη πανταχόθεν ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν ἑαυτοῦ διδασκαλίαν ἐπαγόμενος*), *PE* 3ad, 7d, 8ab, 9b, 16b, 69d, 140 a–d, 253c, *DE* ll.cc., also III. v. 112cd, vi. 130a, vii. 135, 137 (i. 129f, 150, 156–159). For the use made of these facts in meeting apologetically the attacks of pagans, cf. Arnob. i. 55; Lact. *Inst.* v. xiii. 1–5; Eus. *DE* ll.cc.

[7] Ps-Cypr. *Aleat.* 2 (Et ideo sal terrae dicimur, ut ex nobis omnis fraternitas caelesti sapientia saliatur); *Clem. Hom.* i. 18 (on the duty of the lover of truth to get the smoke let out of the house).

unabated vigour ; and it was to the effects of this work, as well as to direct resistance, that the Church owed her ultimate victory over persecution.[1] The form which the work took, however, would naturally alter as time went on and conditions changed, and the number of missionaries proper would gradually decrease as the number of settled congregations grew.[2] Christian meetings for preaching and worship were normally open to gentiles, though in times of persecution this privilege would naturally be to some extent withdrawn.[3] " Thus Christian worship exerted a missionary influence upon the heathen world beside that of missionary preaching proper." [4] While the scenes depicted in the Clementines of the public and successful harangues of Peter and others are of course fictitious,[5] they are doubtless meant to be in a rough way illustrations of what was a real and more or less regular Christian practice.[6] The tone of appeal is audible in much of the apologetic and quasi-apologetic writing of the time.[7] Nor must we omit to mention the quiet though powerful influence of everyday Christian life,[8]

[1] Uhlhorn *C* 385–387.

[2] Neumann *SK* 50 : " Aber die Thätigkeit der Missionare tritt überhaupt in den Hintergrund, seitdem bereits so vieler Orten Gemeinden bestehen, dass die weitere Ausbreitung des Christenthums von ihnen ausgeht und berufsmässiger Verkündiger des Wortes Gottes bei den Heiden nur noch in geringerem Masse bedarf."

[3] *Didasc.* III. v. 6 (Cum enim gentes cognoscere volentes verbum Domini audiunt, si non dicitur firmiter, prout decet, in aedificationem ad vitam aeternam, et praesertim quia a muliere eis dicitur de incarnatione Domini nostri ac de passione Christi, potius derident et contemnunt verbum doctrinae quam laudibus celebrant, et rea fit magni judicii peccati). Gentiles, however, do not seem to have been allowed to remain to the prayers or the Eucharist (*Didasc.* II. xxxix. 6).

[4] Uhlhorn *C* 386.

[5] *Clem. Hom.* viii. 1f, 8, xi. 7, 25–27 ; *Clem. Recog.* i. 7, vi. 8f, vii. 24.

[6] We may compare the choice of the heathen Eutropius as arbiter in the dialogue between Adamantius and his opponents. Eutropius is an interested listener, at times enters into the argument himself, and in the end declares his adhesion to the Christian faith (*Adamant.* i. 13 [Nam ego, cum gentilis sim, Christianus uelim esse, si mihi patuerit ueritas et ideo me necesse est discutere diligentius quae dicuntur, ut sequar id quod melius deprehendero], ii. 22, v. 15, 28).

[7] E.g. Ps-Cypr. *Jud.* 1, 5, 6, 8f.

[8] Cypr. *Ep.* 13 (6) 3 (Deo cari sunt, per quorum disciplinam nomen Domini laudabili testimonio praedicatur, sicut scriptum est Domino praemonente et dicente : ' Luceat lumen uestrum coram hominibus, ut uideant bona opera uestra et clarificent Patrem uestrum qui in caelis est ' [Mt v. 16]. et Paulus Apostolus dicit : ' Lucete sicut luminaria in mundo ' [P ii. 15]. et Petrus similiter hortatur : ' Sicut hospites,' inquit, ' et peregrini abstinete uos a carnalibus desideriis, . . . conuersationem habentes inter gentiles bonam, ut dum retractant de uobis quasi de malignis, bona opera uestra aspicientes magnificent Dominum ' [1 P ii. 11f] : cf. Theonas 1 (Routh iii. 440) (multi ex palatio Principis per te ad agnitionem ueritatis peruenerunt). See also below, pp. 485f. Eusebius seems to appeal in his apologia to *miracles* wrought by Christians (*DE* III. iv. 109a (i. 126, with note)).

and in particular the telling effect of Christian martyrdom and of Christian behaviour in general in times of persecution, upon the feelings of pagans. Soldiers, officials, and bystanders were often profoundly impressed,[1] at times so profoundly impressed as to be moved on the spot to an immediate confession of Christianity.[2] It became clearer and clearer that persecution was not only unable to check Christianity, but was a most potent means of its extension.[3]

The universality of the Christian enterprise called for a corresponding universality and therefore also a certain *publicity* of appeal. This was provided for, as we have seen, partly by throwing Christian

[1] *M. Pionii* xii. 1 (πολλοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν . . . ἀκούοντες αὐτῶν τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐθαύμαζον); *Mart. Conon.* vi. 6 (ὁ . . . ἡγεμών, πολλὰ καταπλαγεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τοῦ μάρτυρος); Cypr. *Laud.* 15 (Cyprianus says he has heard bystanders at a scene of torture say: 'magnum istud est . . . profecto nescio quid, non doloribus subigi, non poenis angentibus frangi': and he adds, 'noscenda res est, uirtus penitus scrutanda uisceribus. nec enim leuis est ista quaecunque confessio, propter quam homo patitur, et mori posse'); Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 15 (spectaculum . . . gentilibus . . . dolendum); Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* vi. xli. 20 (τὸν δὲ Διόσκορον . . . σοφώτατα πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας πεύσεις ἀποκρινάμενον θαύμασας παρῆκεν); *Passio Montani et Lucii* xvii. 4; Conybeare 202; Eus. *HE* viii. vii. 3, xii. 11, *Mart.* viii. 12; Lact. *Inst.* v. xiii. 11, vi. xvii. 8.

[2] Cypr. *Laud.* 16 init. (uirtus est tanta martyrii, ut per illud credere etiam ille cogatur qui te uoluit occidere); Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* vi. xli. 16 (the soldier Besas rebukes those who insult martyrs, and is himself martyred), 22f (sudden confession in court of ἀθρόον . . τι σύνταγμα στρατιωτικόν, Ἄμμων καὶ Ζήνων καὶ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἰγγένης καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς πρεσβύτης Θεόφιλος, i.e. five soldiers in all. We are not bound, it seems to me, to assume that these men were *already* secretly Christians, before the occasion on which they made their confession; the matter is dealt with more fully below, p. 573 n 1), vii. xi. 13 (Dionysius and his friends in exile at Cephro convert the heathen).

[3] Theonas 1 (Routh iii. 439) (fidem . . . etiam in tyrannorum persecutionibus ampliare non destitit [sc. Deus]); Eus. *Hier.* 4 (6) (. . . τῶν πώποτε μόνος πρὸς ἁπάντων σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων, ἀρχόντων τε καὶ ἀρχομένων, πλείστοις ἔτεσιν ἤδη πολεμούμενος κρείττων καὶ πολὺ δυνατώτερος τῶν πικρῶς ἐλαυνόντων ἁπάντων γεγένηταί τε καὶ ἀποδέδεικται); Arnob. ii. 5 (. . . quod cum genera poenarum tanta sint a uobis proposita religionis huius sequentibus leges, augeatur res magis et contra omnes minas atque interdicta formidinum animosius populus obnitatur et ad credendi studium prohibitionis ipsius stimulis excitetur); Lact. *Inst.* v. xiii. 1 (Cum autem noster numerus semper de deorum cultoribus augeatur, numquam uero, ne in ipsa quidem persecutione minuatur, etc.), 10 (ita fit ut data diuinitus pace et qui fugerunt uniuersi redeant et alius propter miraculum uirtutis nouus populus accedat), xix. 9 (augetur enim religio Dei quanto magis premitur), xxii. 18 (est et alia causa cùr aduersus nos persecutiones fieri sinat, ut Dei populus augeatur: nec est difficile monstrare cur aut quomodo id fiat), 19 (viz. pagan hatred of cruelty; admiration of virtue; qualms as to worship of the gods), 20 (desire to know cause of martyr's constancy), 21 (hearing martyrs' declarations under torture as to worship of one God), 22 (dissemination of information about Christianity), 23 (effect of Divine vengeance which always follows persecution: expulsion of demons by power of Christianity), 24 (hae tot causae in unum conlatae magnam Deo multitudinem mirabiliter adquirunt); Eus *PE* 9d (. . . ὡς ἐν τοσούτοις ἐτῶν χρόνοις ἐλαυνόμενον πρός τε τῶν ἀοράτων δαιμόνων καὶ πρὸς τῶν κατὰ χρόνους ὁρατῶν ἀρχόντων πολὺ πλέον διαλάμπειν, ὁσημέραι τε διαπρέπειν καὶ αὔξειν καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον πληθύειν: cf. 720a), *DE* ii. iii. 82c (i. 97).

meetings open to the heathen, partly by the living Christian example, and partly by apologetic and other writing.[1] At the same time, the indiscriminate discussion of the most sacred topics in public was cautiously avoided, and a certain *reticence* observed, the passage forbidding the casting of pearls before swine being frequently quoted in this connection.[2] "We do not minister," says the second Clementine 'Epistle to Virgins,' "where pagans are drinking and blaspheming in their feasts with words of impurity, because of their wickedness. Therefore we do not sing (psalms) to the pagans, nor do we read to them the Scriptures," etc.[3] In the Clementine 'Recognitions,' Peter enlarges to his friends on the difficulty of knowing where to draw the line.[4] Lactantius, after expounding his eschatological programme, adds: "This is the doctrine of the holy prophets, which we Christians follow; this is our wisdom, which those who either worship frail objects or maintain an empty philosophy deride as folly and vanity, because we are not wont to defend and assert it in public, God bidding us in quietness and silence to keep His secret hidden and within our own conscience, and not to strive with obstinate contention against those profaners of the truth, who violently attack God and His religion, not for the sake of learning, but of refuting and deriding. It is needful that the mystery should be hidden and covered up as faithfully as possible, especially by us, who bear the name of the faith. But they accuse this silence of ours as if it were an evil conscience: whence also they invent certain execrable opinions of the modest and the innocent, and freely believe what they have invented." [5] In any case, whether there was a favourable hearing or not, the method of stating Christian truth to pagans necessarily differed from that in which fellow-Christians edified one another.[6]

[1] Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 1: placuit summatim pauca conscribere, non quo aliquem uel gentilium lateat tanti uiri uita, sed ut ad posteros quoque nostros incomparabile et grande documentum in immortalem memoriam porrigatur et ut ad exemplum sui litteris dirigantur.

[2] Cypr. *Demetr.* 1; *Clem. Ep. Virg.* ii. 6; *Clem. Recog.* iii. 1 (Mt vii. 6). A criticism of Origenes' explanation of this passage occurs in Methodius' treatise *περὶ τῶν γενήτων, fr.* 1 (Migne *PG* xviii. 331–334).

[3] *Clem. Ep. Virg.* ii. 6. [4] *Clem. Recog.* iii. 1.

[5] Lact. *Inst.* VII. xxvi. 8–10. Cyprianus made similar complaints against Demetrianus about his violent and abusive criticism (Cypr. *Demetr.* 1).

[6] Dion. Alex. *fr.* ap Feltoe 257 (Πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀπειθεῖς καὶ βεβήλους ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν καὶ λογισμῶν τὰς τῶν λόγων ἐπιχειρήσεις ποιούμεθα, ἡμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὁμόφρονας ἐκ τῶν θείων λογίων ἐπιστηρίζειν πειρώμεθα); Greg. Thaum. *πρὸς Αἰλιανὸν διάλεξις* (of which Basilius says [*Ep.* cxx. 5, in Migne *PG* xxxii. 776] Ἔπειτα μέντοι τὸν Ἕλληνα πείθων, οὐχ ἡγεῖτο χρῆναι ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι περὶ τὰ ῥήματα. Basilius is excusing Gregorius for saying to Aelianus that the

The procedure of *admitting new members* to the Church was regulated with a view to avoiding the twofold danger of excluding through excessive rigour those who were genuinely anxious to enter, and of admitting through excessive leniency those whose insincerity, immaturity, or shallowness rendered them unsuitable. "In this period we find . . . the first steps towards a regular catechumenate."[1] The 'Didascalia' contains warnings against the admission of gentiles to the Church without proper guarantee of the genuineness of their conversion.[2] In the Clementine 'Recognitions,' Peter invites the people of Cæsarea to go through a three months' course of instruction at the hands of Zacchæus the bishop with a view to being baptized at the end of it.[3] The Synod of Illiberis allowed a pagan during illness to receive imposition of hands, i.e. confirmation and possibly also baptism, without delay, provided his previous life had been good :[4] in the ordinary course of events, two years had to elapse between admission to the catechumenate and baptism.[5] The 'Egyptian Church-Order' laid down a number of regulations for testing the fitness of candi-

Father and the Son ἐπινοίᾳ μὲν εἶναι δύο, ὑποστάσει δὲ ἕν). Eusebius, besides alluding to the secrecy of Jesus' miracles (*DE* III. vi. 126cd (i. 145f)), suggests that the reason why OT prophecies referring to the Romans do not explicitly mention the Romans, was in order that no offence might be given to the rulers of the empire (*DE* VII. i. 323ab (ii. 61f)), and that the Jews, whose punishment was secretly foretold, might not destroy the prophetic writings (*ib.* 325c (ii. 63f)).

[1] Uhlhorn *C* 387; cf. 388–391. Cf. also Plumptre in *DCA* i. 317b: "The traces of the process and method of instruction in the sub-apostolic age, and the two centuries that followed, are fragmentary and vague. It is not till we get to the 4th century, with its strivings after a more elaborate organisation, that we meet with the developed system which has now to be described."

[2] *Didasc.* II. xxxviii. 4 (nam et ethnicos vel malos publicanos in ecclesiam non recipis nec cum eis communicas, priusquam se converterint, promittentes se futuros esse credentes et mala opera non ultra facturos esse), xxxix. 4 (Neque ethnicos a vita arcemus, cum se converterint atque removerint ac reiecerint a se errorem suum), 6 ( . . . ethnicos, cum voluerint ac promiserint paenitentiam se acturos esse, dixerintque se esse credentes, recipimus in congregationem, ut verbum audiant, nec vero communicamus cum eis, donec sigillo accepto perfecti fuerint: etc.).

[3] *Clem. Recog.* iii. 67.

[4] *Can. Illib.* 39: 'Gentiles, si in infirmitate desideraverint sibi manum imponi, si fuerit eorum ex aliqua parte honesta vita, placuit eis manum imponi et fieri Christianos.' This Canon is entitled 'De Gentilibus si in discrimine baptizari expetunt.' On its exact meaning, see Hefele 152ff, Dale 87f, 112. Cf. *Can. Arel.* 6.

[5] *Can. Illib.* 42 (Eos qui ad primam fidem credulitatis accedunt, si bonae fuerint conversationis, intra biennium temporum placuit ad baptismi gratiam admitti debere, nisi infirmitate compellente coegerit ratio velocius subvenire periclitanti vel gratiam postulanti). *Can. Illib.* 44 provides for the case of a converted courtesan, *Can. Illib.* 45 for that of a catechumen who stays away from church, *Can. Illib.* 46 for Christians absent for very long periods (cf. *Can. Arel.* 22).

dates for admission to the Church: several discreditable callings were to be regarded as disqualifying the applicant: the ordinary period of the catechumenate was to be three years, but this interval might be shortened by good conduct: detailed instructions were laid down touching the various stages of admission, up to and including the culminating step of baptism.[1] Eusebius wrote his 'Praeparatio Evangelica' partly for the use of fresh converts, but also for those more advanced and as a reply to the objections of "Hellenes and those of the circumcision and everyone who searches with exact inquiry into the (opinions held) among us."[2] He speaks of the Christian Church being divided into three classes: the rulers, the faithful, "and those not yet admitted to the laver of regeneration."[3]

In regard to the *arrangements for preserving the purity of the Church* by the expulsion and exclusion of unworthy members, while the right of excommunication remained undiminished, the tendency during this, as during the previous, period was constantly towards the exaction of less rigorous conditions and penances. The theory that genuine repentance, if satisfactorily attested, entitled a man to readmission to the Church even after apostasy, adultery, or some other gross sin, was generally received, though there was individual and sectional dissent of the strongest kind. The question of the various degrees of wrongfulness involved in different forms of apostasy and immorality, and of the conditions under which, if at all, offenders of various kinds might be readmitted, occupies a large place in the literature of our period.[4]

[1] *Const. Eg.* x. 1 (Qui in novam fidem introducendi sunt, ut verbum audiant, primo ad doctores adducantur, priusquam populus advenit, atque causa rei inquiratur, scilicet cur ad fidem sese converterint), 2 (Et pro eis testimonium dent, qui eos adduxerunt, num capaces sint verbi audiendi), 3–8, xi., xii. 1 (Catechumeni per tres annos verbum audiant), 2 (Si quis autem studiose se gerit ac bene perseverat in re, non tempus iudicatur, sed mores eius, qui iudicandus est), xiii.–xvi.

[2] Eus *PE* 4bc; cf. 14d–15d. [3] Eus. *DE* VII. i. 323d (ii. 62).

[4] *Didasc.* II. viii. 3f, xii., xv. 1, xxxix. 1–6, xliii.; Cypr. *Ep.* 55 (51) 20, 25, *Laps.* passim, etc.; *Can. Illib.* passim; *Can. Arel.* 8, 13f, 16, 22; *Can. Ancyra* passim.

# CHAPTER II

## ESCHATOLOGY

THE GENERAL VIEW.—We find no trace in the literature of this period of any querulous inquiry as to when the long-delayed Parousia and Judgment were going to occur. The Church seems by this time to have satisfied herself that her early expectation of an immediately impending cataclysm had been a mistake, and to have consoled herself with the belief that now at last the close of the age could not be far off. The writers who insist on *the near approach of the end* of all things are not numerous, but they are eminent and representative. Cyprianus is very fond of saying : " Antichrist is at hand," [1] and often speaks of the physical world as being in a state of senile decay,[2] and as about to come to an end altogether.[3] The Clementine ' Recognitions ' speak of the times of Jesus and the apostles as falling at the end of the world.[4] Lactantius does the same,[5] and also refers to " the final old age of the wearied and falling world," [6] besides mentioning in other ways the nearness of the approaching end.[7]

*The general programme of eschatological incidents* does not seem to have been varied in any of its leading features.[8] We find several criticisms of the views of those who denied the resurrection of the flesh. A number of leading heretics of the past—not to mention Origenes—incur censure on this ground : and doubtless there were

[1] Cypr. *Ep.* 59 (54) 13 (inminente Antichristo), 18 fin., 58 (55) 1, 7, 61 (57) 2, 69 (75) 1, *Fort.* pref. 1 ; cf. *Bon. Pat.* 22 (ecce dies Domini uenit, etc.).

[2] Cypr. *Laud.* 13 (mundus ipse subuertitur partimque orbe concusso natura deficiens ultimi exitus monumenta testatur), *Demetr.* 3 (nature's resources gradually running out), 4f, 20 (inter ipsas saeculi ruinas erecta mens est).

[3] Cypr. *Ep.* 58 (55) 2 (saeculo iam moriente), *Demetr.* 3–5, 23 (quia iam mundi finis in proximo est), *Mort.* 2 (mundo transeunte), *Fort.* pref. 1 (in fine adque in consummatione mundi antichristi tempus infestum adpropinquare iam coepit) : cf. Ps-Cypr. *Quod Idola* 11.

[4] *Clem. Recog.* i. 51 : cf. *Didasc.* VI. xiv. 9 (fine saeculi adpropinquante), xxiii. 8.

[5] Lact. *Inst.* IV. x. 1, V. vii. 1.

[6] Lact. *Inst.* VII. xiv. 16.

[7] Lact. *Inst.* VII. xiv. 3, 16, xxv. 3 (et iam propinquare summum illum conclusionis extremae diem) : cf. Eus. *DE* I. ix. 30f (i. 50f), VI. xv. 280b (ii. 22). I doubt whether the eschatological expectation subsided quite as much or as soon as Harnack (*KS* 153) seems to suggest.

[8] E.g. on the Parousia, cf. Eus. *DE* IV. xvi. 190f (i. 212), VI. xxv. 306d (ii. 47).

still to be found Marcionites and others against whom believers had to be warned.[1]

What is of special interest and importance for our present purpose, however, is not so much the precise contents of the eschatological beliefs of the time, as the large use made of the conception of future rewards as an *inducement to pagans to become Christians*,[2] and of the conception of the endless fiery torment of hell as a terror to warn them against continuing in their paganism.[3]

CHILIASM.—Another striking feature in the eschatological views of this epoch is the extent to which the belief that the world would last six thousand years from its commencement—each millennium corresponding to one of the six days of creation, on the strength of Psalm xc. 4—and that these six thousand years were very nearly completed, took possession of the Christian mind, often in cases where the idea of a coming reign of Christ on earth was absent. Anticipations of the advent of Antichrist were usually associated with this chiliastic scheme.[4] Cyprianus speaks of the six thousand years as being very nearly completed,[5] and even implies a millennial period to follow them.[6] Commodianus often mentions the term of six thousand years and the millennial earthly king-

[1] *Didasc.* v. vii. 10, vi. xx.; Vict. *Adversus Omnes Haereses* 1, 6; Methodius περὶ ἀναστάσεως 2. The subject is discussed in *Adamant.* v. 22ff. Pamphilus defended Origenes' views on resurrection and punishment (Routh iv. 375–380).

[2] Cypr. *Demetr.* 23 fin. (credite illi qui credentibus praemium uitae aeternae dabit); Commod. *Instr.* i. 2, 22, 26–28, 33f, *Carm.* 616; Lact. *Inst.* v. xviii. 1–5, vii. i. 23, ii. 1f, xi. 1, 4, xiv. 3, xx. 6, 8, xxvii. 1–4, 14, 16. For other statements on future rewards, see *Didasc.* v. vii.; Cypr. *Mort.* 26; Method. περὶ ἀναστάσεως 7. On Cyprianus' conception of the reward as not only future, but present, see Scullard 169f.

[3] *M. Pionii* iv. 20–23, 24 (διὸ δὴ μαρτυρόμεθα ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς μελλούσης διὰ πυρὸς γίνεσθαι κρίσεως ὑπὸ Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κτλ.); Cypr. *Demetr.* 9, 22, 23 (credite illi qui incredulis aeterna supplicia gehennae ardoribus inrogabit), *Mort.* 15 (pauore mortalitatis et temporis . . . gentiles coguntur ut credant); Commod. *Instr.* i. 2, 23f, 26–28, 32, 36, *Carm.* 68–74, 579–610; *Clem. Hom.* xi. 25–27; *Clem. Recog.* iv. 15, v. 27f; Ps-Just. *Cohort.* 1, 14; Arnob. ii. 61, 78; Lact. *Inst.* ii. xvii. 1–5, v. iii. 8, xviii. 16, vi. iv. 1–5, vii. i. 23, xi. 2f, xiv. 3, xx. 5f, 9–11, xxi., xxvii. 3, 7, 9, 15. For other statements on future punishments, see Cypr. *Mort.* 15 (ad supplicium rapiuntur iniusti), *Bon. Pat.* 4, *Fort.* 3–5; *Didasc.* vi. v. 2 (propterea gentiles iudicantur ob inscitiam); Method. περὶ ἀνάστασεως 8; Vict. *Comm. Apoc.* iv. 2 (46); and the Christian Hymn preserved in one of the *Amherst Papyri* i (1900) 26, ll. 19, 21. On the intermediate state, see Lact. *Inst.* vii. xxi. 7f.

[4] As before, I defer the study of the views about Antichrist until a later stage; see below, pp. 519ff.

[5] Cypr. *Fort.* 2.

[6] Cypr. *Fort.* 11 (Hartel i. 337f): sic septem fratres martyrio cohaerentes, ut primi in dispositione diuina septem dies annorum septem milia continentes, etc.

dom.[1] The 'Didascalia' refers only to "the thousand years in the kingdom of Christ, in which there will be the judgment," and quotes Psalm xc. 4.[2] Victorinus wrote a chiliastic 'Commentary on the Apocalypse,' in which he described in detail with the aid of various Scriptural passages the incidents of the eschatological programme and the features of the glorious and prosperous millennial reign of Christ on earth.[3] Methodius seems to have accepted the limit of six thousand years, for he blames Origenes for ridiculing those who confined the numberless days of eternity to thirteen, viz. the six days of creation, the first Sabbath, and the six millennial days of mundane history : [4] he also believed in the millennial rest to follow the six thousand, i.e. "the true Sabbath." [5] Like Dionysius of Alexandria,[6] however, he censured those who looked forward to an earthly kingdom involving sensual enjoyments.[7]

*Lactantius* presents the complete scheme in all its details. The period of six thousand years, corresponding to the six days of creation, is nearly at an end. Calculations differ as to how many more years have yet to elapse, but no estimate exceeds two hundred years. As God created man on the sixth day, so in the course of the sixth millennium He is producing the true man, the heavenly people, i.e. the Christian Church. After the fall of Rome, the reign and overthrow of Antichrist, and the Judgment, there will follow a period of a thousand years, during which the righteous will reign upon earth, presided over by those who are raised from the dead, amid conditions of wonderful and glorious prosperity : the holy city will be set up in the midst of the earth ; the devil will be in chains ; all wickedness will be abolished ; the saints will not die, but will produce a holy and innumerable offspring. "The nations will not be entirely extinguished, but some of them will be left as a

[1] Commod. *Instr.* i. 35 (Finitis sex milibus annis inmortales erimus), ii. 39

> (Dignitosi tamen et genere nati praeclaro
> Nobilesque uiri sub Antichristo deuicto
> Ex praecepto Dei rursum uiuentes in aeuo,
> Mille quidem annis ut seruiant sanctis et Alto
> Sub iugo seruili, ut portent uictualia collo,
> Vt iterum autem iudicentur regno finito),
>
> *Carm.* 45f, 791ff.

[2] *Didasc.* VI. xviii. 14.

[3] For Victorinus' Chiliasm, see Haussleiter xvii f, xxvii., xxxvi., Vict. *De Fabrica Mundi* 6 (Routh iii. 458 ; Haussleiter 6) (quamobrem septem diebus istis Dominus singula milia annorum adsignauit, etc. etc.), *Comm. Apoc.* xx. 1f (138, 140, 144, quoted below, p. 480 n 1).

[4] Method. *περὶ τῶν γενήτων* 9 (Migne *PG* xviii. 344).

[5] Method. *Symp.* ix. 5.

[6] Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VII. xxiv. 5–9, xxv. 3.

[7] So at least we may gather from Method. *Symp.* iv. 4.

victory for God, that they may be triumphed over by the just and subjected to perpetual slavery." The kings of the nations will come with gifts from the end of the earth to adore and honour the great King.[1] Further events were expected to occur after the thousand years had come to an end ;[2] but these do not concern us here.

## CHAPTER III

### GENERAL ATTITUDE TO HEATHEN SOCIETY

OTHERWORLDLINESS.—Cyprianus and the 'Didascalia' speak of the Christian as one who has "renounced the world"[3] and who, therefore, ought to be desirous of leaving it that he may enter upon the enjoyment of heavenly delights.[4] The former even maintained that deceased Christians, inasmuch as they are living with God, ought not to be mourned for.[5] The Christian is represented as

[1] Lact. *Inst.* VII. xiv., xxiv., xxv. I append a few sentences from Vict. *Comm. Apoc.* xix. (136, 138): (Equum autem album et sedentem super eum dominum nostrum cum exercitu caelesti aduenientem ad regnandum ostendit, cuius in aduentu omnes colligentur gentes et gladio cadent. ceterae autem, quae fuerint nobiliores, seruabuntur in seruitutem sanctorum, quas et ipsas quidem oportet in nouissimo tempore consummato regno sanctorum ante iudicium rursus dimisso diabolo interfici . . .), xx. 1 (138, 140) ('Coccineum' autem zabulum includi et omnes angelos eius refugas in tartarum gehennae in aduentum domini nemo ignoret et post mille annos dimitti propter gentes, quae seruiuerint Antichristo, ut ipsae solae pereant, quia sic meruerunt; dein fieri catholice iudicium. ideo ait: et uixerunt, inquit, mortui 'scripti in libro uitae' et regnauerunt cum Christo mille annos. haec resurrectio prima . . .), 2 (144) (. . . quotquot ergo non anticipauerint surgere in prima resurrectione et regnare cum Christo super orbem—super gentes universas—, surgent in nouissima tuba post annos mille, id est in nouissima resurrectione . . .), xxi. 2 (148) (. . . multam rationem ostendit scriptura adferri ibi munera regum seruiturorum, regionum et gentium: de subditione nouissimorum, de quibus tractauimus, ait . . . Ceterum dicitur 'ciuitas' omnis illa prouinciarum orientalium regio promissa patriarchae Abrahae), 5 (154) (. . . hoc loco 'transferet ad eos diuitias maris et uirtutes gentium').

[2] Lact. *Inst.* VII. xxvi.

[3] Cypr. *Ep.* 11 (7) 1 (saeculo uerbis solis et non factis renuntiantes), 13 (6) 5 (saeculo renuntiaueramus cum baptizati sumus), 57 (53) 3, *Laps.* 8 (Dei seruus. . . . qui iam diabolo renuntiauerat et saeculo), *Mort.* 26, *Bon. Pat.* 12; *Didasc.* v. vi. 1 (renuntiemus ergo . . . omnibus, quae in hoc mundo sunt, et vitae quoque propriae): cf. Commod. *Instr.* ii. 16 (respicere nunc uis, cui renuntiasti, priora ?).

[4] Cypr. *Mort.* 5–7, 18, 20, 22, 24; *Didasc.* l.c.

[5] Cypr. *Mort.* 20. We may recall the famous parallel in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (i. 5), where Olivia's jester proves her to be a fool for mourning for her dead brother, who ex hypothesi is now in heaven.

a stranger or pilgrim temporarily resident in a foreign country.[1] He ought not, therefore, to live as the gentiles do ;[2] he is expected to despise earthly life and its vain pleasures.[3] The forms in which these worldly attractions usually presented themselves to the Christian mind were the honour and dignity of political office, physical self-indulgence, and the possession and management of wealth. On each of these topics we shall have occasion to speak separately later.

Separation from the Gentiles.—Except in the literature of Syrian Christianity, we do not find very much said during this period to the effect that it is the Christian's duty to shun the society of the pagan. Cyprianus, indeed, has a number of sharply separatist passages ;[4] but they all occur in contexts where he is giving counsel as to the behaviour of orthodox Christians towards heretics, schismatics, and apostates ; and, inasmuch as such people were regarded, strangely enough, with far stronger aversion than ordinary unconverted idolaters, these passages can hardly be taken as inculcating the duty of exclusiveness towards pagans generally.[5] Other strong injunctions are quoted or uttered with a view to discouraging participation in some particular pagan

[1] Cypr. *Mort.* 26 (nos . . . tamquam hospites et peregrinos hic interim degere) ; *Clem. Hom.* xv. 6f, 9 ; *Clem. Recog.* ix. 7.

[2] Commod. *Instr.* ii. 16 (Viuere si quaeris gentiliter homo fidelis, Gaudia te mundi remouent a gratia Christi) ; Cypr. *Ep.* 55 (51) 17 (si quis . . . ad gentiles se uias et saecularia opera conuertat), 57 (53) 3 (eos qui uel apostatauerunt et ad saeculum cui renuntiauerant reuersi gentiliter uiuunt) ; Ps-Cypr. *Aleat.* 9 (ne configuremini huic saeculo—a quotation from R xii. 2) ; *Didasc.* ii. lxii. 2 (iuxta uias gentium nolite discere—a quotation from Jerem x. 2) ; *Clem. Ep. Virg.* ii. 6 ("we do not copy the heathen in anything") ; etc.

[3] Cypr. *Mort.* 7 (Paulus . . . lucrum maximum computans iam saeculi laqueis non teneri), 24 (Eius est in mundo diu uelle remanere quem mundus oblectat, quem saeculum blandiens adque decipiens inlecebris terrenae uoluptatis inuitat), *Ep.* 76 (76) 7 (de istis tenebris et laqueis mundi) ; Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 2 (Cyprianus gave away his property, 'ut et ambitionem saeculi sperneret qua perniciosius nihil est'), 14 (ille iam mundum suspensa ad caelum mente neglexerat) ; Ps-Cypr. *Aleat.* 10 (quid te laqueis saecularibus inuoluis ut cum saeculo iudiceris ?) ; Commod. *Instr.* ii. 16, 25 (blandiente saeculo), *Carm.* 613f (O nimium felix, saecularia si quis euitet ! etc.) ; *Clem. Ep. Virg.* i. 3 ; *Passio Typasii* 2 (*Anal. Bolland.* ix. 117) (contempta saeculari vita se christianae devotioni tradiderat) ; Method. περὶ λέπρας xviii. 1 (Bonwetsch 473) (Denn jetzt sind wir trunken durch die Sorgen der Welt und alle Bosheit und durchaus schlafliebend).

[4] Cypr. *Ep.* 59 (54) 21, 67 (67) 3, 9, 73 (72) 15, 74 (73) 2, *Laps.* 34 : cf. Ps-Cypr. *Ad Novat.* 1.

[5] We may compare *Can. Illib.* 49 (forbidding Christian farmers, on pain of excommunication, to allow Jews to bless their crops, as this, it was thought, would invalidate the Christian blessing), 50 (Si vero quis clericus vel fidelis cum Judaeis cibum sumpserit, placuit eum a communione abstineri ut debeat emendari).

custom, and can therefore hardly be taken as demanding a general and literal obedience. Such, for instance, are the words of Commodianus, when dissuading his readers from attending the public shows.[1] Such, too, are the words of the author of 'De Aleatoribus,' when appealing to the Christians not to take part in dice-playing.[2] No doubt there was always a difference—usually, we may say, a great difference—between the degree of intimacy which a Christian could afford to a pagan acquaintance and that which normally existed between himself and his co-religionists: no doubt many Christians inclined—particularly in times of persecution, but often at other times too—to avoid frequenting indiscriminately the public haunts of men.[3] But it can hardly have been, with Christians generally, a matter of principle to avoid the company of pagans.

Eastern Christianity—more particularly that of Syria—forms an exception to this general statement. It was in this period that ascetic monasticism came into more general vogue with the hermit-life of Antonius of Egypt (circ. 250–355 A.D.).[4] The *Didascalia* and the Clementines betray a much more exclusive attitude on the part of the Christians of Syria than seems to have been usual elsewhere. "We surmise," says the author of the former, "that we are reviled by the gentiles, because we do not mix and associate with them. And through the falsity of the gentiles our brethren have attained the truth, of whom it is written in the Gospels, 'Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you,'" etc.[5] The gentiles, corresponding to the goats in Jesus' parable of the Last Judgment, will stand on the left hand; and, as the left hand is not to know what the right hand does, so the gentiles are not to know about the Christians' disputes, their evidence against Christians was not to be received in a Christian court, nor were Christians to go to law in their courts,[6] nor was the name of an

[1] Commod. *Instr.* ii. 16: Altissimi prolis cum filiis Zabuli mixta Respicere nunc uis, cui renuntiasti, priora?

[2] Ps-Cypr. *Aleat.* 8–10: cf. *Can. Illib.* 79 (Si quis fidelis aleam, id est tabulam, luserit nummis, placuit eum abstineri; et si emendatus cessaverit, post annum poterit communioni reconciliari).

[3] Eus. *PE* 308b: Οὗτος δ' ἂν εἴη ὁ ἐν τῷ Θεῷ τέλειος, ὁ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν διατριβῆς μετατεθειμένος. Ὁ γὰρ μὴ τοιοῦτος ἀγορὰς καὶ δικαστήρια καπηλείας τε καὶ ἐμπορίας καὶ τὸν πολὺν ὄχλον μεταδιώκων, ὠθούμενός τε καὶ ὠθῶν, μέσος ἐν αὐτῷ κακίας βυθῷ καταπίνεται· ὁ δ' ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ληφθείς, καὶ τῶν τῇδε ἐκεῖσε μετατεθειμένος, ἀφανὴς μὲν καὶ ἀνεύρετος ἀνθρώποις, Θεῷ δὲ φίλος γεγονώς, ὑπὸ Θεοῦ εὕρηται. In *DE* VIII. v. 414ab (ii. 147f), he speaks of the domestic and civil strife in Egypt between those who accepted and those who rejected Christianity.

[4] See above, p. 312. Cf. Harnack, *Monasticism*, 43ff.

[5] *Didasc.* II. viii. 1; Mt v. 11f.

[6] *Didasc.* II. xlv. 2 (Neque suscipiatis testimonium a gentilibus adversus aliquem nostrum; nam per gentiles inimicus insidiatur servis Dei), 3 (Prop-

almsgiver to be mentioned aloud by a Christian in prayer lest it should reach gentile ears and lead to the Church being betrayed.[1] Christians were to avoid going to public spectacles or festal assemblies, except for the purpose of buying food,[2] and were not to take part in the gossip of the gentiles.[3] *The Clementines* are much more extreme. Not only ought Christians to flee from Hellenic myths and theatres and books, but, "if it were possible, from their cities also."[4] "Not living with them indiscriminately, we do not enjoy the table of pagans, inasmuch as we are unable to take meals with them (*συνεστιᾶσθαι αὐτοῖς*), because they live impurely. . . . Not even if it be a father or wife or child or brother or any other whom we naturally love, can we dare to take meals with him: for we make this distinction on the ground of religion."[5] In the 'Recognitions,' Peter gives the following reasons for not eating with the unbaptized: "It is not from pride, O Clemens, that I do not take meals with those that are not yet purified; but I fear lest perchance I may injure myself without being of any help to them. For I wish thee to know this for certain, that every one who has ever worshipped idols and has adored those whom the pagans call gods or has tasted of their sacrifices, is not without an unclean spirit: for he has become the guest of demons and has taken up partnership with that demon whose image he had formed in his mind either by fear or by love. And for this reason he is not clean from the unclean spirit, and therefore needs the purification of baptism, in order that the unclean spirit, who inhabits the inner affections of his soul and—what is worse—is not revealed as lurking within, lest he be exposed and put to

terea quod gentiles ad sinistram stabunt, sinistram eos appellavit [Mt xxv. 33]. Salvator enim noster nobis sic dixit: 'Nesciat sinistra vestra, quid faciat dextera vestra' [Mt vi. 3]), xlvi. 1 (Gentiles ergo ne cognoscant lites vestras, neque ab eis testimonium adversum vos suscipiatis, neque invicem apud eos litigetis, sicut etiam in Evangelio dicit: 'Redde Caesari quae Caesaris sunt, et Deo quae Dei sunt' [Mc xii. 17]).

[1] *Didasc.* III. x. 6f.

[2] *Didasc.* II. vi. 1 (of the bishop: '. . . nec festa gentilium appetat'), lxi. 1, lxii. 1, 2 (. . . 'In viam gentilium ne abieritis' [Mt x. 5]), 3, 4 (Fidelis enim ne appropinquet quidem coetui, nisi ut victum corporis et animae emat. Abstinete ergo ab omni inani spectaculo idolorum et a festis coetuum eorum).

[3] *Didasc.* V. x. 2 (Christianus quippe fidelis neque cantilenas gentilium effari debet neque ad leges et doctrinas conventuum alienorum accedere, quia contingere potest, ut cantilenis etiam nomen idolorum memoret. Quod absit a fidelibus). On the separatist attitude of the *Didascalia* towards the heathen, see the valuable summary of Achelis in *TU*(*NF*) x. 2 (1904) 309f.

[4] *Clem. Hom.* iv. 19.

[5] *Clem. Hom.* xiii. 4. On the separatism of the *Clementine Homilies* (due doubtless to their Ebionite and Essene connections), cf. Bigelmair 227f.

flight, may depart out of him."[1] He approves of Christians parting company with their heathen parents, "because, if they remain with them in their error, they will do them no good, and they themselves will perish equally with them. It is right, therefore, and very right, that he who wishes to be saved should be separated from him who does not wish (to be so). But notice this, that that separation does not come from those who understand aright, for they wish to be with them and help them and teach them better things: but it is the peculiar vice of ignorance that it does not bear to have near it the light of the truth that refutes it; and thus that separation originates with them."[2]

Mixing with the World.—The warnings that have just been quoted against theatre-going, dice-playing, etc., are themselves evidence of the existence of that which they prohibit.[3] There can be no doubt that the conditions of Church-membership made it increasingly possible for many of the less thoroughgoing Christians, not only to mix unrestrainedly with pagans, but to conform in many ways to their customs, without incurring excommunication. At the same time, there would be many whose intercourse with pagans was comparatively free, while their Christian principles of conduct remained clear and strong. Lactantius insists strongly on the duty of living with and helping others.[4] As the numbers and influence of the Christians increased, the conditions would grow more and more favourable for intercourse of this kind. Eusebius tells us, for instance, of a Christian named Appianus, a wealthy young man who resided at Berytus "for the sake of the secular culture of the Hellenes," and who "in such a city mastered his youthful passions and was not corrupted in his manner (of life) by the vigour of his body or by the companionship of the young men, but embraced temperance, and lived in an orderly, sober, and pious way, in keeping

[1] *Clem. Recog.* ii. 71.

[2] *Clem. Recog.* vi. 5: cf. the close parallel in *Clem. Hom.* xi. 20, quoted below, p. 600.

[3] *Didasc.* ii. lxi. 1: Operam igitur date, ne unquam a conventu ecclesiae vos subducatis. Si quis autem conventum ecclesiae Dei relinquit et in conventum gentilium intrat, quid is dicet et quam excusationem habebit apud Deum in die iudicii, quia reliquit ecclesiam . . . et ad conventum gentilium se contulit, avidus videndi theatrum?

[4] Lact. *Inst.* vi. x. 25: huic uero, qui se ipse dissociat ac secernit a corpore, non ritu hominis, sed ferarum more uiuendum est. quod si fieri non potest, retinendum igitur omni modo uinculum societatis humanae, quia homo sine homine nullo modo potest uiuere. retentio autem societatis est communitas, id est auxilium praestare, ut possimus accipere.

with his profession of Christianity and the life of his teachers."[1] Many Christians, including some of the most highly honoured, were evidently on very good terms with their pagan friends. We see the humble gardener Conon, a martyr in the Decian persecution, replying in his simplicity to the treacherous greeting of those who came to bring him before the governor: "Greetings to you also, (my) children."[2] Cyprianus had many heathen friends and acquaintances, who did not give him up when he became a Christian, but offered to help him in his difficulties. The heathen generally, in fact, seem to have been well disposed towards him, and to have been smitten with grief at his death.[3] Fructuosus, bishop of Tarraco, martyred in the year following Cyprianus' death, was so beloved by the gentiles, that they accompanied and consoled him on the way to execution.[4] We are told that before the great persecution of 303 A.D. Christianity "was honoured with esteem and freedom by all men, both Hellenes and barbarians." Everywhere crowds gathered in the spacious churches, built specially to accommodate the largely increased numbers of worshippers; and the growth of the Church was unhindered by any public odium or restraint.[5]

GOOD CONDUCT BEFORE PAGANS.—The Christian conscience was everywhere alive to the imperative need of presenting to the world an example of good and blameless conduct. They were to let their light shine, so that others might glorify God; they were to keep their behaviour good among the gentiles.[6] In the Clemen-

[1] Eus. *Mart.* iv. 3.

[2] *Mart. Conon.* ii. 3f (Gebhard 130).

[3] Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 7 init., 12, 14 (conueniebant interim plures egregii et clarissimi ordinis et sanguinis, sed et saeculi nobilitate generosi, qui propter amicitiam eius antiquam secessum subinde suaderent: et ne parum esset nuda suadela, etiam loca in quae secederet offerebant), 15 (concurrebant undique uersum omnes ad spectaculum, nobis pro deuotione fidei gloriosum, gentilibus et dolendum). Cf. Bigelmair 223f.

[4] *Acta Fructuosi* 3 (Ruinart 265) ('. . . talem amorem habebat non tantum a fratribus, sed etiam ab ethnicis.' The author of the Acts calls him 'doctorem gentium'). Cf. *M. Pionii* v. 2f (men in the crowd say to Pionius Πείσθητι ἡμῖν, Πιόνιε, ὅτι σε φιλοῦμεν, καὶ διὰ πολλὰ ἄξιος εἶ ζῆν, ἤθους τε ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπιεικείας). An inscription in the Christian cemetery of S. Caterina at Clusium, all the interments in which appear to belong to about the middle of the third century, tells us of a woman of good station, L. Fonteia Concordia, "whom (her fellow-)citizens always called Mother" (quam semper ciues matrem appellaverunt), and whom they honoured with a public funeral (*CIL* xi. 2538).

[5] Eus. *HE* VIII. i. 1, 5f. On the adaptation of Christian teaching and ritual to pagan needs, see Harnack *KS* 150–152.

[6] Cypr. *Ep.* 13 (6) 3, quoting Mt v. 16, P ii. 15, 1 P ii. 11f; Commod. *Instr.* ii. 26

(Lectores moneo quosdam cognoscere tantum,
Et dare materiam ceteris exemplo uiuendi, . . .
Vos flores in plebe, vos estis Christi lucernae);

tine 'Epistle to Virgins' it is said: "If, moreover, it chance that we go to a place in which there are no Christians, and it be important for us to stay there a few days, let us be 'wise as serpents and harmless as doves'; and let us 'not be as the foolish, but as the wise,' in all the (self-)restraint of the fear of God, that God may be glorified in everything through our Lord Jesus Christ, through our chaste and holy behaviour."[1] Christians were exhorted to be on their guard against giving the gentiles any cause for rebuking them or blaspheming God's Name: any practice likely to lead to this result, e.g. mourning for dead Christians who are believed to be with God,[2] the quarrelling of Christian wives with their husbands,[3] and the sending of deacons to pagan houses to visit Christian women,[4] was to be scrupulously avoided. The sign of the cross marked on the forehead served the twofold purpose of putting the devil to flight and declaring one's Christianity in the sight of men.[5]

THE WORLD'S HATRED AND THE CHRISTIAN'S LOVE.—While the Christians thus tried—not without a certain measure of success—to conciliate pagan favour by their own upright conduct, they were probably just as clearly and painfully conscious of the undercurrent of pagan hatred during this period as they had been at any previous time. The series of general persecutions, which began indeed in every case with the government, but with which the sentiments of the mob often chimed in, stamped the fact in all its burning reality upon the Christians' minds.[6] They would be made to realize that they were living within a society of people, who were not only unsympathetic and scornful, but fiercely and cruelly

Theonas 1 (Routh iii. 439) (. . . ut . . . Christianorum opera etiam coram infidelibus luceant, et glorificetur inde pater noster . . . Deus).

[1] *Clem. Ep. Virg.* ii. 6 (Mt x. 16; E v. 15). [2] Cypr. *Mort.* 20.

[3] *Didasc.* I. x. 1 (Ne autem sis litigiosa ad omnes, prae caetera adversus virum tuum, excide hoc malum a te, quoniam fidelis es, ut vir tuus, si est fidelis aut gentilis, propter te non scandalizetur et blasphemet in Deum et tu vae heredites apud Deum: 'Vae,' inquit, 'per quem nomen Dei blasphematur inter gentes'), 2 (si autem fidelis est vir tuus, etc. etc.).

[4] *Didasc.* III. xii. 1 (Sunt enim domus, in quas diaconum ad mulieres non potes mittere propter gentiles; mittes autem diaconissas), 4 (. . . ut eas gentilium domos ingrediatur, ubi vos accedere non potestis, propter fideles mulieres, et ut eis, quae infirmantur, ministret, quae necessantur, et in balneis iterum eas, quae meliorant, ut lavet).

[5] *Const. Eg.* xxxii. 31 (Accipe hoc nomen omni hora, frontem tuam timore signans; hoc enim est signum notum ac manifestum, quo diabolus perditur), 32 (Quod si in fide facis, manifestabis te non solum coram hominibus, sed per scientiam, qua laetaris sicut scuto, quoniam adversarius, diabolus, . . . cum . . . hominem interiorem rationabilem esse viderit, intra et extra signo verbi Dei signatum, statim fugit, etc.).

[6] Allusions to the world's hatred occur in Cypr. *Ep.* 58 (55) 6, *Mort.* 24, *Fort.* 11; *Didasc.* II. viii. 1f, xlv. 2; *Clem. Hom.* xi. 20; Arnob. i. 27, 35; Lact. *Inst.* VI. iv. 10.

hostile towards them—however this hostility might slumber in the intervals between one general persecution and the next. The principles that governed the Christian response to this hostility were the traditional principles of the Sermon on the Mount, which enjoined love for enemies and prayer on their behalf,[1] and forbade anger, resistance, self-defence, and revenge in case of injury.[2] Lactantius frequently insists on the duty of universal benevolence and of patient submission to injuries and on the impropriety of attempting to avenge them.[3] His teaching on this point is remarkable, in that he bases it on the broad ground of the natural and universal brotherhood of man[4]—a theme not often adverted to by early Christian writers. The Christian, then, has to love all, to injure none,[5] to bless those that curse and revile him,[6] and to speak the truth to all, including his enemies.[7] Golden opportunities of exhibiting his benevolence towards pagans were afforded him by the plagues and famines which wrought havoc amid the crowded cities at various intervals during this period. While the pagans everywhere fled hastily from infection,

[1] Cypr. *Bon. Pat.* 5 (quotation of Mt v. 43–48); Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 9; *Didasc.* I. ii. 3, v. xiv. 22; *Clem. Hom.* xi. 20 fin.; Arnob. iv. 36; Lact. *Inst.* v. xii. 4; Eus. *DE* I. vi. 16a, 23d, 24a, vii. 27b (i. 32, 41f, 45), III. ii. 94a, v. 110ab (i. 108, 127) (see above, p. 471).

[2] Cypr. *Demetr.* 17 (nemo nostrum quando adprenditur reluctatur nec se aduersus iniustam uiolentiam uestram quamuis nimius et copiosius noster populus ulciscitur), 25 (quia odisse non licet nobis et sic Deo plus placemus, dum nullam pro iniuria uicem reddimus, hortamur, etc. . . . odiis uestris beniuolentiam reddimus, etc.); *Didasc.* I. ii. 2, II. vi. 1, xlvi. 2; *Clem. Hom.* vii. 10f (Peter disowns any wish to destroy Simon), xv. 5; Theonas 9 init. (Routh iii. 445); *Passio Pollionis* 2 (Ruinart 435) (inimicis veniam); Lucianus *Apol.* (Routh iv. 6) (Vitae etiam nobis leges, ac disciplinae praecepta constituit [sc. Christus] . . . mansuetudinem colere, studere paci, puritatem cordis amplecti, patientiam custodire). Cf. also the previous note.

[3] Lact. *Inst.* v. xxii. 10 (cum ergo iniuriam nulli faciat nec aliena cupiat nec sua quoque si ui auferantur defendat, cum sciat etiam inlatam iniuriam moderate ferre, quia uirtute praeditus est, necesse est iustum hominem subiectum esse iniusto et contumeliis adfici ab insipiente sapientem, ut et ille peccet, quia iniustus est, et hic in se uirtutem habeat, quia iustus est), VI. xviii. 11–13.

[4] Lact. *Inst.* v. x. 10 (he refers to the Christians as 'eos qui bella nesciunt, qui concordiam cum omnibus seruant, qui amici sunt etiam inimicis, qui omnes homines pro fratribus diligunt, qui cohibere iram sciunt omnemque animi furorem tranquilla moderatione lenire'), VI. xi. 1 (id autem ipsum, conseruare humanitatem, quid aliut est quam diligere hominem, quia homo sit et idem quod nos sumus?). He handles the subject at greater length in VI. x. 1–9.

[5] Commod. *Instr.* ii. 22 (noli nocere); Theonas 9 (Routh iii. 445) (Nulli unquam molestiam inferte); Lact. *Inst.* v. xxii. 10 (see above, n 3), VI. xi. 2 (verumque illut est Ciceronis, quod ait 'hominem naturae oboedientem homini nocere non posse.' ergo si nocere homini contra naturam est, prodesse igitur homini secundum naturam sit necesse est).

[6] *Didasc.* I. ii. 1; Lact. *Inst.* VI. xviii. 10. [7] Lact. *Inst.* VI. xviii. 6.

the Christians ministered not only to sufferers of their own number, but to the pagan victims as well.[1]

Note, however, has to be taken of several important *limitations* placed by some Christians on the universal application of the principle of love. "Love as the supreme factor or constituent of the heavenly life does not find adequate recognition in Cyprian. . . . It is not made a leading idea of his ethics."[2] Cyprianus betrays his weakness without meaning to do so when, in discouraging the love of life, he drops the words: "Since the world hates the Christian, why dost thou love him who" (or "that which") "hates thee, and not rather follow Christ, who redeemed and loved thee?"[3] Severe persecution could hardly fail to rouse hatred in some Christian breasts.[4] The vexation felt against those who rendered themselves liable to ecclesiastical censures and penalties amounted at times to enmity.[5] Cyprianus speaks with evident approval of David avenging Saul's death[6] and of a man avenging an insult offered to his father.[7] He tells Demetrianus that Christians bear persecution patiently and without retaliation, because they are sure that God will in time avenge them, as in fact He has already begun to do.[8] The 'Didascalia' quotes Proverbs xx. 22: "Say not, 'I will injure my enemy,

[1] Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 9 (tunc deinde subiungit [sc. Cyprianus] non esse mirabile, si nostros tantum debito caritatis obsequio foueremus: eum enim perfectum posse fieri, qui plus aliquid publicano uel ethnico fecerit, qui malum bono uincens et diuinae clementiae instar exercens inimicos quoque dilexerit, etc.), 11 (excluditur interim ciuitate, ille qui fecerat boni aliquid pro ciuitatis salute, ille qui laborauerat ne uiuentium oculi paterentur infernae sedis horrorem, ille inquam qui excubiis pietatis inuigilans pro nefas ingrata bonitate prouiderat, ne omnibus tetram ciuitatis faciem relinquentibus multos exsules deserta respublica ac destituta patria sentiret); Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VII. xxii. 10; Eus. *HE* IX. viii. 13, 14 (Christians cared for dead and dying, ὡς περιβόητον εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καταστῆναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, Θεόν τε τῶν Χριστιανῶν δοξάζειν, εὐσεβεῖς τε καὶ μόνους θεοσεβεῖς τούτους ἀληθῶς, πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐλεγχθέντας τῶν πραγμάτων, ὁμολογεῖν).

[2] Scullard 167f.

[3] Cypr. *Mort.* 24: porro cum mundus oderit christianum, quid amas eum qui te odit? etc.

[4] Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 7: quis (if Cyprianus had been prematurely martyred) liuorem de uenenata inuidiae malignitate uenientem dulcedine remedii salutaris inhiberet?

[5] *Clem. Ep. Jac.* 18: Peter exhorts the Christian laity to support the bishop, ἐχθροὶ γινόμενοι οἷς ἐχθραίνει, καὶ μὴ ὁμιλοῦντες οἷς μὴ ὁμιλεῖ.

[6] Cypr. *Bon. Pat.* 10: David's patience wonderful and Christian, since he not only spared the life of his enemy Saul, but even avenged his death.

[7] Cypr. *Ep.* 73 (72) 19: 'in saeculo isto si cuius patri aliquis conuicium fecerit, si contumeliosus ac procax pudorem eius et honorem maledico ore laceraverit, indignatur filius et irascitur et laesi patris iniuriam quibus potest uiribus uindicare conatur.' So Christ will punish heretics who blaspheme his Father.

[8] Cypr. *Demetr.* 17 (patientes facit de secutura ultione securitas. innocentes nocentibus cedunt, . . . certi et fidentes quod inultum non remaneat

since he has injured me' ; but bear it, that the Lord may help thee, and inflict vengeance upon him who has injured thee."[1] Lactantius warns the Christian to bear injuries, " and not to take upon himself the (task of) avenging himself, but to reserve it for the judgment of God. . . . For the greatest and most just Judge sits—a spectator and witness of all things. Let one prefer Him to a man ; let one choose that He should pronounce on one's own cause, whose sentence none can escape, either by the defence or by the favour of any."[2] Lactantius, too, has a theory of his own about anger, which materially modifies—though perhaps he hardly realized it—his doctrine of universal patience, submission, and love. Not only does he defend the belief that God can be and often is angry, but he insists that anger and the censures and corporal punishments that it prompts, while they are subject to abuse and then lead to unjust wars, have their place in the Christian life, and he specifies as their proper objects the wife, children, slaves, and pupils, who are under a man's charge in his own home.[3]

Apologetics.—*The apologetic literature* of this period, as of previous periods, is plentiful and various. Though the martyr-acts, strictly speaking, do not belong to it, the replies made by Christians on trial, which they record, are nevertheless genuine apologies.[4] Apart from these, none of the apologies of this period

quodcunque perpetimur quantoque maior fuerit persecutionis iniuria tanto iustior fiat et grauior pro persecutione uindicta. nec umquam impiorum scelere in nostrum nomen exurgitur, ut non statim diuinitus uindicta comitetur). Similarly Lact. *Inst.* v. xx. 10 (quoted below, p. 518 n 5), xxiii. 5 (demus operam totis uiribus ut mereamur a Deo simul et ultionem passionis et praemium).

[1] *Didasc.* i. ii. 2 (Eos, qui vos nocent, nolite renocere, sed sustinete, quoniam dicit scriptura : ' Ne dicas : noceam inimicum meum, quoniam me nocuit ; sed sustine, ut Dominus te adiuvet et vindictam faciat super eum, qui te nocuit '), 3 (Nam iterum in Evangelio dicit : ' Diligite odientes vos et orate pro maledicentibus vos et inimicum nullum habebitis ' [Lc vi. 27 ; *D* i. 3]).

[2] Lact. *Inst.* vi. xviii. 11 (si quis extiterit tam proteruus qui bono et iusto faciat iniuriam, clementer ac moderate ferat et ultionem suam non sibi adsumat, sed iudicio Dei reseruet), 12. See also the passages quoted below, p. 533 n 5.

[3] Lact. *Inst.* vi. xix. 6–11, *Ira Dei* xvii. 6–12, 16 (sed de iis potissimum dico qui sunt nostrae potestatis, ut serui, ut liberi, ut coniuges, ut discipuli : quos cum delinquere uidemus, incitamur ad coercendum), 17 (. . . ergo surgimus ad uindictam non quia laesi sumus, sed ut disciplina seruetur, mores corrigantur, licentia conprimatur), 18 (haec est ira iusta : . . .), 19, xviii., xix. 5, xxi. 1–5, xxiii. 10 (immo uero cuilibet humili eripe hunc adfectum [i.e. iram], quis eum non spoliabit ? quis non deridebit ? quis non adficiet iniuria ?), 11 (ita nec indumenta nec sedem nec uictum poterit habere aliis quidquid habuerit diripientibus).

[4] Eus. *HE* ix. vi. 3 (Λουκιανός τε, . . . παρασχών τε ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τὴν ὑπὲρ ἧς προῖστατο διδασκαλίας ἀπολογίαν, δεσμωτηρίῳ παραδοθεὶς κτίννυται). A Latin version of Lucianus' defence is extant (Routh iv. 5–7).

were addressed to the Emperors or to the government.[1] Cyprianus' treatise 'Ad Demetrianum' is a spirited reply to the charge that Christians were responsible for the disasters that were befalling the Empire: it was evidently written to a personal acquaintance of the author. The latter's biographer may have had it in mind when he asked through whom, had Cyprianus been martyred early, the blaspheming gentiles would have been overcome by (the fact of) the accusations they levelled against the Christians being retorted upon themselves.[2] In the 'Instructiones' and the 'Carmen Apologeticum' of Commodianus we have quite unique types of apology. The former is only partly apologetic, its second book being addressed to Christians. The diction is simple, and the versification barbarous. The 'Instructiones' consist of eighty acrostic poems. The 'Cohortatio ad Gentiles,' wrongly ascribed to Justinus, is a mild and conciliatory argument to the effect that the truth found in the Hellenic philosophers and poets was borrowed by them from Hebrew Scripture; and it includes earnest words of warning and appeal. The Pseudo-Cyprianic 'Adversus Judaeos' is a vigorous rhetorical exhortation to Israel to repent and turn to Christ. Of works written in reply to some particular pagan book or author, we may specify the lost *κατὰ Πορφυρίου* of Methodius, "an extensive refutation of the fifteen books written against the Christians by that Neoplatonist philosopher,"[3] Eusebius' work of similar title and scope,[4] and his 'Contra Hieroclem,' a refutation of Hierocles' attempt to set up Apollonius of Tyana as a pagan parallel to Jesus. Lastly, we have the long systematic treatises in defence of Christianity, the 'Adversus Nationes' of Arnobius, the 'Divinae Institutiones' of Lactantius, and the 'Praeparatio Evangelica' and 'Demonstratio Evangelica' of Eusebius.[5]

[1] The *Divinae Institutiones* of Lactantius are no exception to this statement, for the scattered addresses to Constantinus in them (see above, p. 459 n 9), even if genuine, were added after 313 A.D., and in any case were not apologetic in the old sense, for persecution had by that time ceased.

[2] Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 7: per quem gentiles blasphemi repercussis in se quae nobis ingerunt uincerentur?

[3] Bardenhewer 177.

[4] Bardenhewer 248: "His large work against Porphyry († ca. 304) in twenty-nine or thirty books, twenty of which were known to Saint Jerome, has perished."

[5] For oral and written apologetic discussions, see the *Clementines* passim (esp. *Hom.* i. 11f, iv. 9f), the *Dialogus de Recta Fidei*, and Eus. *PE* 6cd (*Αὐτόθεν δὴ τούτο καὶ οὐκ ἐκ μακροῦ διελέγξομεν ἔκ τε ὧν χρώμεθα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ διδασκαλίᾳ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγων προσιόντας ἀποδείξεων, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιδιατιθεμένους ἡμῖν ἐν ταῖς λογικωτέραις ζητήσεσιν ἀντιρρήσεων, δι' ὧν τε φιλοτιμούμεθα ποιεῖσθαι ἀγράφων τε καὶ ἐγγράφων ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν ἐρωτώντων καὶ κοινῇ πρὸς τὰ πλήθη διαλέξεων·*

*The purpose of the Apologists* is, briefly, to justify Christianity in the eyes of the world. They are always conscious of replying to a challenge. They write because they cannot let the case go by default.[1] Lactantius believed that one of the reasons why Christianity was despised was the fact that it had not had suitable defenders ; and he wrote in order to do something towards supplying the need.[2] His work, he claimed, was as much worth while as that of the philosopher or jurist : [3] it was imposed upon him by " conscience and faith and our Lord himself." [4] Eusebius wrote his ' Praeparatio Evangelica ' with the object of setting forth the nature of Christianity to those ignorant of it.[5] It was addressed in the main to gentiles, while the ' Demonstratio Evangelica " was meant largely, though not exclusively, for Jews, whom the author seeks to refute and convince by exhaustive appeals to Old Testament prophecies fulfilled in Christianity.[6]

A great variety of *method and tone* is observable in the writings of the Apologists. It was a common practice to base their arguments on statements actually found in heathen authors, so as to

*ναὶ μὴν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐν χερσὶ συγγραμμάτων τὴν καθόλου πραγματείαν περιεχόντων τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἀποδείξεως, κτλ.*).

[1] Cypr. *Demetr.* 2 (tacere ultra non oportet, ne iam non uerecundiae, sed diffidentiae esse incipiat quod tacemus, et dum criminationes falsas contemnimus refutare, uideamur crimen agnoscere. respondeo igitur, etc.) ; Arnob. i. 1 (statui . . . contraire inuidiae et calumniosas dissoluere criminationes, ne aut illi sibi uideantur, popularia dum uerba promunt, magnum aliquid dicere aut si nos talibus continuerimus ab litibus, obtinuisse se causam putent uictam sui uitio non adsertorum silentio destitutam).

[2] Lact. *Inst.* i. i. 7 (uerum quoniam pauci utuntur hoc caelesti beneficio ac munere, quod obuoluta in obscuro ueritas latet eaque uel contemptui doctis est, quia idoneis adsertoribus eget, uel odio indoctis ob insitam sibi austeritatem, . . . succurrendum esse his erroribus credidi, ut et docti ad ueram sapientiam dirigantur et indocti ad ueram religionem), v. ii. 1 (Ergo quia defuerunt aput nos idonei peritique doctores, qui uehementer, qui acriter errores publicos redarguerent, qui causam omnem ueritatis ornate copioseque defenderent, prouocauit quosdam haec ipsa penuria, ut auderent scribere contra ignotam sibi ueritatem). For Lactantius' references to the methods of previous apologists, see *Inst.* v. i. 21–28, iv. 3–7 (cf. Eus. *PE* 6d, 7a–c: *Ὅθεν καὶ τῶν νέων συγγραφέων μυρίας ὅσας . . . πανσόφους καὶ ἐναργεῖς μετὰ σύλλογισμῶν ἀποδείξεις ὑπέρ τε τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς γραφείσας λόγου διαγνῶναι πάρεστιν*) ; for his educative purpose, i. xxiii. 7–9, ii. i. 2 ; for his desire for completeness, i. xvi. 1f ; for allusions to his personal qualifications, iii. i. 1–6, xiii. 12f, vi. i. 1, 3.

[3] Lact. *Inst.* i. i. 11f.

[4] Lact. *Inst.* vi. i. 1 (but Brandt reads ' scientia ' for ' conscientia '). His *De Mortibus Persecutorum* was semi-apologetic in aim : he wrote it ' ut omnes qui procul remoti fuerunt uel qui postea futuri sunt, scirent quatenus uirtutem ac maiestatem suam in extinguendis delendisque nominis sui hostibus Deus summus ostenderit ' (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* i. 7).

[5] Eus. *PE* 1a : *Τὸν Χριστιανισμόν, ὅ τι ποτέ ἐστιν, ἡγούμενος τοῖς οὐκ εἰδόσι παραστήσασθαι, κτλ.* Cf. also Eus. *PE* 16cd.

[6] Eus. *DE* i. int., i. 1–11 (i. 1–7), iii. ii. 102b (i. 117). For a useful study of Eusebius' apologetics in *DE*, see Ferrar i. ix.–xxiv.

minimize suspicions of fabrication.[1] But when it was a question of writing constructively, Lactantius thought it was best to omit what was common to Christianity and philosophy, "lest I seem to be borrowing from those whose errors I have decided to refute and expose."[2] It would be tedious to examine samples of all the varying degrees that lie between the two extremes of conciliatoriness and invective. While all are frank, Commodianus, Pseudo-Justinus, and Eusebius in the 'Praeparatio' and 'Demonstratio' are fairly mild and inoffensive. The last of the three is more severe in his reply to Hierocles. Arnobius is, as a rule, violent and passionate. But the distribution of qualities is very general, authors being rarely consistent throughout in the tone of their defence. Alongside the mild appeal to reason[3] and the earnest endeavour to persuade,[4] we catch the strain of sarcasm and ridicule,[5] passionate indignation and rebuke, and accusations of wilful ignorance and even madness.[6] The polemic of Arnobius is furthermore marked by several special features, e.g. his wish to avoid being prolix[7] (unhappily not fulfilled), his frank confession of ignorance on certain topics which he felt he ought not to be called

[1] Arnob. v. 1 (. . . ne quis forte nos aestimet concinnare per calumnias crimina); Eus. *PE* 7a, 17a, 18cd, 142d, 143ab, 189b (though the method was not so original as Eusebius (7a) seems to claim: see Gifford III. i. xvf). In *DE* (III. iii. 104d, vi. 134a, vii. 134d (i. 120, 154f)) he uses the evidence of heathen writers in order to impress those who had no respect for the Jewish Scriptures.

[2] Lact. *Inst.* VI. ii. 18.

[3] Ps-Just. *Cohort.* 1; Eus. *PE* 14c, 16d, *DE* I. i. 8 (i. 5) (it is the Christians' custom "to forewarn all those, with whom they may enter on an argument, that it is by no means easy to establish their position by definite proofs"), 9–11 (i. 5–7) (repudiation of gentile slander that Christianity uses no evidence or reason, but calls only for blind faith), 10 (i. 6f) (answer to charge of honouring barbarian more than Hellenic writing), III. ii.–vi. 102b–104d, 109ab, 125ab, 130b, 132c (i. 117–120, 126, 144, 150, 152) (appeals to simple common sense); Arnob. i. 4, 25, ii. 1; Lact. *Inst.* v. i.

[4] Commod. *Instr.* i. 21–35, *Carm.* 14, 58, 61–64, 75f, 83–88; Ps-Just. *Cohort.* 1, 35, 38; Arnob. ii. 78; Lact. *Inst.* III. xxx. 8, v. viii. 5, VII. xxvii.; *Clem. Hom.* IX. 19, x. 8, xi. 25–27; *Clem. Recog.* v. 15. For the exhortation to the pagans to read the Scriptures, see Commod. *Carm.* 579ff; Ps-Just. *Cohort.* 34f.

[5] Commod. *Instr.* i. 18f; Arnob. i. 65, vii. 20, 35; Eus. *DE* III. v. 113–115, 118a (i. 131–133, 136).

[6] Cf. Cypr. *Demetr.* 1; Arnob. i. 42f, 51, 53, 61, 65, ii. 5, 16, 60, iv. 24, 37, vii. 22, 30; Lact. *Inst.* I. i. 23–25, v. i. 3f, ii. 2f; Eus. *DE* I. i. 9f (i. 5f) ("false accusers," "mob of slanderers," etc.), III. vi. 134a (i. 154) ("if you are so far gone in folly . . ., at least you will hear your own demons," etc.), vii. 134d (i. 155) ("Perhaps the friendly words of one of your kidney may put you out of countenance").

[7] Arnob. iv. 17: cf. Lact. *Inst.* I. i. 21, xxiii. 6; Eus. *DE* I. i. 9 (i. 6) ("I shall take as my teacher the sacred command which says 'sum up many things in few words' [Sirach xxxii. 8], and aspire to follow it"). The notion of brevity was evidently different in those days from what it is now.

upon to explain,[1] his longing at times to appeal to and remonstrate with the whole pagan world at once,[2] and his curious and reproachful apostrophes.[3] The tone and method of Eusebius' reply to Hierocles also presents characteristics peculiar to itself owing to its special scope and subject-matter.[4]

## CHAPTER IV

## ATTITUDE TO HEATHEN LEARNING AND PHILOSOPHY

INTELLECT IN THE CHURCH.—That learned as well as simple-minded people joined the Christian Church is clearly stated both by Arnobius and Eusebius. Arnobius says: "Men endowed with great abilities, orators, literary men, rhetoricians, lawyers, and physicians, even those who pry out the secret teachings of philosophy, seek these doctrines, spurning the things to which a little before they trusted."[5] Eusebius, in enumerating comprehensively the various classes of people called by God into the Church, mentions "wise and simple."[6] He speaks later of two types of converts, those who had to accept things on trust and were not yet qualified to follow arguments, and the more advanced, who were able to discuss things.[7] Several of the martyrs and other leading Christians of this period, whom he mentions in his 'Church-History,' are described as being versed in Hellenic learning and philosophy.[8] Eusebius himself carefully explains, when criticizing the philosophers, that he does not do so in ignorance of

[1] Arnob. i. 7, ii. 35, 47f, 51, 55f, 58, 61, 63, 74, 78, iii. 17.

[2] Arnob. i. 29, vi. 14.

[3] Arnob. i. 45 (quid dicitis o—iterum ?), v. 2 (quid enim dicitis, o isti ?), vi. 11 (similar).

[4] For an account of Hierocles and his attack on Christianity, see Lact. *Inst.* v. ii. 12—iii.

[5] Arnob. ii. 5.

[6] Eus. *PE* 3a (*σοφοὺς καὶ ἰδιώτας*), 3d, 4a, 6c, *DE* i. i. 9–11 (i. 5–7), vii. i. 315c (ii. 54) (repudiation of the idea that Christianity dispensed with reason). Cf. Ferrar i. xvii.

[7] Eus. *PE* 14c–16a, 573d–574a, 576a.

[8] Eus. *HE* vii. xxix. 2 (Malchion, presbyter of Antiochia), viii. ix. 6 (the martyrs of Thebais), 7, x. 1, 11 (Phileas of Thmuis), *Mart.* iv. 3 (Appianus of Berytus, see above, pp. 484f), v. 2 (his brother Aedesius: *καὶ γὰρ οὖν αὐτὸς πλέον τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ παιδείας κεκτημένος, καὶ ἀπὸ μαθημάτων φιλοσόφων ὡρμᾶτο*), xi. 15, 19 (Porphyrius, an educated servant of Pamphilus). Cf. Eus. *PE* 280d (*οἶσθά που τὸν ἄνδρα* [i.e. Origenes] . . . *οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἀγνῶτα δι' ἣν ἐπιδέδεικται καὶ πρὸς τὰ τῶνδε μαθήματα φιλοτιμίαν*).

their teaching ; [1] and the substance of the 'Praeparatio,' like that of Lactantius' 'Divinae Institutiones,' is ample testimony to the author's familiarity with Hellenic philosophical literature. Further indications of the extent to which the Christians of this time appreciated the value of a sound intellectual training—including the study of Hellenic philosophy—are found in many places in the Clementines.[2] Lactantius, while frequently admitting his lack of eloquence, realized the value of knowledge and even of the study of rhetoric, in his task of teaching others : [3] he deplored the extinction of rhetoric and literature in the reigns of Galerius and his colleagues.[4]

Aversion from Philosophy.—On the other hand, there were factors at work which told heavily in a contrary direction. The Scriptures, which, it was held, contained all the knowledge that was needful for a Christian, were known to lack that literary polish characteristic of the classical authors ; and the task of defending them against the contempt of educated pagans [5] naturally prompted in Christian minds a corresponding depreciation of pagan literature and learning.[6] Pontius tells us that Cyprianus " may have had pursuits, and good arts may have imbued his breast (while) devoted (to them) : yet I pass them by, for they did not yet reach any useful purpose, except that of the world." [7] Lactantius says that the Divine learning does not need physics or logic, in which latter he includes " dialectics and the whole art of speech," [8] and that a love of fine literature tends to make men despise " the simple and common speech of the Divine writings." [9] Again, the religious horror felt for gentile mythology led many Christians to regard all

[1] Eus. *PE* 789d, 790d. He also wrote *DE* for the cultured (Ferrar i. xvii.).

[2] *Clem. Hom.* iv. 7 ; *Clem. Recog.* v. 4f, vii. 32, viii. 57 : cf. also Theonas 7 (Routh iii. 443f).

[3] Lact. *Inst.* I. i. 10, III. i. 1–4, xiii. 12f.

[4] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xxii. 4.

[5] For the reproach of preferring barbarian to Hellenic writing, see above, p. 492 n 3).

[6] Arnob. i. 58 (numquam enim ueritas sectata est fucum nec quod exploratum et certum est circumduci se patitur orationis per ambitum longiorem. collectiones enthymemata definitiones omniaque illa ornamenta quibus fides quaeritur adsertioni suspicantes adiuuant, non ueritatis liniamenta demonstrant. etc.), 59.

[7] Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 2.

[8] Lact. *Inst.* III. xiii. 4, 5 (hanc [i.e. λογικήν] diuina eruditio non desiderat, quia non in lingua, sed in corde sapientia est nec interest quali utare sermone . . .), 6 (quodsi neque physica illa ratio necessaria est neque haec logica, quia beatum facere non possunt, restat ut in sola ethica totius philosophiae uis contineatur).

[9] Lact. *Inst.* VI. xxi. 4 (inde homines litterati cum ad religionem Dei accesserint ab aliquo inperito doctore fundati, minus credunt), 5 (adsueti enim dulcibus et politis siue orationibus siue carminibus diuinarum litterarum

heathen literature as highly dangerous: [1] the 'Didascalia' definitely bans heathen books for Christian reading; [2] and the 'Egyptian Church-Order' advises a school-teacher to give up his profession, though, if he has no other means of livelihood, he is excused from doing so.[3] A third factor prejudicial to the advancement of Christian learning was the increasing antipathy felt towards the philosophers and their systems. Well-known philosophers were writing books and instigating persecution against the Christians, and had to be answered. Further than that, since the last of the great Alexandrians had died, interest in the really philosophic treatment of Christian truth had somewhat flagged. There was no one now to defend philosophy as a Divine propædeutic to Christianity. In spite of its suggestive title, the Εὐαγγελικὴ Προπαρασκευή of Eusebius does not take this line: it is meant simply as an introduction to the companion-work, the Εὐαγγελικὴ Ἀπόδειξις.[4] It is only by a certain misuse of language that Eusebius refers to Christianity as a philosophy,[5] and that Lactantius speaks of Christians as "the philosophers of our sect." [6] Cyprianus was probably representing the average Christian view when he said: "We are philosophers, not in words, but in deeds: we show wisdom, not in our garb, but in truth." [7]

CRITICISM OF THE PHILOSOPHERS.—Unfavourable criticism of

simplicem communemque sermonem pro sordido aspernantur). On uneducated Christians teaching the truth to learned candidates for conversion, cf. Ps-Cypr. *Jud.* 10 (sine litteris disserit scripturas eis et puer edocet senem et anus persuadet diserto). Victorinus (*Comm. Apoc.* iii. 2f (40, 42)) contrasts those 'qui humiles in saeculo et rusticani in scripturis et fidem immobiliter tenent,' with those who are 'praediti fiducia litteraturae, opera autem uacantes.'

[1] *Clem. Hom.* iv. 19; Lact. *Inst.* v. i. 9, 10 (nam et in hoc philosophi et oratores et poetae perniciosi sunt, etc.).

[2] *Didasc.* I. vi. 1 (Gentiles autem libros penitus ne tetigeris), 2–5, 6 (Ab omnibus igitur his tam alienis et diabolicis scripturis fortiter te abstine).

[3] *Const. Eg.* xi. 5: Si parvulos erudit, bonum quidem est eum desinere; sin artem non habet, ignoscatur ei.

[4] Lightfoot in *DCB* ii. 329b: "more strictly it ought to have been called *Praeparatio Demonstrationis Evangelicae.*"

[5] Eus. *PE* 13c (δόξας δὲ φιλοσόφους ἀναλαβεῖν = to adopt Christianity); cf. 16d (καὶ τίς ἂν κυρίως λεχθείη ὁ Χριστιανισμός, οὔτε Ἑλληνισμὸς ὢν οὔτε Ἰουδαϊσμός, ἀλλά τις καινὴ καὶ ἀληθὴς θεοσοφία), *DE* I. ii. 14a (i. 9).

[6] Lact. *Opif. Dei* i. 2 (philosophi sectae nostrae). Cf. also the frequent allusions to 'wisdom,' which is sharply distinguished from philosophy, as needful for religion (*Inst.* III. xi. 2f, xvi. 10 [philosophiam tollimus, quia humanae cogitationis inuentio est, sophiam defendimus, quia diuina traditio est, etc.], 11, IV. iii. 4 [quoniam igitur ut dixi philosophia et religio deorum diiuncta sunt longeque discreta, . . . apparet nec illam esse ueram sapientiam nec hanc religionem], 5 [nec philosophia potuit ueritatem comprehendere, etc.], 6f, iv. 2 [non potest igitur nec religio a sapientia separari, nec sapientia a religione secerni, etc.], v. i. 11).

[7] Cypr. *Bon. Pat.* 3 init.

the Hellenic philosophers is expressed in a thousand different ways. Lactantius and Eusebius devote pages and pages to the exposure of the philosophers' failures; and numerous allusions to their shortcomings are found up and down the Christian literature of the time. Their prime defect amounts to this—that they were blameably ignorant of the one God: hence their speculations were vitiated throughout by a multitude of foolish errors: what they failed to do has been done and is being done by Christianity.[1] Some of them were severely blamed for their deterministic doctrine of Fate, in opposition to which the Christians strongly affirmed their belief in the Providence of God and in the free will and responsibility of man.[2] They were further censured in particular for the support they gave to polytheism and idolatry,[3] for their own moral shortcomings,[4] for the powerlessness and ineffectiveness of their ethical teaching,[5] and for their self-contradictions and disagreements with one another, whereby their general ignorance was displayed.[6]

[1] General depreciation and criticism of philosophy and the philosophers is found in Cypr. *Ep.* 55 (51) 16 (. . . inter Christianos autem et philosophos plurimum distat), 24 ('iactet se licet et philosophiam uel eloquentiam suam superbis uocibus praedicet'—said of Novatianus), *Bon. Pat.* 2 (Hanc se sectari philosophi quoque profitentur, sed tam illic patientia falsa est quam et falsa sapientia est. unde enim uel sapiens esse uel patiens possit qui nec sapientiam nec patientiam Dei nouit?), 3 (see above, p. 495 n 7); Ps-Just. *Cohort.* 3–6, 8, 35f; *Clem. Hom.* i. 10, ii. 7f, iv. 9, 12, 20; *Clem. Recog.* i. 3, viii. 5, 9–22, 61; Arnob. ii. 6–11, 13, 31, 39, 56; Lact. *Opif. Dei* i. 12–15, ii. 10f, iv.–vi., *Inst.* i. i. 5f, 11, 17, ii. iii., v., viii. 10ff, ix. 17ff, etc., iii. passim, esp. vi. 16f, xx. 2–12 (secrets of physical science ought not to be inquired into: cf. Eus. *PE* 25c–27a), xvi. 7 (abicienda est igitur omnis philosophia, quia non studendum sapientiae, quod fine ac modo caret, sed sapiendum est et quidem mature), 10 (see above, p. 495 n 6), iv. iii. 1–6, iv. 5–8, v. i. 10, xiv. 12f, xv. 1, xvii. 4f, 14–16, xviii. 4, vi. iv. 23 (iis uero qui sapientiam quaerunt, philosophiam in oculos inpingit [sc. diabolus], ut specie lucis excaecet, ne quis conprehendat ac teneat ueritatem), v. 1–6, vi. 1f, 23–28, viii., ix. 13f, x. 11, xii.–xix., vii. i. 6–11, ii.–v., viif., xii.–xiv., xxii. 19, xxiii., *Ira Dei* i.–xvii., xxiii.; Eus. *PE* 21d, 25cd, 26d, 27a, 171b–173d, 473c, 691a–d, 694a–714a, 717bc, 742–747, 756–784, 788–855 (esp. 789d, 790c, 852cd, 855d), *DE* iii. iii. 106c, vi. 127a (Jesus "the prince of philosophers"), 129bcd, vii. 135d (i. 123, 146, 149, 156).

[2] Commod. *Instr.* i. 16; *Clem. Hom.* iv. 13; Method. *Symp.* viii. 16; Arnob. i. 47, vii. 10–12; Lact. *Inst.* i. xi. 13ff; Eus. *Hier.* 46–48, *PE* 236–295.

[3] *Clem. Hom.* iv. 12, 17; *Clem. Recog.* x. 48; Eus. *PE* 74c–75a, 123a–124d, 173cd, 473c, 691d–692b, 693cd, 694a, 695ab, 702–705.

[4] Cypr. *Bon. Pat.* 2f; *Clem. Hom.* iv. 17f, v. 18; Lact. *Inst.* iii. viii. 31, xv. 6–21, xvi. 1–5, 6 (qui quoniam auctores sunt rerum gerendarum nec ipsi quicquam gerunt, pro loquacibus sunt habendi), iv. xxiii. 8f, v. ii. 3ff, vi. v. 10.

[5] *Clem. Recog.* x. 48, 50; Arnob. i. 64; Lact. *Inst.* iii. xxvii., iv. xxiii.

[6] Ps-Just. *Cohort.* 5–8, 23; Lact. *Opif. Dei* xvii. 2, *Inst.* i. i. 18, v. 22, iii. vii.; Eus. *PE* 22a–25b, 75a–c, 144b–153c, 718a–719a, 720, 726–739, 747c–757, 794–808, 855d, *DE* v. int. 205d (i. 225). In his reply to Hierocles, Eusebius frequently points out inconsistencies in the philosophic portrait of Apollonius of Tyana. Hermias' Διασυρμὸς τῶν ἔξω φιλοσόφων is, as its title suggests, a vilification of the Hellenic philosophers on account of their endless disagreements: but it was probably written after the close of our period (see above, p. 460 n 6).

APPRECIATION OF THE PHILOSOPHERS.—This general rejection and depreciation of philosophy did not prevent Christian writers admitting that on many points the philosophers (with whom the poets were generally associated) had discovered and stated the truth, and not only quoting them with approval, but even using the fact to convince pagan readers of the soundness of Christian arguments and doctrines.[1] But the honour thus done to the philosophers and poets was very seriously impaired by the qualifications with which it was accompanied. Such truths as they were admitted to have stated were frequently declared to have been borrowed by them without acknowledgment from the Hebrew Scriptures[2]—which long preceded them in time[3]—and often perverted, particularly by the poets, in the borrowing.[4] Lactantius charges Cicero with knowing the falsity of the pagan gods and wilfully concealing the truth in fear of the prison of Socrates,[5] and Eusebius lays a somewhat similar accusation against Plato.[6]

While there was thus a good deal that was narrow and unsympathetic in the Christian view of philosophy, yet the Christian sense of justice prevented its positive merits from being altogether unrecognized. Anatolius referred appreciatively to the mathematical discoveries of the philosophers.[7] Arnobius frequently refers to their good morals and sound learning.[8] Lactantius too has a high opinion of some of them.[9] He quotes many of their statements and views with marked approval and apparently with

[1] Ps-Just. *Cohort.* 15–20, 24, 36–38; Arnob. i. 18, ii. 13, 14 (cf. 52); Lact. *Opif. Dei* xix. 3, *Inst.* i. v., vi., (vii.), ii. viii. 50, ix. 18–20, x. 4f, iii. xii. 9–12, xiii. 2, xviii. 1, xx. 7–9, v. xvii. 18, xxii. 11f, vi. viii. 6–9, 10 (ego uero eos qui uera inprudentes loquuntur sic habendos puto, tamquam diuinent spiritu aliquo instincti), xvii. 27f, xix. 1f, xx. 6, xxv. 3, 9–11, vii. iii. 12f, iv. 2, vii., x. 9, xiii. 1–6, xx. 8–11, xxiii., *Ira Dei* x. 47, 49, xi. 11–16, xiii. 1, xiv. 4; Eus. *PE* 68d, 136, 403–458, 557ab, *DE* iii. iii. 104d–106b, vif. 134 (i. 120–123, 154f). On the borrowings of Arnobius and Lactantius from Hellenic philosophy, see Ziegler 181f n.

[2] Ps-Just. *Cohort.* 14, 22, 25–34; Lact. *Inst.* ii. x. 6, vii. xxii. 4; Eus. *PE* 298d–299a, 333a, 348d, 460–463, 468, 473d–483a (Hellenic culture generally borrowed from the barbarians), 507d, 508ab, 557ab, 573–636, 653c, 662cd, 663bc, 664–691a, 717ab.

[3] Ps-Just. *Cohort.* 8f, 12f; Lact. *Inst.* iv. v.; Eus. *PE* 52bc, 333a, 482d–505c, 755c.

[4] Ps-Just. *Cohort.* 30, 34; Lact. *Inst.* ii. x. 6, vii. xxii. 5f.

[5] Lact. *Inst.* ii. iii. 2–5. [6] Eus. *PE* 694a, *DE* iii. vi. 129d (i. 149f).

[7] See the translation of the frags. of Anatolius' ἀριθμητικαὶ εἰσαγωγαί in *ANCL* xiv. 427–431.

[8] Arnob. ii. 11 (non quo illos negemus aut morum esse integritate laudabiles aut non omni genere studiorum et disciplinarum paratos), 14 (of Plato: 'homo prudentiae non paruae et examinis iudiciique'), 36 (Plato ille diuinus multa de Deo digna nec communia sentiens), 50.

[9] Lact. *Inst.* vi. ix. 13: haec res efficit ut philosophi etiamsi natura sint boni, tamen nihil sciant, nihil sapiant.

no polemical motive. He praises Cicero's eloquence ;[1] and he ranks the teachers of virtue far above the teachers of oratory.[2] He thinks that Plato might well have been thankful that he had been born clever, teachable, and with the means of securing a liberal education.[3] Eusebius frequently speaks of his high regard for the philosophers generally and for Plato in particular, whom he regards with special affection. He is loth to discredit their teaching, much of which he esteems as true ; and he does so only in order to justify himself and his fellow-Christians for giving the first place to Scripture.[4]

## CHAPTER V

## ATTITUDE TO HEATHEN RELIGION

THE NATURE OF GOD.—The Christian invective against polytheism, idolatry, and the whole system of pagan worship, was more violent than that against pagan philosophy or even pagan immorality. Idolatry was more pervasive than philosophy and, in the Christian view, more central and fundamental than immorality. The point that most seems to have impressed the Christians was the utter senselessness of the pagan religion.[5] Eusebius represents Christianity as a revolt which freed the Hellenes from the yoke of mad delusions and superstitions.[6] The fons et origo malorum

[1] Lact. *Opif. Dei* xx. 5 : Marcus Tullius, eloquentiae ipsius unicum exemplar.

[2] Lact. *Inst.* I. i. 9 : nec tam de rebus humanis bene meretur qui scientiam bene dicendi adfert quam qui pie atque innocenter docet uiuere. idcirco apud Graecos maiore in gloria philosophi quam oratores fuerunt.

[3] Lact. *Inst.* III. xix. 21.

[4] Eus. *PE* 508c, 639b, 705c (Οὐ μὴν διαβολῆς ἕνεκα ταῦτα φάναι προήχθην, ἐπεὶ καὶ σφόδρα ἔγωγε ἄγαμαι τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ πάντων μᾶλλον Ἑλλήνων φίλον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τιμῶ, τὰ ἐμοὶ φίλα καὶ συγγενῆ, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὰ ἴσα διόλου, πεφρονηκότα), 714a, 717ab (οὐ μὲν δή τισι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπεχθόμενος, ὧν γε καὶ μέγα θαῦμ' ἔχειν ὁμολογῶ, ὅταν δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἷάπερ ἀνθρώποις, παραβάλλω τοὺς ἄνδρας), 719a ( . . . οὔ τι που μισέλλην οὐδὲ μισόλογος ὤν, πολλοῦ γε δέω, διαβολῆς δ' αἰτίαν ἀπολυόμενος, ὅτι δὴ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας ἥκιστα μεταποιηθέντες τὰ Ἑβραίων λόγια προτετιμήκαμεν), 790d (Ἐμοὶ δ' οὐ φίλον τὸν ἄνδρα [i.e. Aristoteles] οὐδ' αὐταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἀνέχεσθαι κακῶς πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων ἀγορευόμενον), *DE* III. v. 117d. 118a (i. 135f) (it would be unfair to accuse philosophers generally of hypocrisy), vi. 129bc (i. 149) (grudging recognition of self-sacrifice of Democritus and Crates).

[5] *Didasc.* II. xxviii. 9 ; *Clem. Recog.* x. 27 ; Lact. *Inst.* I. xx. 22, V. xx., VII. vi. 3ff ; Eus. *PE* 68b.

[6] Eus. *PE* 42b, 43d, 44bc, 51d, 68a–d, 69d, 70b, 74o.

was blindness and ignorance as to the nature of God.[1] Paganism had erred in ignoring the oneness of God,[2] and in assigning to Divine beings human attributes, passions, and imperfections[3]—more particularly the distinctions and feelings of sex.[4] The Christians incessantly pointed at the inconsistent, unworthy, and immoral stories told in the heathen mythologies,[5] and refused to be put off with the allegorical interpretations which were sometimes offered as an apology for them, and by which they were referred to physical phenomena and other innocent topics of instruction.[6] Some pagans went wrong in worshipping the heavenly bodies and the powers of nature,[7] some animals,[8] and some mere abstractions.[9]

Not only did Christians censure these departures from spiritual monotheism, but they also strove to expose *the real character of the heathen deities.* Their disgust at the immoral stories of the gods has already been adverted to. They regarded the pagan gods as men who had lived long ago—ancestors, kings, leaders, discoverers,

[1] Commod. *Instr.* i. 1f; Arnob. vii. 34.

[2] Cypr. *Demetr.* 6, *Fort.* 2; Ps-Cypr. *Quod Idola* 9; Arnob. i. 28–30, 33ff, ii. 2, iii. 2ff; Lact. *Inst.* i. iiif, xviii. 24—xix. 2, xx., ii. i. 6–19, xvi. 5, xvii. 7, iv. iii. 7–23, *Ira Dei* xi. 1–7; Eus. *PE* 72d–73a, *DE* i. ii. 12 (i. 8), v. 9d, vi. 20bc (i. 25, 37f), iii. vi. 129d, 130a (i. 149f). Arnobius held views on the Divine Nature, which, as far as we know, were not shared by any of his fellow-Christians. While controverting and contradicting almost all that the pagans said about the gods, their names, character, functions, etc., and while attributing pagan abuses to the work of demons, Arnobius yet concedes the possibility of the existence of good gods, subordinate to the one Supreme God. He does not, however, feel himself called upon to investigate the way in which they should be worshipped, regarding this duty as included in the worship paid to the Highest (Arnob. i. 32–36, 39, ii. 3, iii. 2–6, iv. 9f, 17, vii. 2, 18; Moule in *DCB* i. 168b).

[3] Arnob. i. 17–20, 23, 36, iii. 16, 25, iv. 28, 33, vi. 1f, vii. 35f, 41–46, 50; Lact. *Inst.* i. xix. 4–7, ii. vi. 4–6.

[4] Arnob. iii. 6–11, iv. 19–23, 26f, vii. 35; Lact. *Inst.* i. viii., xiif, xvif; Eus. *PE* 30b.

[5] *Acta Disput. Achat.* ii. (Gebhardt 116f); Commod. *Instr.* i. 4–6, 9–16; Ps-Just. *Cohort.* 2; *Clem. Hom.* iv. 8, 15f, 19, 23, v. 11–16, 24; *Clem. Recog.* x. 17–23, 28; *Acta Tarachi* etc. 5 (Ruinart 460) (deorum, qui perdunt eos qui consentiunt eis); Arnob. iii. 6, 10, 26–44, iv. 20–28, 32–34, v. 1–31; Lact. *Inst.* i. ix.–xi., xxif; Eus. *PE* 31c, 73c, 107–117, 119.

[6] *Clem. Hom.* iv. 24f, vi. 1–20; *Clem. Recog.* x. 29–37, 40f; Arnob. iv. 33, v. 32–45; Lact. *Inst.* i. xii.; Eus. *PE* 42c, 43d, 44ab, 69a, 74a, 75d–91d, 97c, 119d–121b, 123b, 125d–126a, 131a, 835d: the literal truth of the narratives about the gods is insisted upon by Lactantius (*Inst.* i. xix. 5–7: cf. Arnob. v. 39, vii. 38f, and appendix).

[7] Commod. *Instr.* i. 7f; Cypr. *Fort.* 1; *Didasc.* v. xii. 1, 4f; *Clem. Hom.* ix. 6; Lact. *Inst.* ii. v. 7–25, vi. 1f, xiii. 12; Eus. *PE* 17b, 30a–c, 70c, 74b, 92b–93a, 96, 100–106, 126, 835d.

[8] Cypr. *Demetr.* 12; *Clem. Hom.* vi. 23, x. 16f; *Clem. Recog.* v. 20f; Arnob. i. 28; Lact. *Inst.* ii. xiii. 11, v. xx. 12; Eus. *PE* 49a–51c, 74cd, 93d–95d, 118ab, *DE* i. vi. 21a (i. 38), v. int. 209d, 210a (i. 229), viii. v. 414d (ii. 148).

[9] Lact. *Inst.* i. xx. 11–42.

and so forth, often of wicked character, who had come to be regarded as Divine on account of the notoriety of their exploits, or of the benefits, such as laws, government, and so on, which they had conferred upon their subjects.[1] A special case of this blasphemous deification of mortals—and one which brought the abuse a good deal nearer home—was the offering of Divine honours before the images of the Roman Emperors.[2] An alternative representation of the pagan gods, often put forward by the Christians, was that they were simply lifeless material objects, which as such it was absurd to worship: this theme was the source of endless invective and ridicule.[3] *Pagan worship*, therefore, with all its various apparatus and manifestations—temples, altars, sacrifices, libations, auspices, oracles, orgies, and mysteries—was exposed and denounced in unsparing terms.[4] Behind the whole vicious system Christians saw the activity of wicked and deceitful demons, whom they often regarded as the actual objects of pagan worship.[5]

THE CHRISTIAN SYSTEM AND ATTITUDE.—Over against the aberrations of paganism, the Christian writers advocated the

[1] Ps-Cypr. *Quod Idola* 1–3; *Clem. Hom.* v. 22f, vi. 20f, ix. 4–7; *Clem. Recog.* ii. 42, iv. 30, x. 24f, 28; Arnob. i. 37, iv. 28f; Lact. *Inst.* i. viii. 8, xi., xiii. 8–15, xiv.f, xvii. 5, xviii., xx. 1–7 (deification of harlots), ii. i. 1, xvi. 3, xvii. 6f, iv. xxvii. 17, *Ira Dei* xi. 7f; Eus. *PE* 31c, 70a–d, 71a–72d, 73b–d, 90d–91d, 299d, 300a, *DE* viii. int. 364ab (ii. 97).

[2] *Acta Disput. Achat.* i. 4f (Gebhardt 115); Arnob. i. 64; Lact. *Inst.* i. xv. 6.

[3] *Acta Disput. Achat.* v. 3 (Gebhardt 120); Cypr. *Demetr.* 12, 14, 16, *Fort.* 1f; Commod. *Instr.* i. 20, 34, *Carm.* 435f; *Didasc.* ii. xxviii. 8f, v. v. 3; *Clem. Hom.* x. 7–13, 22; *Clem. Recog.* iv. 20, 31, v. 14–16, vi. 6f; *Acta Crispinae* 1 (Ruinart 478) (nam illi dii lapides sunt, et figmenta manuum hominum facta . . . Loquantur ipsi dii, et credam); Lucianus, *Apol.* ap. Routh iv. 5f; Arnob. vi. 8–26; Lact. *Inst.* ii. ii., iv., xvii. 8f, xviii., *Ira Dei* xx. 9; Eus. *PE* 98f, 131a, 183bc, *DE* i. iii. 16 (i. 10). The most masterly treatment of the subject is that by Arnobius and Lactantius.

[4] Commod. *Instr.* i. 22; Ps-Cypr. *Quod Idola* 9; Arnob. vi. 1–8, 27, vii. 1–37; Lact. *Inst.* i. xxi., v. xix. 26–34, xx. 1f, vi. i. 5–7, 10f, ii., xxv. 1–5, vii. vi. 3, 6–9; Eus. *PE* 162ab (religious prostitution). On the auspices, Commod. *l.c.*; Ps-Cypr. *Quod Idola* 5f; Arnob. i. 24, 46, iv. 12; Lact. *Inst.* iv. xxvii. 3–5; Eus. *PE* 170c, *DE* v. int. 209d, 210a (i. 229). On orgies and mysteries, *Clem. Hom.* xi. 14f; *Clem. Recog.* v. 31f; Arnob. ii. 13, v. 39; Eus. *PE* 61–67, 788c. On oracles, Commod. *Instr.* i. 35; Ps-Just. *Cohort.* 11, 38; *Clem. Hom.* ix. 16f; *Clem. Recog.* iv. 21f; Lact. *Inst.* i. vii., ii. xvi. 1, 13, iv. xiii. 14ff; Eus. *PE* 127a–b, 130bc, 131b–139d, 142d–143a, 170c, 183d–185d, 204c–234c, 236, 255a–261d, 295d, *DE* v. int. 202–207 (i. 220–226), vi. xx. 296bc, 299ab (ii. 37f, 41), ix. xiv. 451c (ii. 181). It was admitted that the oracles occasionally spoke the truth.

[5] Cypr. *Ep.* 65 (63) 1 (aras diaboli), *Laps.* 8, 15, *Unit.* 3; Ps-Cypr. *Quod Idola* 7; Commod. *Instr.* i. 3, 35; *Didasc.* ii. xxviii. 8; Ps-Just. *Cohort* 38; *Clem. Hom.* ix. 8–17, x. 10f; *Clem. Recog.* iv. 13–16, 19; *Acta Claudii* etc. 1 (Ruinart 309); Lact. *Inst.* ii. xiv., xv., xvi., iv. xxvii. 15–20; Eus. *PE* 142d–143a, 161c, 174f, 186, 196–204, *DE* saepissime.

claims of their own pure and enlightened religion. They met the pagan polytheism and mythology with careful presentations of their own views of God and Jesus Christ.[1] They represented God as angry with the pagans on account of their perverse neglect of Him, and as bound to visit it with condign punishment.[2] It was not the wickedness of the Christians, whose morals, they maintained, were pure,[3] but rather the irreligious iniquity of the pagans themselves, that accounted for the calamities which were already befalling the world—at once a warning and a foretaste of the fiery punishment in store for all idolaters.[4] They resolutely *refused to offer sacrifices to the gods*[5] or to eat food that had been offered in sacrifice,[6] even though their refusal meant direct disobedience to the command of the Emperor.[7] The Church took very seriously the lapse of many of her members into various forms of idolatry under the pressure of persecution; and a whole controversy with an extensive literature of its own sprang up around the question as to whether the lapsed could ever be received back into Church-membership and, if so, what penalties were to be imposed for varying degrees of guilt.

Besides the prohibition of actual sacrifice and of the eating of things offered to idols, we find various *other positive and negative*

[1] Commod. *Carm.* 89–578; Ps-Just. *Cohort.* 21; *Clem. Hom.* vi. 24f, ix. 8; Arnob. i. 25–27, 45–52, 60; Lact. *Inst.* iv. vi.–xxx.; Eus. *PE* 96d, 97, 122d, 142a–c, 323–333.

[2] Cypr. *Demetr.* 6–8; Commod. *Instr.* i. 2; *Didasc.* v. xv. 5, xvi. 1: per contra, on the long-suffering of God, *Clem. Hom.* xi. 6f.

[3] *M. Pionii* iv. 9; Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* vi. xli. 21; Arnob. ii. 15; Lact. *Inst.* v. xix. 30–34; Eus. *PE* 12f, 179bc: for the defence of Christian worship in particular, Arnob. i. 27, vii. 37; Lact. *l.c.* and vi. xxv. 5–16.

[4] Cypr. *Demetr.* 2, 4f, 7, 17, 21–23; Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* vii. xxi. 9f; *Clem. Recog.* v. 27f; Arnob. i. 1–27, 36, iii. 11, 24, 36, iv. 24, 30, 36f, v. 15, vii. 7, 38f, 48. Arnobius, in accordance with his negative and non-committal habit of mind, does not commit himself to any positive view of his own as to the cause of these calamities: he will not attribute anger to God, nor does he deny definitely the existence of other Divine beings: but, granting they exist and are angry, it must be with the pagans and not with the Christians.

[5] *Acts* of the Martyrs, passim; Arnob. vii. 37; Eus. *PE* 170a (*οὔτε θύσομεν οὔτε δουλεύσομεν τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν νενομισμένοις θεοῖς, οἳ δὴ καὶ ἡμῶν τὸ πρὶν κατετυράννουν*); *Can. Illib.* 1 (Qui post fidem baptismi salutaris adulta aetate ad templum idoli idolaturus accesserit et fecerit, quod est crimen capitale, quia est summi sceleris, placuit nec in finem eum communionem accipere). On the rejection of the sacrificial system (especially that of the Jews), cf. Eus. *DE* i. x. 34–40, iii. iii. 104c–105d (i. 54–62, 120–122).

[6] *M. Pionii* vi. 3; Novat. *Cib. Jud.* 7; Greg. Thaum. *Ep. Can.* 1; *Clem. Hom.* vii. 3f; *Acta Agapes* etc. 3 (Ruinart 424); Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xi. 1; *Can. Illib.* 40 (see next page, n 6).

[7] *M. Pionii* iii. 2f; *Acta Disput. Achat.* i. 4f; Cypr. *Act. Procons.* 1, 3; *Passio Pollionis* 3 (Ruinart 436); *Acta Crispinae* 1 (Ruinart 478); *Acta Agapes* etc. 3 (Ruinart 424); *Passio Quirini* 2, 4 (Ruinart 522f); *Acta Julii* 1 (Ruinart 569).

*regulations and practices*, the object of which was to prevent and avoid contamination by idolatry or to express abhorrence of it. Pionius refused to enter a heathen temple.[1] Cyprianus—we are told—used to command idols to be destroyed.[2] The 'Didascalia' forbade Christians to frequent heathen festivals,[3] or to mention the name of idols.[4] The Synod of Illiberis laid it down that there were to be no pictures in churches, lest the object of worship should be portrayed ;[5] that Christian landlords were not to receive as rent food that had been offered to idols, on pain of being refused communion for five years ;[6] that a Christian master of heathen slaves should, if possible, keep their idols out of his house, and, failing this, should keep himself uncontaminated ;[7] and that Christians should not lend their garments for heathen shows,[8] nor go to idol-temples under pretence of being pagans and of intending to sacrifice, though not actually doing so—such duplicity was to be atoned for by a ten years' penance.[9] The 'Egyptian Church-Order' refused to admit to the catechumenate a sculptor or painter who fashioned idols, or a priest or guardian of idols, who did not immediately give up his calling,[10] or magians, or enchanters, or astrologers, or prophets, or dream-tellers.[11] Under the excitement of persecution, as we shall see, the Christian antipathy to idolatry often took a very violent form : but even in times of peace, no doubt there were "a few cases, in which an ill-considered zeal led Christians to insult the Pagan worship."[12] Such acts were generally

[1] *M. Pionii* vii. 2f.

[2] Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 17 (inimicus deorum, qui idola destruenda mandabat—but perhaps this is only a rhetorical way of saying that he was a vehement opponent of idolatry) : cf. *Clem. Hom.* x. 8 ; *Clem. Recog.* v. 15 (images of gods needing to be shielded from theft, etc.).

[3] *Didasc.* II. vi. 1 (episcopus . . . nec festa gentilium appetat), lxii. 3 (Hic ergo monet et adhortatur nos, . . . ut valde fugiamus conventus gentilium neque intremus in congregationes peregrinas, et ut theatrum prorsus fugiamus et coetus, qui idolorum causa fiunt).

[4] *Didasc.* v. xii. 5.

[5] *Can. Illib.* 36.

[6] *Can. Illib.* 40.

[7] *Can. Illib.* 41.

[8] *Can. Illib.* 57. Cf. Dale 274f.

[9] *Can. Illib.* 59 : Prohibendum ne quis christianus, ut gentilis, ad idolum capitolii causa sacrificandi ascendat et videat ; quod si fecerit, pari crimine teneatur ; si fuerit fidelis, post decem annos acta poenitentia recipiatur. Cf. Dale 122f.

[10] *Const. Eg.* xi. 3 (Si quis sculptor vel pictor est, erudiantur, ne idola faciant ; aut desinant, aut reiciantur), 8 (Qui sacerdos idolorum est aut custos idolorum, aut desinat aut reiciatur).

[11] *Const. Eg.* xi. 13 (Magi quoque ne ad examen adducantur. Incantator vel astrologus vel vates vel interpres somniorum . . . vel qui amuleta facit, aut desinant aut reiciantur). The Synod of Ancyra prescribed a five years' penance for Christians who employed people of this type (*Can. Ancyra* 24 (Hefele 221)). On heathen sorcery, cf. Eus. *DE* III. vi. 126–128 (i. 145–148).

[12] Lecky i. 460.

disapproved by the Church; and the Synod of Illiberis laid it down that Christians who got killed as a result of breaking idols were not to be reckoned as martyrs, inasmuch as such action was not commanded in Scripture or practised in apostolic times.[1] Demonstrations of the power of the Christian spirit, as seen, for instance, in sudden conversions and in the curing of cases of mental and other disease, were claimed by Christians as evincing the expulsion and defeat of the pagan demonic gods.[2]

We learn with some surprise that in Spain, towards the close of the third century, *Christians* were to be found who *held the office of Flamen* in the heathen cult—an office often hereditary and, one would think, one in which it was quite impossible to abstain from participation in idolatrous observances. And yet it had been possible for Christians to fill the office, perhaps for a number of years, without forfeiting their Church-membership. The Synod of Illiberis dealt with the danger vigorously, but in such a way as to suggest that it was possible for a Christian to remain in the Church and at the same time to hold the office or title of flamen, provided he were exempted from its more directly idolatrous functions.[3] It was laid down that a Christian who as flamen had offered sacrifices and provided gladiatorial shows and been guilty of immorality — practices apparently connected with the worship of the Emperor in Spain — was never again to receive communion.[4] If, however, he had not offered sacrifice, but had only provided a (gladiatorial) show, he might, if proper penance had been done, receive communion at death, but only if he had not been guilty of immorality after his repentance.[5] A flamen who was a catechumen must withhold himself from offering sacrifice, and his term of

[1] *Can. Illib.* 60.

[2] *M. Pionii* xiii. 6 (*ποίου βιοθανοῦς ἀνθρώπου τῷ ὀνόματι τοσούτοις ἔτεσι δαιμόνια ἐξεβλήθη καὶ ἐκβάλλεται καὶ ἐκβληθήσεται;*); Cypr. *Demetr.* 15; Ps-Cypr. *Quod Idola* 7 (uideas illos nostra uoce et oratione maiestatis occultae flagris caedi, igne torreri, incremento poenae propagantis extendi, etc. etc.), *Rebapt.* 7; Arnob. i. 27(?), 46f, 50–52; Lact. *Inst.* iv. xxvii. 1–5, v. xxi. 3–6; Eus. *Hier.* 4 (6) (*μοχθηρούς τινας καὶ φαύλους δαίμονας ψυχαῖς ἀνθρῶπων καὶ σώμασιν ἐφεδρεύοντας ἀπελαύνων*), *PE* 170c, 179d, 180.

[3] See, however, Dale 242 n.

[4] *Can. Illib.* 2: Flamines qui post fidem lavacri et regenerationis sacrificaverunt, eo quod geminaverint scelera, accedente homicidio, vel triplicaverint facinus, cohaerente moechia, placuit eos nec in finem accipere communionem. See below, p. 504 n 1.

[5] *Can. Illib.* 3: Item flamines qui non immolaverint, sed munus tantum dederint, eo quod se a funestis abstinuerint sacrificiis, placuit in finem eis praestare communionem, acta tamen legitima poenitentia; item ipsi si post poenitentiam fuerint moechati, placuit ulterius his non esse dandam communionem, ne illusisse de dominica communione videantur. See next note.

probation was extended from two years to three.[1] We do not find it stated explicitly that he must give up his office or title of flamen: the fact that a man might be a catechumen and a flamen at the same time suggests that he might under conditions remain a flamen even after baptism.[2]

THE PLEA OF CUSTOM.—Had the decision of the conflict between Christianity and paganism rested only on the inherent reasonableness or otherwise of the two systems, polytheism, idolatry, and sacrificial worship would have been speedily abolished. But Christianity had to overcome more than the feeble logic of the status quo. Its opponents had a powerful ally in the force of custom. Not only did custom render men unwilling to make the change that Christians demanded, but it was again and again put forward as a reason for the refusal. The ancient mind felt a real veneration for what was ancestral, time-honoured and customary, and endowed it with a prerogative which more than made up for all its irrationality. We find Christian writers again and again hammering away at the point, and endeavouring to convince the other side of their absurdity and inconsistency in urging this particular plea.[3]

[1] *Can. Illib.* 4 (Item flamines si fuerint catechumeni et se a sacrificiis abstinuerint, post triennii tempora placuit ad baptismum admitti debere); cf. 55 (sacerdotes qui tantum coronas portant nec sacrificant nec de suis sumptibus aliquid ad idola praestant, placuit post biennium accipere communionem). On the whole subject, cf. Hefele 138–140, 160f; Dale 242–251; Bigelmair 115–119. I have followed in the text the suggested interpretations of Hefele and Bigelmair, except that I doubt whether 'moechia' (*Can. Illib.* 2) can mean participation in obscene theatrical displays, as they suggest. Dale thinks 'homicidio,' 'immolaverint,' and 'funestis sacrificiis' refer to *human* sacrifice, 'munus' to ordinary sacrifice, and 'moechia' to definitely immoral rites, these all being incidental to the half-semiticized cults of Spain. But this seems hardly likely: the language though obscure does not *necessitate* it; and it had long been the policy of the Roman Emperors to suppress human sacrifice in the provinces (*ERE* vi. 861b).

[2] Troeltsch 124f: "Es gab in den Provinzen christliche Flamines des Kaiserkults, denen es möglich wurde, um die eigentliche Teilnahme am Kult sich herumzudrücken und doch die soziale Bedeutung dieser Stellungen zu geniessen," etc. I do not know of any evidence for the existence of Christian Flamines of heathen cults except these *Canons of Illiberis*: these refer to conditions in Spain only. Nor is it certain, so far as I know, that these Spanish Flamines were priests of the *Kaiserkult*.

[3] Ps-Just. *Cohort* 1, 11 (*τὴν προτέραν τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν πλάνην*), 14 (*τῇ τῶν προγόνων ὑμῶν ἀβασανίστῳ . . . πλάνῃ*), 35f; *Clem. Hom.* iv. 8 (*τὸν εὐσεβεῖν προαιρούμενον οὐ πάντως φυλάσσειν δεῖ τὰ πάτρια, ἀλλὰ φυλάσσειν μὲν ἐὰν ᾖ εὐσεβῆ, ἀποσείεσθαι δὲ ἐὰν ἀσεβῆ τυγχάνῃ*), 11, xi. 13; *Clem. Recog.* v. 30; Arnob. i. 42, 57, ii. 12, 66–75, vii. 21, 26, 30; Lact. *Inst.* i. v. 28, ii. vi. 7–12, 16, vii.1–6; Lucianus *Apol.* ap. Routh iv. 5 (Non enim . . . humanae alicujus persuasionis errore constringimur, nec indiscussa, ut alii, parentum traditione decipimur); Eus. *PE* 5a–c, 11b, 74c, 130a–d, 131a, 133d, 140d, 254ab, 296a.

# CHAPTER VI

## ATTITUDE TO THE STATE

General Depreciation of Governments and Patriotism.—It was perhaps only a moralizing commonplace, though not an altogether insignificant one, that so often coupled with the idea of royalty thoughts of wickedness, oppression, and the provocation of war. Thus, in commending the study of Scripture, Commodianus asks: "What advantage is it to pursue vainly the worldly events in (different) countries, and to know about the vices of kings and about their wars?"[1] In the Clementine 'Homilies,' Peter, speaking of "the female prophecy," says: "When she conceives, and bears temporary kings, she stirs up wars, which shed much blood."[2] Later, he says to the bishop-elect: "Dost thou not know for certain, that thou hast to rule, not as the rulers of the gentiles, but serving them as a slave, caring [?] (for them) as a father, visiting (them) as a doctor, guarding (them) as a shepherd," and so on.[3] In the Clementine 'Recognitions,' the wicked and tyrannical kings of Israel are mentioned.[4] Particularly liable to disorder and therefore open to objection was the division of the sovereign power among many rulers,[5] especially such as had prevailed before the foundation of the Empire and the commencement of Christianity.[6] Arnobius not only closely connects royalty and militarism, but boldly challenges the raison d'être of both. "For," says he, "—to begin with what is important—what use is it to the world that there should be mighty kings here, what (use that there should be) tyrants, lords, and innumerable other illustrious powers? What (use that there should be) generals of the greatest experience in warfare, skilled in the capture of cities, (and) soldiers immovable and invincible in cavalry-battles or in a fight on foot?"[7] He

[1] Commod. *Carm.* 585f.

[2] *Clem. Hom.* iii. 24: ἐπὰν δὲ συλλαβοῦσα τοὺς προσκαίρους τίκτῃ βασιλεῖς, τοὺς αἷμα πολὺ χέοντας ἐγείρει πολέμους.

[3] *Clem. Hom.* iii. 64: the query marks an uncertainty in the exact text.

[4] *Clem. Recog.* i. 38.

[5] Ps-Cypr. *Quod Idola* 8 (quando umquam regni societas aut cum fide coepit aut sine cruore desiit?); *Clem. Hom.* iii. 62, ix. 2f; Ps-Just. *Cohort.* 17.

[6] Eus. *PE* 10b–d, 178d, 179a, *DE* iii. vii. 139f (i. 161), vii. ii. 344d, 345ab (ii. 80f), viii. iv. 410a, ix. xvii. 457d, 458 (ii. 144, 187f).

[7] Arnob. ii. 38. On the implied rejection of human government, cf. Eus. *PE* 361d (Josephus quoted as saying that the Divine Lawgiver εἰς μὲν τούτων

mentions the numerous cases of the burning and pillaging of temples by " kings and tyrants." [1]

It is, however, *Lactantius* who *goes furthest in the depreciation of political rulers.* Not only does he, like others, condemn kings for their wars,[2] not only does he censure their wickedness and oppression and the flattery of their courtiers,[3] but he makes statements which virtually mean that all political dominion is unjust. He believed that after the golden age of Saturnus, which he accepted as an historical fact,[4] Jupiter had introduced an age of greed, rapine, and injustice, the strong and violent seizing all they could, and then erecting laws and assuming the pomp of office to defend their plunder.[5] After urging the equality of all men in God's sight, he says: " Therefore neither Romans nor Greeks were able to possess justice, because they kept men unequal with one another by many degrees, from the poor to the rich, from the lowly to the powerful, in fact, from private persons up to the most exalted royal authorities. For where all are not equal, there is no equity; and inequality itself excludes justice, the whole force of which lies in the fact that it makes equal those who come with equal lot into the condition of

[monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy] *οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἀπεῖδεν, ὡς δ' ἄν τις εἴποι βιασάμενος τὸν λόγον, θεοκρατίαν ἀπέδειξε τὸ πολίτευμα).*

[1] Arnob. vi. 23 (infiniti operis res est toto in orbe describere quae sint fana conuulsa terrae motibus et tempestatibus, quae incensa ab hostibus, quae ab regibus et tyrannis, etc.), 24 (. . . cum praeter innumeras criminum et facinorum formas ipsa etiam uideamus templa sacrilegis uiolationibus adpeti ab tyrannis, ab regibus, ab latronibus et nocturnis a furibus, etc.). Cf. Eus. *DE* VIII. int. 364ab (ii. 97)—of ancient kings.

[2] Lact. *Inst.* I. xviii. 8: athleticam quidem uirtutem contemnunt [sc. Romani], quia nihil obest, sed regiam, quia late solet nocere, sic admirantur, ut fortes ac bellicosos duces in deorum coetu locari arbitrentur; etc.

[3] Lact. *Inst.* v. vi. 9 (et quoniam mores ac uitia regis imitari genus obsequii iudicatur, abiecerunt omnes pietatem, ne exprobrare regi scelus uiderentur, si pie uiuerent), 10 (hence wickedness became customary); cf. III. xvii. 6 (in censuring the compromising spirit of Epicurus, Lactantius says: 'qui claritati ac potentiae studet, huic praecipitur reges colere; qui molestiam ferre non potest, huic regiam fugere') and *Ira Dei* xxi. 3 (itaque ne fierent ea quae faciunt per iram et humiles et mediocres et magni reges, temperari debuit furor eius [i.e. hominis] et comprimi, etc.).

[4] Lact. *Inst.* v. v. 3: quod quidem non pro poetica fictione, sed pro uero habendum est.

[5] Lact. *Inst.* v. vi. 1f, 3 (leges etiam sibi iustitiae nomine iniquissimas iniustissimasque sanxerunt, quibus rapinas et auaritiam suam contra uim multitudinis tuerentur. etc.), 4 (et quoniam nullum in iis uestigium iustitiae fuit, cuius officia sunt humanitas aequitas misericordia, iam superba et tumida inaequalitate gaudebant altioresque se ceteris hominibus satellitum comitatu et ferro et insigni ueste faciebant), 5 (hinc honores sibi et purpuras et fasces inuenerunt, ut securium gladiorumque terrore subnixi quasi iure dominorum perculsis ac pauentibus imperarent), 6 (in hac condicione humanam uitam rex ille [i.e. Jupiter] constituit, qui . . . non regnum, sed impiam tyrranidem ui et hominibus armatis occupauit et aureum illud iustumque saeculum sustulit, etc.).

this life." [1] "These present earthly goods, to which great honour is paid, are contrary to virtue, and enervate the vigour of the mind." [2] "Why are those who do not worship Him" (God) "both wealthy and powerful and happy and possessed of honours and royalty, and keep these very persons" (i.e. the good) "subject to their sway and power?" [3] "He who lives in prosperity is impatient. . . . Hence (it is that) those who are unjust and who do not know God abound in riches and power and honours. For all these things are the rewards of injustice, because they cannot be perpetual, and are sought by means of cupidity and violence." [4] The road to heaven is a stony and thorny one and full of difficulties, and "he who has surrounded himself with royal pomp, or has loaded himself with riches, cannot enter upon or persevere in those difficulties." [5] The devil inflames some with anger, others with lust, others with envy: "others he inspires with ambitions; they are the men who turn the whole work and care of their life to the holding of magistracies, in order that they may figure in the calendar and give a name to the years. The desire of some goes higher, not only that they may rule provinces with the temporal sword, but that they may aspire to be called the lords of the whole human race with boundless and perpetual power." [6] In discussing Lucilius' definition of virtue, which includes "being the enemy and foe of evil men and manners, but the defender of good men and manners," Lactantius says that these descriptions "are nowise true. For to proclaim enmity against the wicked or to undertake the defence of the good may be common to (virtuous and to) evil men. For some by a fictitious goodness prepare for themselves a way to power, and do many things which the good are wont (to do), the more readily because they do (them) for the sake of deceiving. And would that it were as easy to evince as to simulate goodness! But these men, when they have begun to be masters of their purpose and wish, and have reached the top step of power, then indeed they lay aside their pretence and reveal their real character: they seize upon everything and commit violence and oppression, and they harass those same good men whose cause they had taken up, and they cut away the steps by which they climbed, lest any one should be able to imitate them against themselves." [7] He goes on to urge that,

[1] Lact. *Inst.* v. xiv. 19f. For a criticism of this passage, see below, p. 610 n 3.
[2] Lact. *Inst.* v. xv. 9. The context shows that he has political and royal rank in mind.
[3] Lact. *Inst.* v. xxi. 7.
[4] Lact. *Inst.* v. xxii. 5f.
[5] Lact. *Inst.* vi. iv. 8.
[6] Lact. *Inst.* vi. iv. 21f.
[7] Lact. *Inst.* vi. v. 3, vi. 12–14.

even supposing this duty of defending the good belongs to the good man and he is genuine, he cannot be sure of being successful: what is needed is rather good fortune than virtue: he mentions the abortive effort of Gnæus Pompeius as one of many historical instances.[1] He then proceeds to deal with another part of Lucilius' definition: "'Moreover to consider first the advantages of (one's) country' is, when the disagreement of men has been abolished, (to do) nothing at all. For what are the advantages of (one's) country except the disadvantages of another state or race, that is, the extension of boundaries violently rent from others, the increase of rule, the imposition of greater taxes? All which things are certainly not virtues, but the overthrowing of virtues. For, in the first place, the connection of human society is taken away; innocence is taken away; abstention from what is another's is taken away; in fact, justice itself is taken away: for justice cannot bear the cutting-asunder of the human race, and, wherever arms glitter, she must be put to flight and banished. For that (remark) of Cicero's is true: 'Now those who say that regard is to be had to citizens, but not to foreigners, destroy the common society of the human race; and when this is removed, kindness, liberality, goodness, justice, are entirely removed.' For how can he be just, who injures, hates, despoils, kills? And those who strive to be of advantage to (their) country do all these things: for what that very being-of-advantage is they do not know, who think nothing useful, nothing advantageous, save what can be held with the hand; and this alone cannot be held, because it can be snatched away."[2] At a later point Lactantius returns to this criticism of the seekers and holders of office. The unjust, he says, abound in riches, honour, and power, and "lead an earthly life, nor can they attain to immortality, because they have given themselves over to pleasures, which are hostile to virtue."[3]

We may perhaps sum up Lactantius' view as follows: while much of what he says might be regarded as a criticism of the abuses of government rather than of the thing itself, and while, as in his reference to Pompeius, he seems to recognize that politicians had often honestly wished to be defenders of the right, yet he assumes that the motive behind the desire to hold office is nearly always

[1] Lact. *Inst.* VI. vi. 15, 16 (an aliquis ignorat quotiens melior iustiorque pars uicta sit? . . .), 17 (plena est exemplis omnis historia, etc.), 18.
[2] Lact. *Inst.* VI. vi. 18–22: the quotation is from Cic. *De Offic.* III. vi. 28.
[3] Lact. *Inst.* VII. v. 24f. Cf. Eus. *PE* 248d (on the necessity of being subject to the aggressive), 603d, 604c (quotations from Plato expressing the low philosophic idea of kings).

merely the love of wealth and power, with no more claim to respect than the motives of the selfish rich, the lustful, and the pleasure-seeker, and he virtually condemns all tenure of public office on that ground. Even when the motive of serving one's country comes in, Lactantius refuses it the name of virtue on the ground that it involves injustice to others.

The Transience of Kingly Power.—Christian thought was fond of dwelling on the ephemeral character of royal power and glory. In the Clementine 'Homilies,' Simon is warned that, even if he becomes a king, he will not escape eternal punishment.[1] "God," says Lactantius, "is able to make kings themselves lower than the lowest." [2] To the body "belong all those good things which awake desire and admiration—wealth, honours, rule—since they bring pleasures to the body, and therefore are as perishable as the body itself." [3] "They cannot be lasting." [4] "Let no one trust in wealth, in fasces, even in royal power: those things do not make (one) immortal." [5] A similar warning appears in Eusebius, with its appropriate scriptural authority.[6] Allied to this thought of the destined fall of kings, is the conception of them suffering defeat at the hands of Christ [7]—a conception doubtless connected with the thought of kings as persecutors.

General Disapproval of the Roman Empire and its Rulers.—The author of the treatise 'Quod idola dii non sint' inveighs, after the manner of Minucius Felix, on the shameful origin of the Roman dominion. "If thou goest back to its origin; thou wouldest blush. A people is collected together (consisting) of criminals and wrong-doers, and, an asylum being formed, impunity for crimes makes (them) numerous. Then, in order that the king may have the leadership in crime, Romulus becomes a parricide; and, in order to promote marriage, he inaugurates an affair of concord by discords. They plunder, violate, (and) deceive, in order to increase the resources of the state: their marriage-

[1] *Clem. Hom.* ii. 28.
[2] Lact. *Inst.* v. xv. 9.
[3] Lact. *Inst.* v. xxi. 10.
[4] Lact. *Inst.* v. xxii. 6.
[5] Lact. *Inst.* vii. xxvii. 15.

[6] Eus. *PE* 607c, quoting Ps cxlvi. 3f. Cf. *DE* i. int. 3 (i. 2) (downfall and restoration of states foretold by Hebrew prophets), vii. i. 322a (ii. 60) ("the rule of races, that gain empire at each period of history"), viii. ii. 387c (ii. 122) (downfall of Jewish rulers foretold by prophets), x. vi. 486b (ii. 213) ("the state of the heathen nations, which flow and pass by like a river, and will go from height to depth"), xv. frag. (ii. 237) (of the successive empires shown to Nebuchadnezzar).

[7] Lact. *Inst.* iv. xii. 18 ('fortitudinem regum disrumpam'—quoting Isa xlv. 1); cf. vii. xxiv. 15 (of the millennium—'reges gentium uenient a finibus terrae cum donis ac muneribus, ut adorent et honorificent regem magnum,' etc.).

rites are the broken covenants of hospitality and cruel wars with their fathers-in-law. The top step in Roman honours is the consulship: we see that the consulship began in the same way as the kingdom did—Brutus slays his sons, in order that esteem for his dignity might grow by the approval of his crime." [1] In the Clementine 'Homilies,' Peter points out "how *now*, since there are many kings all over the world, wars constantly occur": [2] he draws a sharp distinction between the Kingdom of Heaven, which is the good kingdom of the future, and "the kingdom of those who now reign upon earth," which he regards as the kingdom of the Evil One.[3] Victorinus, in his 'Commentary on the Apocalypse,' adopted as his own the view found in that book of the Satanic character of the Empire.[4] The 'Didascalia' alludes to the magistrates of the Empire as stained in war, and guilty of shedding innocent blood, perverting justice, and obtaining money by fraud.[5]

*Arnobius* is particularly violent in his condemnation of the Empire. In exculpating the Christians from the charge of producing disasters, he exclaims: "Did we forsooth drive the deities

[1] Ps-Cypr. *Quod Idola* 5: cf. the similar attack of Minucius, above, p. 342.

[2] *Clem. Hom.* iii. 62.

[3] *Clem. Hom.* xx. 2 (ὁ Θεὸς δύο βασιλείας ὁρίσας καὶ δύο αἰῶνας συνεστήσατο, κρίνας τῷ πονηρῷ δεδόσθαι τὸν παρόντα κόσμον διὰ τὸ μικρόν τε αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ παρέρχεσθαι ὀξέως . . . δύο τε βασιλεῖαι ὡρίσθησαν, ἡ μὲν οὐρανῶν λεγομένων, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς νῦν βασιλευόντων . . . ), 3 (πλὴν ἐὰν τὰ ἀγαθά τις πράσσειν ἔληται, τοῦ ἐσομένου ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως γίνεται κτῆμα· εἰ δὲ φαῦλα πράξειέ τις, τοῦ παρόντος γίνεται πονηροῦ ὑπηρέτημα). Cf. *Clem. Recog.* ii. 35 (in errore positum mundi regnum). Eusebius alludes guardedly to the Roman Empire of earlier days as "the Prince of this world," as the "Assyrians" of O.T. prophecy, and as "impure idolaters" (*DE* vii. i. 321f, 327b, 331, 333 (ii. 60–71)). He speaks of the Roman officials sent to govern Egypt as "cruel rulers" (*DE* vi. xx. 299 (ii. 41)). That his reference to Satan obliterating the national boundaries, overturning the angelic administration, and mastering the whole world (*DE* iv. ix. 159 (i. 178f)), is meant as a slur on the Roman Empire, seems likely, though it is not very explicit.

[4] Vict. *Comm. Apoc.* xvii. 2 (132) (Sedere autem mulierem super bestiam roseam, actricem homicidiorum, zabuli habet imaginem . . . hanc quidem 'Babylonem' propter diffusionem populorum dicit in apocalypsi et in Esaia, Ezechiel autem 'Sor' nominauit), xxi. 3 (150) (Quartum autem regnum [i.e. of the four mentioned in Dan ii. 31ff] durissimum et forissimum tamquam ferrum, quod domat omnia et omnem arborem excidit. et in nouissimo tempore, inquit, tamquam testum ferro mixtum miscebuntur homines et non erunt concordes neque consentanei). The view of the Roman Empire as the fourth and iron kingdom also appears in *Adamant* i. 24 (Et quia in virga ferrea gentes gubernantur, ostenditur in prophetia Danielis, dicentis post aureum et argenteum et aereum exsurgere regnum ferreum [Dan ii. 40ff], quod regnum sine dubio Romanorum est, in quo regno reguntur gentes quas sibi Christus in haereditate dari poposcit) and in Eus. *DE* xv. frag. (ii. 237).

[5] *Didasc.* iv. vi. 4 (quoted below, p. 546 n). It is therefore an exaggeration to say, as Achelis does: "Das römische Reich und seine Organe geniessen das vollste Vertrauen des Verfassers" (*TU*(*NF*) x. 2 [1904] 367).

to madness, that the Romans lately, like some torrential river, might submerge and overwhelm all the nations ? " [1] In defending the deification of Jesus, he says : " Your tyrants and kings, who, laying aside the fear of the gods, plunder and pillage the endowments of temples, who strip states of their nobilities by proscription, exile, and slaughter, who undermine and snatch away with licentious violence the modesty of matrons and virgins—these men ye call ' native deities ' and ' divinities ' ; and those whom ye might well have denounced with keen hatred, ye worship with couches, altars, temples, and other service, and by the celebration of birthday-games." [2] When he asks about Christ, " Did he, claiming royal power for himself, occupy the whole world with fierce legions, and (of) nations at peace from the beginning destroy and remove some, (and) compel others to put their necks beneath his yoke, and obey him ? " [3] the question is, of course, an indirect reflection on the Empire. The reference is equally clear in his exclamation : " Who brought disaster on the races (of men) ? who imposed slavery on the nations ? (Was it) not man ? " [4] He quotes a pagan protagonist as boasting that, when the Great Mother was transferred from Pessinus to Rome, not only was Hannibal driven from Italy, but " by glorious and famous victories, its ancient splendour was restored to the City, and the boundaries of the Empire were extended far and wide, and the right of liberty was torn from innumerable nations, states, (and) peoples, and the yoke of slavery imposed (upon them) ; and many other things, accomplished abroad and at home, established the name and majesty of the nation with impregnable firmness." [5] Against this Arnobius declares that he will not believe in the Divinity of one, " who, mixing up in the quarrels of men, broke the power of some, offered and displayed herself as a favourer of others, took away liberty from these, (and) advanced those to the summit of empire—(one) who subdued an innocent world, in order that one state, born for the ruin of the human race, might be pre-eminent." [6]

*Lactantius* adopts virtually the same position, though he does not put it quite so baldly. His strictures on office-seeking and office-bearing, in several of which a reference to the actual conditions of his own day is perfectly clear, have already been quoted. Like the author of ' Quod idola,' and in somewhat similar terms,

[1] Arnob. i. 5.
[2] Arnob. i. 64. For the plundering of temples, cf. vi. 24 (quoted above, p. 506 n 1).
[3] Arnob. ii. 1.
[4] Arnob. vii. 9.
[5] Arnob. vii. 49.
[6] Arnob. vii. 51.

he speaks with scant courtesy of the uncivilized founders of the Roman State.[1] He represents the Roman king Numa as having invented a system of religious beliefs, officials, and rites, as having pretended that he had received them from the goddess Egeria, and as having imposed them on the Roman people, for the purpose of rendering them more obedient to his government, though his cancellation of these enactments was afterwards discovered with his body.[2] "How far utility departs from justice," he says, "the Roman people itself teaches us, which, by declaring war through the Fetiales and by inflicting injuries legally and always taking and seizing others' property, has secured for itself the possession of the whole world."[3] Lactantius' view of the Roman power would seem to coincide closely with that which he quotes from Carneades, who said "that all nations which enjoyed dominion, including the Romans as well, who possessed the whole world, if they wish to be just, that is, if they restore what belongs to others, will have to return to cottages, and lie in need and misery."[4]

Lactantius often *censures individual emperors* for other follies and iniquities than persecution. He refers to the public and civil injustice committed by Julius Cæsar;[5] he calls Nero "an execrable and injurious tyrant";[6] he speaks of the odious tyranny of Domitianus,[7] the avarice and ruinous taxation of Diocletianus, his division of the Empire between himself and his three colleagues, the consequent multiplication of armies and officials, the financial exactions producing economic exhaustion, neglect of agriculture, and general scarcity and dismay, the repeated forfeitures and violations of justice, the Emperor's foolish attempt to limit the rise in prices (which he himself had caused) by means of a rigorous and pernicious law which after a time had to be withdrawn, his expensive passion for erecting new buildings,[8] his intolerance of

[1] Lact. *Inst.* II. vi. 13 (Romulus urbem conditurus pastores inter quos adoleuerat conuocauit cumque is numerus condendae urbi parum idoneus uideretur, constituit asylum. eo passim confugerunt ex finitimis locis pessimi quique sine ullo condicionis discrimine), 14–16.

[2] Lact. *Inst.* I. xxii. 1–9; cf. II. vi. 15.

[3] Lact. *Inst.* VI. ix. 4.

[4] Lact. *Inst.* V. xvi. 4.

[5] Lact. *Inst.* VI. xviii. 35 (see above, p. 463 n 5).

[6] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* ii. 6 (but see below, p. 518 n 1).

[7] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* iii. 1: Domitianus . . . cum exerceret inuisam dominationem, subjectorum tamen ceruicibus incubauit quam diutissime tutusque regnauit, donec impias manus aduersus Dominum tenderet.

[8] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* vii. 1, 2 (hic orbem terrae simul et auaritia et timiditate subuertit, etc.), 3–12, ix. 11 (cum rem publicam talibus consiliis et talibus sociis euerteret, cum pro sceleribus suis nihil non mereretur, tamdiu tamen summa felicitate regnauit, quamdiu manus suas iustorum sanguine non inquinaret). On the matter of imperial taxation, Cyprianus utters a mild stricture: what one gives in alms, he says, is beyond the reach of the

Roman 'freedom,'[1] the lustfulness of Maximianus, who was bolder than Diocletianus but not so avaricious (he replenished his treasury as occasion demanded by the judicial murder of rich senators),[2] the boundless arrogance, the bestial and savage barbarity, the bloody sports, and the cruel and degrading punishments of Galerius,[3] the bad character and pride of Maxentius,[4] the drunken frivolity of Severus,[5] and the semi-barbarism, unrestrained debauchery, and ignorance and inexperience in civil and military affairs, of Maximinus Daia.[6] He describes the iniquitous doings of this group of rulers in considerable detail—how Galerius compelled Diocletianus and Maximianus to resign, and forced the former to consent to the appointment of his (Galerius') personal favourites to the post of Cæsar, to the exclusion of Constantinus who had obviously the better claim; how the abdications and the new appointments were publicly proclaimed to the astonishment of all; how Galerius schemed to oust Constantius and his son from power, and to keep the posts of authority for his own son and adherents; how, under his rule, eloquence, jurisprudence, and literature languished, and justice was travestied; how he afflicted his subjects by the odious cruelty of his taxation; how he drowned the mendicants; how he tried to compass the death of Constantinus, but failed, and was compelled to recognize him as Augustus; how Maxentius and his father Maximianus fell out with Galerius and then with one another; how Maximianus, after an abortive attempt to murder Constantinus, was made to kill himself; how Daia sedulously sacrificed to the gods, levied oppressive taxes, pampered his soldiers and favourites with large gifts, committed himself and permitted among his Gothic guards and slaves the unrestrained violation of women; how his offer of marriage was indignantly declined by Galerius' widow; and how her friends were judicially murdered in consequence.[7]

imperial treasury: 'patrimonium Deo creditum nec respublica eripit nec fiscus inuadit nec calumnia aliqua forensis euertit' (Cypr. *Op. El.* 19).

[1] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xvii. 2: quibus sollemnibus celebratis (i.e. the vicennalia) cum libertatem populi Romani ferre non poterat, impatiens et aeger animi prorupit ex urbe.

[2] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* viii. 1–6; cf. xxx. 6 (uitam detestabilem).

[3] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* ix. 1–10, xxi. 1–5, 6 (. . . nec umquam sine humano cruore cenabat), 7–11, xxii. 1–3.

[4] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xviii. 9: homo perniciosae ac malae mentis, adeo superbus et contumax.

[5] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xviii. 12: when Galerius proposed him as Caesar, Diocletianus asked in amazement, 'illumne saltatorem temulentum ebriosum, cui nox pro die est et dies pro nocte?'

[6] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xviii. 13f, xix. 6, xxxviii.

[7] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xviii.–xx., xxii. 4f, xxiii.–xxxii., xxxvii.–xl., xliii.;

THE THEORY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EMPIRES BY CHANCE. —The theory of the providential control of human governments has become so familiar to us in our study of various types of Christian thought in regard to the State, that its absence in a couple of passages where we should expect to find it is conspicuous and even striking. Without making too much of the omission or building too much on what seems to be substituted, it is worth while to note the passages in question before passing on. The author of 'Quod Idola' and Arnobius both have occasion to deny the current belief that Rome's victories were due to the favour of the gods; but, unlike Tertullianus, they do not substitute for it the idea of a disposition of Providence, but fall back on a theory of determination by chance.[1] Thus the former writer says: "Why dost thou think that the gods can avail the Romans, when thou seest that they have been of no help to their worshippers against the Roman arms? . . . These are Roman gods: but Mars is a Thracian, Jupiter a Cretan, Juno either an Argive or a Samian or a Phœnician, Diana a Taurian, and the Mother of the Gods an Idæan, and the Egyptian (deities) are monsters, not deities: and (all) these assuredly would have preserved their own and their worshippers' kingdoms, if they had had any power. Certainly also there are among the Romans the conquered penates, whom the fugitive Æneas brought in. . . .[2] But kingdoms do not come into being through merit, but are varied by chance (non merito accidunt, sed sorte variantur). Formerly the Syrians and Persians held dominion: and we know that the Greeks and Egyptians ruled. So through the changes of powers, a time of sovereignty came to the Romans also as to others. . . . The Roman rule, therefore, did not grow from duly instituted religious rites nor from auspices or auguries, but it keeps the time it has received within a definite limit." He then adds some historical instances of the unreliability of auspices.[3] The view of Arnobius is sub-

cf. esp. xxxviii. 6 (. . . malo generis humani, ut illi barbarorum seruitutem fugientes in Romanos dominarentur. his satellitibus et protectoribus cinctus Orientem ludibrio habuit), xl. 3 (rapiuntur subito mulieres non ad iudicium, sed ad latrocinium: . . . iudex aequus et diligens . . .).

[1] It may, however, be observed that there is a passage in Tertullianus which combines the theories of the rise and fall of empires by lot (or chance) and by Providence—*Pall.* 1 (i. 916): 'at cum saecularium sortium variavit urna, et Romanis Deus maluit,' etc. See above, p. 373 n 1.

[2] Ps-Cypr. *Quod Idola* 4.

[3] Ps-Cypr. *Quod Idola* 5. Cf. also the very similar passage in Lact. *Inst.* VII. xv. 13 (quibus omnibus destructis ad Romanos quoque rerum summa peruenit). On the theory of history implied in the passage just quoted from *Quod Idola*, cf. Scullard 96f (he quotes *Quod Idola* as a genuine work of

stantially similar. His firm conviction that God could not be the author of anything that was evil naturally made the doctrine of the Divine appointment of a persecuting empire unacceptable to him. "Do they not reign," he asks, "do they not rule, to whom the lot of such things has been assigned?"[1] At the end of his work, he controverts in detail the idea that the Romans owed their victories to the favour of gods, conciliated by religious rites.[2]

CONDEMNATION OF THE STATE AS IDOLATROUS AND PERSECUTING.—Throughout virtually the whole of this period the rulers of the Empire were professed worshippers of the pagan gods, and in the course of it occurred the severest and most extensive persecutions that had ever befallen the Church. It is true that in 260 A.D. Gallienus issued an edict which, though it did not repeal officially any portion of the law of the Empire, nevertheless inaugurated a period of forty-three years of practical toleration for Christianity:[3] thus only about twenty years of our period remain during which the Church was exposed to persecution. But the attacks made on her at intervals during those twenty years were on such a scale and of such bitter intensity that they brand the whole period as the age of the great persecutions. The rulers of the Empire made more than one systematic attempt to blot Christianity out of existence. But the Church was by this time too well prepared, too strong, too deeply rooted, to be subdued.

While Christians accepted the fact of persecution as a normal accompaniment of their faith—something which had been prophesied in the past and was therefore to be expected[4]—while they were even able to regard it as providentially permitted, ordained,[5] and controlled for the punishment, discipline, purification, increase, and glory of the Church,[6] these considerations did not pre-

Cyprianus). On the unreliability of auspices in political and military life, cf. Commod. *Instr.* i. 22.

[1] Arnob. i. 2. [2] Arnob. vii. 38–40, 47–51.

[3] Bigelmair 63f, 68, 138; Harnack *KS* 155; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 272, 304.

[4] Cypr. *Ep.* 57 (53) 1, 5, 58 (55) 1f, *Fort.* 11; Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VI. xli. 10; Lucianus *Apol.* ap. Routh iv. 6 (Sed et omnia haec quae nunc adversum nos geritis, ventura nobis esse praedixit; educendos nos ante reges et ante tribunalia judicum statuendos, ac veluti victimam jugulandos); *Adamant.* i. 21, 24.

[5] Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 16–18; Lact. *Inst.* v. xxiii. 1 (Quidquid ergo aduersus nos mali principes moliuntur fieri ipse permittit); Eus. *DE* III. vii. 140cd (i. 162).

[6] Cypr. *Ep.* 8 (2) 1 (a letter from the Roman clergy), 11 (7) 1f, 58 (55) 2, 61 (57) 3, *Laps.* 5–7, *Fort.* 9; Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 8; *Passio Mariani et Jacobi* ii. 3, iii. 4, xi. 8 (Gebhardt 135 etc.); *Passio Montani et Lucii* iii. 2, xviii. 2, xx. 7 (Gebhardt 147, etc.); *Clem. Recog.* v. 34; Lact. *Inst.* v. xxii. 13–24, xxiii. 1 (indignationis aduersus nos eius [sc. Dei] quasi ministri fuerunt); Eus. *HE* VII. xxx. 21, VIII. i. 7–9, ii. 2: Bigelmair 60.

vent them expressing the strongest censure of the agents by whom it was inflicted. Persecution, they said, was the outcome of the hatred and superstition of men, the malice of the devil and the demons.[1] Very vigorous epithets were used to express the Christian abhorrence of the wickedness and cruelty of the persecutors.[2] Eusebius and Lactantius both have occasion to deplore the insensibility of Roman governors to Christian truth. Eusebius censures the foolish credulity of "Hierocles, who has been entrusted with the supreme and general jurisdiction."[3] Lactantius says: "Those who, inspired by ambition and inflamed by love of power, have devoted all their zeal to the acquisition of honours, will not, even if we carry the sun itself in our hands, have faith in that teaching which bids them despise all power and honour and live humbly—so humbly that they may even be able to receive an injury and not wish to return it, if they have received it. These are the men who shut their eyes and, so to say, bark against the truth."[4] Such is the censure he passes on the unwillingness of the imperial rulers to accept Christianity: but his language naturally becomes still more vehement when he is dealing with the cruelties of the last great persecution. The pagans, he says, hate, persecute, and banish justice; for "they mangle and kill those whom they themselves confess to be imitators

[1] Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VI. xli. 1 (of an individual human enemy—*καὶ φθάσας ὁ κακῶν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ μάντις καὶ ποιητής, ὅστις ἐκεῖνος ἦν, ἐκίνησεν καὶ παρώρμησεν καθ' ἡμῶν τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἐθνῶν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιχώριον αὐτοῦ δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀναρριπίσας*); *Passio Mariani et Jacobi* ii. 2 (Gebhardt 135) (rabies diaboli infestantis), 5, v. 4; *Didasc.* II. xlv. 2 (per gentiles inimicus insidiatur servis Dei); *Passio Pollionis* 3 (Ruinart 436) (raptus a ministris diaboli); *Passio Quirini* 1 (Ruinart 522); *Acta Julii* 2 (Ruinart 570) (minister . . . diaboli educens gladium); Lact. *Inst.* IV. xxvii. 8 (heathen gods, otherwise demons, fear Christians, and 'lacessunt eos per homines et manibus persecuntur alienis'), v. xxi. 1–6 (demons instigate ignorant men into fury against the truth); Eus. *PE* 9d (*ἐν τοσούτοις ἐτῶν χρόνοις ἐλαυνόμενον* [i.e. Christianity] *πρός τε τῶν ἀοράτων δαιμόνων καὶ πρὸς τῶν κατὰ χρόνους ὁρατῶν ἀρχόντων*).

[2] *Mart. Conon.* i. 2 (Gebhardt 129) (*τοῦ μιαροῦ ἄρχοντος*), ii. 1 (*ἐμμαινόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ τῶν εἰδώλων*), v. 4 (*ὁ ἀσεβὴς τύραννος μεμηνώς*), vi. 6 (*ὁ δὲ παράνομος ἡγεμών*); Cypr. *Ep.* 22 (21) 1 (a letter from Lucianus) (anguem maiorem—of Decius), 55 (51) 9 (tyrannus infestus sacerdotibus Dei . . . tyranni ferocientis), *Laud.* 4f, 25, *Laps.* 13 (durissimi iudicis recrudescente saeuitia), *Fort.* 12 fin. (funesta eius et sacrilega edicta); Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 8 (uasterauerat populum persecutionis infestae insolens atque acerba grassatio); Ps-Cypr. *Ad Novat.* 6 fin. (insanientis tyranni saeuitiam); Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VI. xli. 2 (*πάσης ἐξουσίας εἰς ἀνοσιουργίαν λαβόμενοι, κτλ.*), 8, 21, VII. x. 2, 4–9, xi. 25; *Passio Mariani et Jacobi* i. 3, ii. 2, 4f, v. 4 (Gebhardt 138) (quaenam illa tormenta! quam noua, quam diaboli uenenato sensu et deiciendi artibus exquisita supplicia!), ix. 5, x. 1f; *Passio Montani et Lucii* iii. 2.

[3] Eus. *Hier.* 20.

[4] Lact. *Inst.* VII. i. 15f. Cf. Ps-Cypr. *Jud.* 6 (beati enim et gloriosi et magnifici et potentes et diuites et fortes noluerunt adquiescere Domino neque introire in nuptias sponsi): cf. also the words addressed by Lucianus to the judge, quoted below, p. 532 n 9.

of the just, because they perform good and just actions; . . . they slay the pious, and regard the very followers of justice as enemies, nay, as more than enemies. . . . But what is done against those who know not how to do wrong is unspeakable, and none are held more injurious than those who are the (most) innocent of all. Thus most wicked men dare to make mention of justice, (men) who surpass wild beasts in ferocity, who lay waste the most gentle flock of God. . . . The consciousness of crimes never recalls them from violating the sacred and pious name of justice with that mouth which, like the jaws of beasts, is wet with the blood of innocent people." The reason of this hatred is that the good lives of Christians rebuke, offend, and trouble those who wish to sin. "For truth is always hated for this reason, that he who sins wishes to have free scope for sinning and thinks he cannot otherwise enjoy the pleasure of his misdeeds with full security than by there being no one whom his faults may displease." [1] "What Caucasus, what India, what Hyrcania, ever nourished beasts so savage, so bloodthirsty? For the madness of all wild beasts rages until their belly is satisfied, and dies down forthwith when hunger is appeased. He, he, is a true beast, by whose command alone 'dark blood is everywhere poured out; everywhere is cruel grief, everywhere terror and many an image of death.' No one can fittingly describe the savagery of this so great beast, which, reclining in one place, yet rages throughout the whole world with his iron teeth, and not only scatters the limbs of men, but even crushes the(ir) very bones and rages over the(ir) ashes, that there may be no place of burial (for them). . . . But it is impossible to describe the things that individual (governor)s have done throughout the whole world. For what number of volumes will contain (accounts of) such infinite, such various, kinds of cruelty? For each (governor), having received power, has raged according to his own character. Some, through excessive fear (of being thought slack), have dared (to do) more than they were bidden; others (acted) from their own hatred of the just; some by a natural ferocity of mind; some from a desire to please and in order that by this service they might prepare for themselves a way to higher (office)s; some showed themselves swift to kill, like one (governor) in Phrygia, who burnt a whole population together with their place of meeting." [2] He calls the first persecutor Nero an "evil beast" and

[1] Lact. *Inst.* v. ix. 1–6; cf. also 7–14.

[2] Lact. *Inst.* v. xi. 4–6, 9f; cf. also 1–3, 7f, 11–19, xx. 2, 5–8, xxiii. 1 (mali principes . . . iniustissimi persecutores).

Decius an "execrable animal."[1] Speaking of the administration of Diocletianus, Galerius, and Maximianus, he says: "Thus the whole earth was afflicted; and from east to west—except in the Gauls—three most bitter wild beasts were raging."[2] It is interesting to notice that Lactantius repeats the historical error of Meliton and Tertullianus, and leaps from Nero to Domitianus and from Domitianus to Decius, as if only these—two of them regarded even by pagans as rascals—had been persecutors, and the rest, particularly those between Domitianus and Decius, had protected and befriended the Church.[3] Eusebius refers frequently in general terms to past and present persecution of Christianity by earthly kings and rulers.[4]

The Punishment of Persecutors.—Christians reassured one another and the world generally that God would visit their oppressors —and, in fact, idolaters generally—with condign punishment,[5] and remarked that several persecutors had already suffered well-merited vengeance at His hands. Galerius Maximus, the proconsul of Africa, died, we are told, a few days after he had sentenced Cyprianus to death.[6] Dionysius of Alexandria said that the Emperor Gallus

[1] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* ii. 7 ('ut ne sepulturae quidem locus in terra tam malae bestiae appareret.' It is not quite clear whether this expression and that in ii. 6, 'execrabilis ac nocens tyrannus' have reference to Nero's general reputation or to his persecution only), iv. 1 (Extitit enim post annos plurimos execrabile animal Decius, qui uexaret ecclesiam: quis enim iustitiam nisi malus persequatur?).

[2] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xvi. 1.

[3] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* iii. 1, 4f (see below, p. 552 n 2), iv. 1: cf. Overbeck 93–100, 110f, 148–157; Holtzm. *RS* 37.

[4] Eus. *DE* i. i. 7 (i. 4), iii. v. 119b (i. 137) ("the confession of the Name of Jesus ever inflames the minds of rulers"), vi. 128a (i. 147), vii. 140d, 141a (i. 162), iv. xvi. 182d–184a (i. 204f) ("For even now nations, rulers, peoples and kings have not yet ceased their combined attack on Him and His teaching," etc. etc.), vii. i. 335d (ii. 73) (hostile rulers cannot carry out their threats), ix. viii. 440b (ii. 171), xiii. 448b (ii. 178), x. iii. 476c (ii. 204). On the idolatry of rulers, see *DE* vii. i. 319d (ii. 59) and the passages quoted above, p. 510 n 3.

[5] Cypr. *Ep.* 58 (55) 7 (grassatur et saeuit inimicus, sed statim sequitur Dominus passiones nostras et uulnera uindicaturus), 10 (O dies ille qualis et quantus aduenit, fratres dilectissimi, cum coeperit . . . Dominus . . . mittere in gehennam nocentes et persecutores nostros, flammae poenalis perpetuo ardore damnare), 11, 65 (63) 1f, *Laud.* 20, *Laps.* 7, *Demetr.* 17 (see above, pp. 488f n 8), *Mort.* 15; Lact. *Inst.* i. i. 15 ('nam malis qui adhuc aduersus iustos in aliis terrarum partibus saeuiunt quanto serius tanto uehementius idem omnipotens mercedem sceleris exsoluet, quia ut est erga pios indulgentissimus pater, sic aduersus impios seuerissimus iudex.' This is one of the passages added to the *Institutiones* after Constantinus' triumph), v. xx. 10 (et ideo cum nefanda perpetimur, ne uerbo quidem reluctamur, sed Deo remittimus ultionem, etc.), xxiii. 1 (Quidquid ergo aduersus nos mali principes moliuntur fieri ipse [i.e. God] permittit. et tamen iniustissimi persecutores . . . non se putent inpune laturos quia indignationis aduersus nos eius quasi ministri fuerunt). See above, pp. 488f, and below, p. 533.

[6] Cypr. *Act. Procons.* 5 fin.

persecuted without taking warning from the early death of his father Decius ; [1] and he noted the downfall and death of Macrianus, who had instigated Valerianus to persecution.[2] Eusebius tells us how Valerianus was reduced to slavery by the barbarians,[3] and how Aurelianus was overtaken by death whilst in the very act of signing edicts of persecution.[4] He enlarges, of course, at considerable length on the ignominious downfall of the enemies of Constantinus.[5] So also does Lactantius [6]—this, in fact, is the great theme of his ' De Mortibus Persecutorum ' : he reviews the history of all the well-known persecutors, and shows how they all came to an untimely end.[7]

It was a fixed item in Christian belief that God would punish idolaters and persecutors. It was a matter of common experience that the rulers of the Empire were always idolaters and often persecutors. It would seem to follow from these premises that God would bring about *the fall of the Empire.* With this conclusion the usual Christian expectations of the approaching end of the world would harmonize. The downfall of Rome is not often mentioned ; but, when it is, it is usually associated with the Divine punishment of persecution, though the latter is indeed more frequently thought of as affecting the individual persecutor, while the former is an incident in a historical programme—an item in the career of the dreaded *Antichrist.* It is to the Christian view of this figure that we must now turn.

With Cyprianus and his circle, Antichrist does not cease to be an historical personage, but he is given a much larger province and is practically made to fill the rôle of Satan. Heretics and

[1] Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VII. i. (ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Γάλλος ἔγνω τὸ Δεκίου κακὸν οὐδὲ προεσκόπησεν τί ποτ' ἐκεῖνον ἔσφηλεν, κτλ.) : cf. Lact. *Mort. Pers.* iv. 2, 3 (exutus ac nudus, ut hostem Dei oportebat, pabulum feris ac uolucribus iacuit [sc. Decius]).

[2] Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VII. x. 4, xxiii. 1f.

[3] Eus. *HE* VII. xii., xiii. 1 : cf. Lact. *Mort. Pers.* v. 1 (. . . at illum Deus nouo ac singulari poenae genere adfecit, etc.), 2ff.

[4] Eus. *HE* VII. xxx. 21 : cf. Lact. *Mort. Pers.* vi.

[5] Eus. *HE* IX. xi. 3 (εἶτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῆς θεοσεβείας ἐχθρῶν πᾶσαι τιμαὶ περιῃροῦντο, ἐκτείνοντο δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ τὰ Μαξιμίνου φρονοῦντες, ὅσοι μάλιστα τῶν ἐν ἀρχικοῖς ἀξιώμασιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τετιμημένοι τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν κολακείᾳ σοβαρῶς ἐνεπαροίνησαν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγῳ) ; cf. *DE* III. vii. 14of (i. 162) (terrible diseases of persecutors), VIII. i. 377cd (ii. 112).

[6] Lact. *Inst.* I. i. 15 (see above, p. 518 n 5), VII. xxvi. 13 (illi enim, qui ut impias religiones defenderent, caelestis et singularis Dei cultum tollere uoluerunt, profligati iacent . . .), 14 (illi poenas sceleris sui et pendunt et pependerunt : . . .)—written after Constantinus' triumph.

[7] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* i.–vi., ix. 11 (Diocles . . . tamdiu tamen summa felicitate regnauit, quamdiu manus suas iustorum sanguine non inquinaret), xvii., xxiv. 1, xxx. 6, xxxi. 1, xxxiii., xxxv. 3, xlii., xlix.–lii.

schismatics are said to be antichrists or the offspring of Antichrist or to be of his spirit : [1] Decius is " the pioneer of Antichrist " : [2] in times of persecution Antichrist threatens, but Christ protects.[3] Similarly Dionysius applies one of the well-known formulæ descriptive of Antichrist to the persecuting Emperor Valerianus.[4] But Antichrist is also looked upon by Cyprianus in the traditional manner as one who is about to come.[5]

More or less lengthy descriptions of the career of Antichrist and the events connected therewith are given by Commodianus, Victorinus, and Lactantius.[6] The details are, of course, in the main very similar to those already copied above from the pages of earlier Christian writers, and there is no need to repeat then here, as they bear but indirectly on our main theme. It is sufficient for our purpose to note that the destruction of Rome and the downfall of the Empire is an integral part of the story. The account of Commodianus is very unsystematic and difficult to make out clearly. He introduces the figure of Nero Redivivus : " For seven years the earth will everywhere tremble ; but half the time Elias will hold, and half Nero. Then the whore Babylon will be reduced to ashes." [7] Victorinus also handled the subject at different points in his commentary on the Apocalypse.[8]

[1] Cypr. *Ep.* 59 (54) 3, 71 (70) 2 (nihil potest esse commune . . . antichristo et Christo [cf. *M. Pionii* xiv. 10 : πῶς καὶ ὁ Ἀντίχριστος ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς φανήσεται ;]), 73 (72) 15, 74 (73) 2, 69 (75) 1 ; *Syn. Carth.* 1, 11, 24.

[2] Cypr. *Ep.* 22 (21) 1 : 'metatorem Antichristi.' The letter is by Lucianus.

[3] Cypr. *Fort.* 13 ; cf. *Ep.* 60 (56) 3.

[4] Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* vii. x. 2 (he was given a mouth speaking great things and blasphemy, and authority for forty-two months), 3 (ἀμφότερα δὲ ἔστιν ἐπὶ Οὐαλεριανοῦ θαυμάσαι, κτλ.) : cf. *DCB* iv. 1102a.

[5] Cypr. *Ep.* 58 (55) 1, 7, 59 (54) 13, 19, 61 (57) 2, *Fort.* pref. 1.

[6] There is a brief outline of the coming of Elias and Antichrist in *Clem. Hom.* ii. 17.

[7] Commod. *Instr.* i. 41 (Tunc Babylon meretrix erit incinefacta favilla), ii. 1–4, 39, *Carm.* 791–1060, esp. 813ff.

(Pergit ad Romam cum multa milia gentis
Decretoque Dei captiuat ex parte subactos.
Multi senatorum tunc enim captiui deflebunt
Et Deum caelorum blasphemant a barbaro uicti),

911f, 923ff (Luget in aeternum, quae se iactabat aeterna,
Cuius et tyranni iam tunc iudicantur a Summo.
Stat tempus in finem fumante Roma maturum) :

cf. Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 258–260.

[8] Vict. *Comm. Apoc.* viii. 2 (86) (sunt igitur scripta quae sunt in tubis et in fialis aut plagarum orbi missarum clades aut ipsius Antichristi insania . . . aut spes in regno sanctorum aut ruina ciuitatum aut ruina Babylonis, id est ciuitatis Romanae), xvii. 2 (120) (et Danihel ostendit : tria eradicabuntur de prioribus [of the ten kings], hoc est, tres duces primarios ab Antichristo interfici. ceteros septem dare illi 'gloriam et honorem et solium et potestatem,' de quibus ait : hi odient meretricem—urbem scilicet dicit—, et carnes

*The account of Lactantius* is the fullest and most systematic of the three. We quote only such passages of it as bear on the topic immediately before us. "God . . . will free His people from the heavy slavery of the world. . . . since the people of God is now gathered from all tongues, and sojourns among all nations, and is oppressed by these who rule (over them), it is necessary that all the nations, that is, the whole world, should be beaten with heavenly stripes, in order that the just people which worship God may be freed."[1] "As the end, therefore, of this age approaches, it is necessary that the condition of human affairs should be changed and become worse through the prevalence of wickedness, so that these times of ours, in which iniquity and evil have grown to the highest degree, will nevertheless be able to be considered happy and almost golden in comparison with that incurable evil."[2] He then draws a dismal picture of the wickedness, anarchy, confusion, war, and slaughter that will prevail, and continues: "The cause of this devastation and confusion will be this, that the Roman name, by which the world is now ruled—the mind shudders to say it, yet I will say it, because it will happen—will be taken away from the earth, and dominion will return to Asia, and again the East will bear rule, and the West will serve. Nor ought it to seem wonderful to anyone, that a kingdom, founded with such vastness, and so long increased by men so numerous and of such quality, and lastly strengthened by such great resources, should yet sometime or other fall to pieces. For there is nothing wrought by human strength which cannot equally be destroyed by human strength, since the works of mortals are mortal. Thus also other kingdoms in former times, though they had long flourished, never-

eius comburentur igni), xiv. 1 (130) (sed quia . . . 'composito consilio' duces illius ciuitatem hanc magnam Babylonem sunt expugnaturi, ruinam illius est testatus), xvii. 2 (130, 132) (Ait enim: ueni, ostendam tibi damnationem meretricis,—and so on, as to the guilt of Rome in persecuting the Christians, for which see also below, p. 533 n 5), xxi. 3 (150) (Danihel autem dixit lapidem sine manibus excisum percussisse statuam habentem quattuor in se—id est aurum et argentum, aeramentum et ferrum [= Rome] et in nouissimo testum [? = Antichrist]—et ipsum lapidem, postquam statuam in pulverem redegerat, factum esse montem magnum, implens totam terram. etc.). Other passages dealing with Antichrist in Vict. *Comm. Apoc.* are i. 4 (24), ii. 2 (36), vi. 2 (70), vii. (80), viii. 1 (82, 84), xi.–xvii. (98–134, passim): cf. Haussleiter xvii.–xxi., xxxv.f, xli.f. Victorinus identified Antichrist with the devil himself. Eusebius (*DE* xv. frag. (ii. 236f)) refers to the Danielic image representing four successive world-empires, the last of which is that of the Romans: the whole image is destroyed by the stone representing the Kingdom of God.

[1] Lact. *Inst.* VII. xv. 4f: a parallel is drawn with the plagues of Egypt.

[2] Lact. *Inst.* VII. xv. 7. On this idea of earthly conditions getting worse instead of better, cf. Cypr. *Mort.* 2 and Alexander of Lycopolis 12, 16 (trans. in *ANCL* xiv. 249f, 253f).

theless fell. For it is handed down that the Egyptians and Persians and Greeks and Assyrians held the government of the lands; and, when all these were destroyed, the management of affairs came to the Romans also. And the more they surpass all other kingdoms in greatness, with so much greater a fall will they collapse, because things which are higher than others have more weight for a downfall."[1] He next quotes Seneca's sketch of the various ages of Rome's lifetime. "But if this is so, what remains, except that death should follow old age?"[2] Various prophets had foretold the fall of Rome, some of them obscurely: "but the Sibyllæ say openly that Rome will perish, and that by the judgment of God, because it held His Name in odium, and, being hostile to justice, slaughtered the people (that was) the foster-child of truth."[3] He then proceeds to describe in detail how it would all happen: the extension and division of the Empire, civil war, the ten contemporary kings, the rise of a great king from the north, who overthrows three of them and becomes ally and prince of the remaining seven,[4] his unhappy and calamitous reign, which apparently gives place to that of a second Antichrist from Syria, who is finally overthrown through the advent of Christ;[5] this is followed by the resurrection and the judgment, and the millennial reign of Christ on earth, when a few 'nations' will survive for perpetual servitude under the triumphant righteous, and "the kings of the nations will come from the ends of the earth with gifts and offerings to adore and honour the Great King."[6] He goes on to speak of the proximity of Antichrist's coming: no estimate of the time yet to elapse exceeds two hundred years. "The subject itself declares that the fall and ruin of things will occur very shortly, except that, while the city of Rome is intact, nothing of it, it seems, is to be feared. But when that head of the world has fallen, and has begun to be 'a (mere) alley,' which the Sibyllæ say will happen, who can doubt but that the end has now come to human affairs and to the world?"[7] Then comes an ejaculation which

[1] Lact. *Inst.* VII. XV. 11–13. [2] Lact. *Inst.* VII. XV. 14–17.
[3] Lact. *Inst.* VII. XV. 17f; cf. 19.
[4] In *Mort. Pers.* ii. 8, Lactantius rejects the idea of Nero Redivivus.
[5] Lact. *Inst.* VII. XVI.–XIX.
[6] Lact. *Inst.* VII. XX.–XXIV., e.g. XXIV. 4, 15. Cf. the passages quoted from Victorinus above, p. 480 n 1.
[7] Lact. *Inst.* VII. XXV. 3f, 5 (quando tamen compleatur haec summa [i.e. the total world-period of 6000 years], docent ii qui de temporibus scripserunt, colligentes ex litteris sanctis et ex uariis historiis quantus sit numerus annorum ab exordio mundi. qui licet uarient et aliquantum numeri eorum summa dissentiant, omnis tamen expectatio non amplius quam ducentorum uidetur annorum), 6f.

follows naturally enough on the dreadful picture of Antichrist's reign which he has just drawn, but which contrasts strangely with the strong censure he had previously passed upon the iniquity of the Empire. "That is the State which hitherto has sustained all things: and the God of heaven must be prayed and implored by us—if indeed His statutes and decrees can be deferred—lest more speedily than we think that abominable tyrant come, who will succeed in compassing so great a deed, and will dig out that eye, by the destruction of which the world itself is about to fall." [1] He concludes with a description of what was to happen when the millennial reign of Christ was over.[2]

Christian Criticism of Human Laws.—We have already seen how the Christian mind was impressed and shocked by the endless *diversity* of the laws enacted and observed by the various races of mankind. Human laws are inconsistent with one another: in different parts of the earth and among different tribes, and sometimes even within the same country, different laws and usages are to be found; [3] and the differences have to be referred to the free will of man, not being explicable by the laws of astrology or the principle of 'genesis.' [4] The obvious inference is that some of the laws must be *evil* [5]—a conclusion also borne out by the fact that laws are being continually changed and repealed.[6] These discordant and

[1] Lact. *Inst.* VII. xxv. 8. In I. i. 14, added after Constantinus' triumph, he contemplates that Emperor reigning till old age and bequeathing the government to his children (ut eadem iustitia, qua iuuenis exorsus es, gubernaculum reipublicae etiam senex teneas tuisque liberis ut ipse a patre accepisti tutelam Romani nominis tradas).

[2] Lact. *Inst.* VII. xxvi.

[3] Cf. Eus. *DE* v. int. 205a (i. 224).

[4] *Clem. Recog.* ix. 19 (Leges sunt in unaquaque regione vel regno ab hominibus positae, sive scriptura sive etiam usu durantes, quas nemo facile transgreditur, etc. etc.), 20–24, 25 (. . . Ex quibus omnibus apparet, quia metus legum in unaquaque regione dominatur, et arbitrii libertas quae est hominibus insita per spiritum, obtemperat legibus, nec cogere potest genesis aut Seres homicidium committere, aut Bragmanos carnibus vesci, aut Persas incesta vitare, vel Indos non exuri, aut Medos non a canibus devorari, Parthos non habere plures uxores, aut mulieres Mesopotamiae non servare pudicitiam, Graecos non exerceri palaestris, Gallorum pueros non pati muliebria, vel gentes barbaras Graecorum studiis institui, sed ut diximus, unaquaeque gens suis legibus utitur pro libertatis arbitrio, et decreta genesis legum severitate depellit), 26f. It may be mentioned that the point of the argument here is the refutation of the 'genesis'-theory, not the inconsistency of the laws of different nations and the wickedness of some of them: these facts, however, lie sufficiently on the surface to be taken for granted. There is a strong resemblance between this section of the *Recognitions* and the Bardesanic *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (see above, pp. 297 n 1, 349 n 1, and 405 n 2).

[5] Cf. Eus. *DE* v. int. 205a (i. 224).

[6] *Clem. Recog.* ix. 27: Sed et aliquanti sapientes viri ipsas leges in nonnullis commutaverunt locis, aliae vero etiam sponte pro sui vel impossibilitate vel inhonestate derelictae sunt. Certe quod in promptu est noscere, quanti imperatores gentium quas vicerant leges et instituta mutarunt, et suis eas

at least partially evil laws have to be superseded by the one Law of God. Arnobius reckons among the proofs of Christ's Divinity "the conquest and abrogation of all deadly decrees, which peoples and nations used to see carried out in their very sight without a dissentient voice: and not even those whose ancient and ancestral laws he shows to be quite full of vanity and of the emptiest superstition dare plead that this is false."[1] Lactantius quotes with warm approval the words in which Cicero, after affirming right reason, or the Law of Nature, to be the true law, goes on to describe its nature and claims: "'It is not right to amend this Law, nor may any part of it be withdrawn, nor can it be wholly repealed, nor can we be released from this Law either by the Senate or by the People, . . . nor will there be one law at Rome (and) another at Athens, one now (and) another afterwards; but one eternal unchangeable Law will embrace all nations and at all time(s); and there will be one common master, as it were, and ruler of all, (namely) God—He who introduced, debated, (and) carried this Law.'"[2] From a lack of knowledge of God, says Lactantius a little later, "there is an easy descent to wickedness, through ignorance of the true and only good—since God whom he shrinks from knowing is Himself the fountain of goodness: or else, if he does wish to follow justice, yet in his ignorance of the Divine Law he embraces the laws of his own nation as true Law, which are devised not by justice but by utility. For why have diverse and various Laws been established among all the races, unless (it is) because each single race enacted for itself that which it thought useful for its own interests? But how far utility departs from justice, the Roman People itself shows, which, by declaring war through the Fetiales, and by inflicting injuries legally, and always taking and seizing others' property, has secured for itself the possession of the whole world. But they think they are just, if they do nothing contrary to their own laws: but this could be

legibus subiecerunt. Quod evidenter a Romanis factum docetur, qui omnem paene orbem omnesque nationes propriis primo et variis legibus institutisque viventes, in Romanorum ius et civilia scita verterunt). Cf. again the Bardesanic *Book*, *ANCL* xxiib. 108.

[1] Arnob. i. 42.

[2] Lact. *Inst.* vi. viii. 7 (Est quidem uera lex recta ratio, naturae congruens, diffusa in omnis, constans, sempiterna, quae uocet ad officium iubendo, uetando a fraude deterreat, quae tamen neque probos frustra iubet aut uetat nec inprobos iubendo aut uetando mouet), 8 (huic legi nec obrogari fas est, etc.), 9 (. . . Deus: ille legis huius inuentor disceptator lator, cui qui non parebit, ipse se fugiet ac naturam hominis aspernatus hoc ipso luet maximas poenas, etiamsi cetera supplicia quae putantur effugerit). The passage is quoted from Cicero, *De Republica*, iii. xxii. 33.

attributed to fear, if they abstain from crime through fear of present penalties. But let us grant that they do naturally, or, as the philosopher says, 'of their own accord,' what they are compelled to do by the laws. Will they for that reason be just, because they obey the established customs of men, who may themselves either have erred or have been unjust, as were those framers of the Twelve Tables, or at any rate have served the public interest (simply) according to the conditions of (past) times? The Law of the State, therefore, which varies everywhere according to customs, is one (thing); true justice, which God has set forth uniform and simple for all, is another: and if a man does not know Him, he must needs be ignorant of justice itself also."[1] Many of the laws that had been passed were unjust laws, framed, in the name of justice, in order to defend the ill-gotten possessions of rapacious men.[2] The outstanding instance of the embodiment of unrighteousness in human law was, for Christians, naturally *the legal demand for sacrifice to, or other recognition of, the pagan gods,* including even the Emperors themselves, and the various edicts issued for the purpose of enforcing this demand. Many damning allusions to these idolatrous laws occur in the Christian literature of the period.[3]

[1] Lact. *Inst.* VI. ix. 2–7 (in this passage 'justitia' is translated 'justice,' 'jus' 'Law,' and 'lex' 'law'). On Christian and Stoic theories concerning the relation between the Law of Reason, Nature, or God, on the one hand, and the actual laws of various states on the other, cf. Troeltsch 146–163; Meyer 8–13.

[2] Lact. *Inst.* V. vi. 3 (of what happened after the golden age of Saturnus): leges etiam sibi iustitiae nomine iniquissimas iniustissimasque sanxerunt, quibus rapinas et auaritiam suam contra uim multitudinis tuerentur. See above, p. 506.

[3] *Clem. Hom.* X. 8 (ἀλλ' ἴσως ἐρεῖτε· οὐκ ἐῶσιν ἡμᾶς τοῦτο ποιῆσαι [i.e. to melt down the idols into useful implements] οἱ τῶν ἐφεστώτων νόμοι. καλῶς, ὅτι νόμοι, καὶ οὐκ αὐτῶν τῶν εἰκαίων σεβασμάτων ἡ μὴ οὖσα δύναμις) = *Clem. Recog.* V. 15; *Acta Tarachi* etc. 1 (Ruinart 453) (T. εἶπεν· ἐγὼ τοῦ πατρώου νόμου οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι . . . τὸν πατρῷόν μου νόμον τιμῶ. Μάξιμος ἡγεμὼν εἶπεν· ἕτερος οὖν τίς ἐστιν παρὰ τοῦτον νόμος, ὦ κακὴ κεφαλή; T. εἶπεν· ναὶ ἔστιν εἰς ὃν ὑμεῖς ἀσεβοῦντες, λίθοις καὶ ξύλοις, ἀνθρώπων ἐπινοίαις, προσκυνεῖτε); *Acta Julii* 1 (Ruinart 570) (Maximus dixit: Suaderetur tibi pro patria et legibus patereris, haberes perpetuam laudem. Julius respondit: Pro legibus certe hoc patior, sed pro divinis); Lact. *Inst.* V. xi. 18 (quin etiam sceleratissimi homicidae contra pios iura inpia condiderunt: nam et constitutiones sacrilegae et disputationes iuris peritorum leguntur iniustae), 19 (Domitius [= Ulpianus] de officio proconsulis libro septimo rescripta principum nefaria collegit, ut doceret quibus poenis adfici oporteret eos qui se cultores Dei confiterentur); Eus. *PE* 130ab (τὸ πᾶν τῆς θεολογίας αὐτῶν [i.e. the pagans] εἶδος εἰς τρία γενικώτερον διαιροῦσιν, εἴς τε τὸ μυθικὸν . . . καὶ εἰς τὸ φυσικὸν . . . εἴς τε τὸ πρὸς τῶν νόμων διεκδικούμενον ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει καὶ χώρᾳ πεφυλαγμένον . . . τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τὸ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ χώρας συνεστώς, πολιτικὸν αὐτοῖς προσηγορευμένον· ὃ καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τῶν νόμων διεκδικεῖται, ὡς ἂν παλαιὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πάτριον καὶ τῆς τῶν θεολογουμένων δυνάμεως αὐτόθεν τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑποφαῖνον), 720a (οὔτε νόμων διατάξεις . . . κρείττονα τῆς ὧν μετήλθομεν λόγων ἀρετῆς τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιδέδεικται), *DE* VI. XX. 298d (ii. 40f) ("law against law").

A further point of contrast between God's Law and man's is *the comparative inadequacy of man's law as a restraint upon wrong-doing.* In the Clementine 'Homilies,' the heathen Appion says to Clemens: "Let the gods no longer be (our) landmarks, but the judges; looking at them, we shall be afraid to sin"; and Clemens replies: "That will not do, Appion: for he who fixes his gaze on man will venture to sin in the hope of escaping notice; but he who sets up the all-seeing God before his soul, knowing that he cannot escape His notice, will refrain from sinning even in secret." [1] Arnobius urges that, so far from the images of the gods being able to check crime, laws and punishments have been introduced for the purpose, but not even they can do so adequately. "Whence comes it . . . that the multitude of wrong-doers cannot be coped with by so many laws and such severe punishments, and audacity cannot be cut away by any remedies, and evil deeds redouble and multiply themselves the more, the more men strive to lessen cruel acts by laws and judgments, and subdue them by the restraint of penalties." [2] "The public laws," says Lactantius, "condemn those who are obviously guilty; but there are many whose sins are hidden, many who silence the informer by prayers or bribery, many who elude judgments by means of favouritism or influence. But if the Divine censure were to condemn all those who escape human punishment, the men (left) on earth would be few or none." [3] He quotes Cicero: "If anyone does not obey" God, the enactor of the Law of Nature, "he will be running away from himself, and, having despised the nature of man, will through that very fact pay the heaviest penalties, even though he escape the other recognized punishments." [4]

If this be so, it is clear that *God's Law supersedes human laws, that is to say, it renders them unnecessary.* "Let him who follows the Law of God not only obey the public laws, but let him be above all laws." [5] "If God alone were worshipped, . . . there would be no need of so many and such various laws for the government of men—since the one Law of God would suffice for perfect innocence—nor of prisons, nor of swords of governors, nor of the terror of penalties, since the healthfulness of the heavenly commands, infused into human breasts would of itself educate men to works of justice." [6]

[1] *Clem. Hom.* iv. 23. [2] Arnob. vi. 26.
[3] Lact. *Ira Dei* xx. 7f.
[4] Lact. *Inst.* vi. viii. 9 (quoted above, p. 524 n 2).
[5] Lact. *Inst.* vi. xxiii. 21. [6] Lact. *Inst.* v. viii. 6, 9.

Akin to the criticism of human laws as such, is *the criticism of the administration of the laws in the pagan courts.* This, as we shall see later, is a double-edged weapon ; for it may imply either dissent from all infliction of legal penalties, or else a desire for a more just and efficient infliction of them. We must, therefore, take account of some at least of these criticisms in two places.[1] Cyprianus remarks that " a patrimony entrusted to God . . . no forensic calumny will upset." [2] " What advantage is it," Commodianus asks, " . . . to know the mad forum with its legal skill, (to know) how laws shift, unless perchance they be controlled by a bribe ? " [3] Arnobius relegates the rules of literary style, as comparatively unimportant, " to law-suits, to the forum, and to courts of justice," [4] and says to the pagans : " Because ye know how to decline verbs and nouns by cases and tenses, . . . because ye know what are the points at issue in law-suits, how many sorts of cases there are, how many ways of pleading, . . . do ye therefore think that ye know what is false (and) what is true ? " [5] The criticism of Lactantius takes the form of an emphatic *disapproval of capital punishment.* He believed that in earlier times capital punishment had been regarded as unlawful, exile being inflicted instead.[6] In later times the gentiles had banished justice from their midst by persecuting the good ; but even " if they slew the evil only, they would not deserve that justice should come to them ; for justice had no other reason for leaving the earth than the shedding of human blood." [7] " For when God prohibits killing, He not only forbids us to commit brigandage, which is not allowed even by the public laws, but He warns (us) not to do even those things which are regarded as legal among men. And so it will not be lawful for a just man to serve as a soldier—for justice itself is his military service—nor to accuse anyone of a capital offence, because it makes no difference whether thou kill with a sword or with a word, since killing itself is forbidden. And so, in this commandment of God, no exception at all ought to be made (to the rule) that it is always wrong to kill a man, whom God has wished to be (regarded as) a sacrosanct creature." [8] There is no reason to suppose that Lactantius stood

[1] See below, pp. 545f.
[2] Cypr. *Op. El.* 19 (see above, pp. 512f n 8).
[3] Commod. *Carm.* 585–588. [4] Arnob. i. 59. [5] Arnob. ii. 6.
[6] Lact. *Inst.* II. ix. 23 : ' exulibus quoque igni et aqua interdici solebat : adhuc enim nefas uidebatur quamuis malos, tamen homines supplicio capitis adficere.' It is not very clear to what period of history Lactantius is here alluding.
[7] Lact. *Inst.* v. ix. 2.
[8] Lact. *Inst.* VI. xx. 15 (non enim cum occidere Deus uetat, latrocinari nos

alone in this conviction. We shall have occasion later on to notice its influence on Christian conduct in connection with the tenure of public office, the use of the law-courts, and the performance of military service.

The Duty of Occasional Disobedience.—Christians reserved to themselves the right of deliberately and avowedly disobeying the laws and orders of the State, whenever those laws and orders came into conflict with what they felt to be the Law of God. The outstanding instance was, of course, the refusal to sacrifice to the pagan gods at the bidding of the Emperor or of one of his governors; and every reliable record of martyrdom might be quoted as evidence of the Christian determination on the matter.[1] But while this was the main point of conflict, it was by no means the only issue on which non-compliance with a government-order was regarded as a Christian duty. When Dionysius was banished to Cephro, the prefect Æmilianus forbade him and other Christians to hold meetings; but they held them notwithstanding.[2] Martyrs condemned by the judge to undertake a boxing contest refused to receive support from the imperial treasury or to undergo the necessary training for the exhibition.[3] Another instance arose in the case of the well-known martyr Maximilianus, to which reference will have to be made later.[4] "Constancy is a virtue," says Lactantius, "not in order that we may resist those who injure (us), . . . but that, when (men) bid us act contrary to the Law of God and contrary to justice, we may be frightened away by no threats or punishments from preferring the bidding of God to the bidding of man."[5]

The Christian Opposition to Persecution.—Having thus sketched the main principles that entered into the Christian criticism and disapprobation of the State and opposition to it, we must now glance briefly at the special manifestations of this

tantum prohibet, quod ne per leges quidem publicas licet, sed ea quoque ne fiant monet quae aput homines pro licitis habentur), 16 (ita neque militare iusto licebit, cuius militia est ipsa iustitia, neque uero accusare quemquam crimine capitali, quia nihil distat utrumne ferro an uerbo potius occidas, quoniam occisio ipsa prohibetur), 17 (itaque in hoc Dei praecepto nullam prorsus exceptionem fieri oportet, quin occidere hominem sit semper nefas, quem Deus sacrosanctum animal esse uoluit).

[1] Cypr. *Laps.* 27 (of the libellaticus: 'cumque scriptum sit: "non potestis duobus dominis seruire," seruiuit saeculari domino, obtemperauit eius edicto, magis obaudiuit humano imperio quam Deo'); *Passio Quirini* 4 (Ruinart 524) (Ego autem ad aeternitatem vitae confitendo pervenio: nec vestris legibus acquiesco, quia Christi Dei mei legitima, quae fidelibus praedicavi, custodio).

[2] Dion. Alex. ap. *Eus. HE* VII. xi. 10–13.

[3] Eus. *Mart.* vii. 4, viii. 2f.

[4] See below, pp. 585f.

[5] Lact. *Inst.* VI. xvii. 24.

opposition in the relations of Christians to the government in time of persecution. How seriously the opposition of the Church to the Empire was viewed by a ruler who was inclined to persecute appears from what Cyprianus tells us of Decius—that he would rather have heard of the rise of a rival claimant to the principate than of the appointment of a new bishop of Rome.[1] Of *the lapsed*, i.e. of those who failed to sustain their resistance to the State's idolatrous orders, there were, of course, many different types and grades. Many of them, as soon as persecution ceased, sought readmission to the Church; and much controversy arose as to whether and on what conditions they could be taken back. The fact that a certain number of Christians had given way became a frequent subject of discussion in the judgment-courts and elsewhere in times of persecution.[2] There were some who, while not actually offering sacrifice or eating the sacrificial food, availed themselves either of the kindness of some friendly pagan official or of some other opportunity of deception, to obtain a certificate and so secure immunity from further molestation.[3] Others sought to baffle the government and protect themselves by *flight*. Some very eminent Christians took this course. Cyprianus and Dionysius did not hesitate to do so, and defended themselves and were defended by others for their action, which, it seems, did not pass without criticism.[4] Others managed by various accidents and subterfuges to evade detection or compliance.[5] Then, on the other hand, there were *those who, stimulated by an extraordinary zeal, ex-*

[1] Cypr. *Ep.* 55 (51) 9: cum multo patientius et tolerabilius audiret leuari aduersus se aemulum principem quam constituti Romae Dei sacerdotem. On the growing unity and power of the Church, cf. Harnack *KS* 148f.

[2] *M. Pionii* iv., x. 6; Cypr. *Ep.* 8 (2) 2, 21 (20) 2, 55 (51) 13f, 17, 56 (52) 1, 57 (53) 3, *Laps.* passim; Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* vi. xli. 11–13, xlii. 5f, xliv.; Conybeare 203ff; Ps-Cypr. *Ad Novat.* passim; *Didasc.* v. vi. 5ff; Eus. *HE* viii. iii. 1, *Mart.* i. 3; Peter of Alex. *Ep. Can.* 1–9 (Routh iv. 23–35); Lact. *Inst.* v. ix. 11 (si qui autem doloris uel mortis metu uel suapte perfidia caeleste sacramentum deseruerint et ad funesta sacrificia consenserint, eos laudant et honoribus mactant, ut eorum exemplo ceteros inliciant), xi. 15 (uidi ego in Bithynia praesidem gaudio mirabiliter elatum tamquam barbarorum gentem aliquam subegisset, quod unus qui per biennium magna uirtute restiterat postremo cedere uisus esset), xiii. 10; *Can. Arel.* 13; *Can. Ancyra* passim.

[3] Cypr. *Fort.* 11 (Hartel i. 341).

[4] Cypr. *Ep.* 7 (35), 8 (2) 1, 14 (5) 1, 58 (55) 4, 80 (81) 1, 81 (82) 1, *Laps.* 3, 10, 25; Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 7f; Commod. *Instr.* ii. 9; Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* vi. xl. 1–3, xli. 6, 12, xlii. 3, vii. xi. 18–24; *Acta Agapes* etc. 2 (Ruinart 424); *Passio Quirini* 2 (Ruinart 522); Peter of Alex. *Ep. Can.* 9, 13 (Routh iv. 32–35, 41ff). In the last great persecution some Christians fled to the barbarians, and were kindly received (Eus. *Vit. Const.* ii. 53).

[5] Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* vii. xi. 21–23; Eus. *HE* viii. iii. 2–4, *Mart.* i. 4; Peter of Alex. *Ep. Can.* 5, 12: some bought themselves off, and Peter approved of it.

*posed themselves* on their own initiative to the notice and severity of the government-officials, and rushed eagerly to meet the extreme penalty.[1] In the persecution of Valerianus, three Palestinian Christians at first avoided martyrdom, but then, repenting, hastened to Cæsarea, gave themselves up to the judge, and were sentenced to death.[2] In the great persecution, many similar incidents occurred. At Nicomedia Christian men and women were said to have flung themselves into the fire kindled by the pagans.[3] In Thebais, as soon as sentence was pronounced against one, another would rush up to the judgment-seat, and proclaim himself a Christian.[4] At Cæsarea, six Christian men bound their hands, hurried before Urbanus the governor as he was about to open a gladiatorial and wild-beast show, and confessed themselves Christians.[5] At Catana in Sicily, the deacon Euplius, taking the Gospels in his hand, went to the proconsul's apartment, and shouted outside the curtain that hung at the door: "I am a Christian, and I desire to die for the Name of Christ." Being asked to enter, he did so, confessed, was examined, sentenced, and beheaded.[6] Such voluntary martyrdoms seem, however, to have been characteristic rather of eastern than of western Christianity; and in certain circles they were disapproved of.[7] Detection often occurred as a result of overt or ill-disguised sympathy with those already arrested or condemned.[8]

The normal Christian response to the demand for the act of sacrifice or for the denial of Christianity was a firm and repeated *refusal to comply*, and a dogged and even cheerful acceptance and endurance of whatever form of diabolical torture the judge cared to inflict.[9] Even if the physical act of burning incense were extorted from the accused by main force, or sacrificial food were thrust

[1] Cypr. *Ep.* 31 (25) 5 (Moses, Maximus, etc., say: 'hostes ueritatis iam non tantum non perhorrescimus, sed prouocamus'); Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VI. xli. 7 (Apollonia, an aged virgin, leaps after maltreatment into the fire); *Passio Montani et Lucii* xviii. 2 (Gebhardt 156f) (sed magis ipse habebat in animo certum quod et fides propria et petitio antecessorum suorum extorqueret praesidi uel inuitam, licet populo reclamante, sententiam); Conybeare 193–195.

[2] Eus. *HE* VII. xii.

[3] Eus. *HE* VIII. vi. 6.

[4] Eus. *HE* VIII. ix. 4f: Eusebius witnessed this with his own eyes.

[5] Eus. *Mart.* iii. 3: similar incidents in ii. 1, iv. 8, ix. 4.

[6] *Acta Eupli* (Ruinart 437f).

[7] Cypr. *Ep.* 81 (82) (nec quisquam uestrum aliquem tumultum fratribus moueat aut ultro se gentilibus offerat), *Act. Procons.* 1 (cum disciplina prohibeat, ut quis se ultro offerat); Peter of Alex. *Ep. Can.* 9.

[8] *Passio Mariani et Jacobi* iv. 7–11, ix. 2f (Gebhardt 137, 142); Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VI. xli. 16, 22f; Eus. *Mart.* vii. 1f, viii. 6f, xi. 15f, 20, 25f, 29.

[9] See the *Martyr-Acts*, passim; Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VI. xli. 3, 7, 18, VII. xi. 4–11; Eus. *HE* VIII. x. 10, *Mart.* ii. 1–4, vi. 6f.

or sacrificial wine poured into his mouth, so long as his will had not consented, he was held to have 'confessed' in the full sense.[1] Christians furthermore refused to give up their sacred books on demand,[2] or to give information as to the names or whereabouts of their brethren.[3]

The same feverish conditions that caused some to come forward of their own accord and give themselves up gave rise to other *extraordinary and violent manifestations of feeling*. When asked by the magistrate for information as to their names, and so on, some refused to say, or dallied, or quibbled, or obstinately stuck to the simple statement: "I am a Christian." Some Egyptian Christians on one occasion declared their country to be Jerusalem, meaning the heavenly City, but giving the governor the impression that they were actually building a city in opposition to the Empire.[4] Some, during trial-scenes and on other occasions, would shout out answers or uncalled-for exclamations.[5] Still more frequently do we come across the scornful defiance with which Christians braved the threats and indescribable tortures to which they were subjected.[6] Some—more particularly women in dread of violation—avoided the terrors of the tribunal by suicide.[7] One Christian tore down the first edict of persecution posted up by Diocletianus;[8] another fearlessly seized the governor's hand as he was in the act of sacrificing, and exhorted him to abandon his error;[9] another strode forward in open court,

[1] Cypr. *Ep.* 24 (18); Eus. *Mart.* i. 4; *Acta Tarachi* etc. 8f (Ruinart 467f, 471); Peter of Alex. *Ep. Can.* 14.

[2] *Acta Felicis* (Ruinart 390f); *Acta Eupli* 2 (Ruinart 438); *Acta Agapes* etc. 4f (Ruinart 425f); Arnob. iv. 36; Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xii. 2.

[3] *Acta Disput. Achat.* iv. 8f, v. 1–4; *Acta Agapes* etc. 5 (Ruinart 426); Cypr. *Act. Procons.* 1.

[4] Conybeare 196f; Eus. *Mart.* xi. 8–12; *Acta Tarachi* etc. 1–3 (Ruinart 452, 454f).

[5] *M. Pionii* xv. 7, xvi. 1, 6, xviii. 1f; *Mart. Conon.* iii. 2f; *Passio Montani et Lucii* xiv. 1f; *Eus. HE* viii. iii. 3, *Mart.* i. 4, ii. 1, vi. 6.

[6] *Martyr-Acts*, passim. Cf. Cypr. *Ep.* 37 (15) 2 (Eant nunc magistratus et consules siue proconsules, annuae dignitatis insignibus et duodecim fascibus glorientur. ecce dignitas caelestis in uobis, etc.), 59 (54) 2; Ps-Cypr. *Ad Novat.* 6 (contemnentes edicta saecularium principum); *Acta Claudii* etc. 2 (Ruinart 310) (Hoc autem a te peto, ut nullam partem corporis sine plaga dimittas inlaesam); *Acta Julii* 1 (Ruinart 569) (Obsecro itaque te, pie praeses, per salutem regum, ut compleas cogitationem tuam; et des in me sententiam, ut perficiantur vota mea).

[7] Eus. *HE* viii. xii. 2–4, xiv. 14, 17: but cf. *M. Pionii* vii. 6 (when Sabina was threatened with being sentenced to the brothel, she replied, Τῷ ἁγίῳ Θεῷ μελήσει περὶ τούτου). Lactantius (*Inst.* iii. xviii. 5–13, vi. xvii. 25) strongly disapproved of suicide, an act of which several pagan philosophers had been guilty.

[8] Eus. *HE* viii. v. 1; Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xiii. 2.

[9] Eus. *Mart.* iv. 8: a similar incident is told in ix. 4.

and rebuked a judge for his ruthless sentences.[1] A Christian woman, dragged to the altar and commanded to sacrifice upon it, kicked it over.[2] While it was quite unusual for Christians to attempt any *physical resistance* to the violence of the pagans,[3] yet instances of it are occasionally found. Pionius, we read, cast himself on the ground, and struggled violently so as to avoid being carried into the idol-temple ;[4] he and others tore off and threw away the garlands placed on their heads.[5] Dionysius was—against his will—rescued from the soldiers by a wedding-party of rustics, probably Christians.[6] It is just possible that Diocletianus may not have been altogether wrong in guessing that Christians had something to do with the fire that broke out in his palace at Nicomedia, and with the revolt that occurred in Melitene and Syria shortly after the commencement of the great persecution.[7] We know that the Christians of Armenia, when Maximinus Daia tried to force them back to idolatry, took up arms in their own defence and defeated him.[8]

We come across frequent instances of Christians sternly *censuring and denouncing pagan judges to their face*,[9] and furthermore

[1] Eus. *Mart.* v. 3. [2] Eus. *Mart.* viii. 7.

[3] *Mart. Conon.* ii. 7 ; Cypr. *Demetr.* 17 (Inde est enim quod nemo nostrum quando adprenditur reluctatur nec se aduersus iniustam uiolentiam uestram quamuis nimius et copiosus noster populus ulciscitur) ; Arnob. i. 63 ; Lact. *Inst.* v. xx. 10 (et ideo cum nefanda perpetimur, ne uerbo quidem reluctamur, etc.).

[4] *M. Pionii* xv. 7, xvi. 1. [5] *M. Pionii* xviii. 4.

[6] Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* vi. xl. 5–8, vii. xi. 22.

[7] Eus. *HE* viii. vi. 6, 8f. Eusebius does not say that Christians were responsible ; on the contrary, he says that in the former case the suspicion was false, and he almost implies the same in the latter case. Cf. Harnack *ME* ii. 60, 138 ; Bigelmair 124 ; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 335 n.

[8] Eus. *HE* ix. viii. 2, 4. Eusebius speaks of civil war having arisen in Egypt and elsewhere between the polytheists and the Christians, leading to the defeat of the former, but he does not say to what period he is referring, nor is it certain he means that Christians *literally fought* with pagans (*DE* vi. xx. 298 (ii. 40f)). His general style, and quotation of passages like Mt x. 21, 34f, rather suggest that he is speaking metaphorically of dissension and persecution.

[9] *Mart. Conon.* v. 2 (Ἀσεβέστατε πάντων ἀνθρώπων), 6 (Ἀσχημονεῖς, ἡγεμών), vi. 4 (Κύριε . . . ῥῦσαί με ἀπὸ τῶν αἱμοβόρων κυνῶν) ; Conybeare 196f, 199, 212, 214 ; *Acta Tarachi* etc. passim (Ruinart 452ff) ; *Acta Claudii* etc. 2 (Ruinart 310) (Stulte, insane, quam ob causam me tormentis affligis ? . . . Caecus es in omnibus) ; *Acta Fructuosi* 7 (Ruinart 267) (F. appears in a vision to the magistrate increpans pariter et insultans) ; Eus. *Mart.* v. 3 (παραστήματι θαρσαλέῳ πρόσεισιν, λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις τὸν δικαστὴν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ ἀτιμίᾳ περιβαλών), viii. 5 (a woman—πορνείας ἀπειλὴν μὴ ἐνεγκοῦσα, εἰποῦσά τι ῥῆμα κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου, ὡς ἂν οὕτως ὠμοῖς δικασταῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπιτετραφότος), 6 (a Christian virgin in the crowd exclaims καὶ μέχρι τίνος τὴν ἐμὴν ὠμῶς οὕτως βασανίζεις ἀδελφήν ;) : cf. Cypr. *Demetr.* 12–14, 23 ; Arnob. i. 65 ; Lucianus *Apol.* (Routh iv. 7) (Quod si terrae, si caelo, si sanguini eorum a quibus veritatem per tormenta perquiritis, fidem non accommodatis, quomodo meis verbis allegationibusque credetis ?).

*threatening them with the Divine punishments* that await them.[1] Though Christians are often represented as praying for their persecutors, in obedience to the example and precept of their Lord,[2] appealing to them to be converted from idolatry,[3] and tendering full explanations of their own position,[4] yet we often hear — and, it must be added, not unnaturally — the tone of vindictiveness in their remonstrances.[5] The Christians picture their conflicts with the authorities as a military struggle, and speak of frightening,[6] and still more frequently of conquering,[7] the persecuting powers. Of the positive effect of Christian conduct under persecution on the feelings of bystanders and on its

[1] *Passio Mariani et Jacobi* xii. 7 (fidenter ac fortiter praedicabat proximam iusti sanguinis ultionem, etc.); *Passio Montani et Lucii* xiv. 1 (Sacrificans diis eradicabitur nisi Domino soli), 2 (et hoc frequenter iterabat); *Passio Irenaei* ii. 1 (Gebhardt 162); *Acta Claudii* etc. 1f, 5 (Ruinart 309ff): cf. *Acta Disput. Achat.* iii. 5; Cypr. *Demetr.* 16f, 19, 23, 24 (a lurid description, quoted by Lecky i. 456f).

[2] Cypr. *Dom. Orat.* 17, *Bon. Pat.* 16; *Mart. Conon.* v. 1; *Clem. Hom.* xi. 20; *Clem. Recog.* vi. 5; *Acta Marcelli* 5 (Ruinart 344) (Deus tibi beneficiat); Arnob. i. 31; Eus. *Mart.* viii. 11, *HE* viii. xvii. 10.

[3] *M. Pionii* vii. 3; *Mart. Conon.* v. 1–3; *Acta Disput. Achat.* i. 6; Eus. *Mart.* iv. 8f, ix. 4: cf. Cypr. *Demetr.* 16, 23, 25, *Bon. Pat.* 8.

[4] *Acta Disput. Achat.* i. 6–10, iii. 5, iv. 1–7, v. 3; Eus. *HE* viii. xiii. 2, ix. vi. 3 (παρασχών τε ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τὴν ὑπὲρ ἧς προΐστατο διδασκαλίας ἀπολογίαν); *Acta Tarachi* etc. 1 (Ruinart 454); *Acta Eupli* 1 (Ruinart 437); *Passio Quirini* 2 (Ruinart 522): cf. Lact. *Inst.* v. i. 1–6.

[5] Cypr. *Demetr.* 17 (see above, pp. 488f n 8), *Bon. Pat.* 21 (Et quoniam plurimos scio . . . uel pondere iniuriarum angentium uel dolore de eis qui aduersum se grassantur et saeuiunt uindicari uelociter cupere, nec illud in extrema parte reticendum est ut . . . patienter expectemus ultionis diem nec ad uindictam doloris nostri querula festinatione properemus, etc.), 24 (Hunc expectemus . . . iudicem et uindicem nostrum, etc.), *Fort.* 12 (Hartel i. 343) (uindicta nostra describitur et persequentium nos adque infestantium paenitentia praedicatur); Vict. *Comm. Apoc.* vi. 4 (74) (hos ergo tantos, id est animas occisorum, expectare uindictam sanguinis, id est corporis sui, de habitantibus super terram uoluit nos cognoscere qui omnia uidet. sed quoniam in nouissimo tempore et sanctorum remuneratio perpetua et impiorum uentura est damnatio, dictum est 'expectare'), xii. 5 (112) (aperuisse autem terram<os suum>et deuorasse aquam: uindictam de persecutoribus manifestat); *Acta Tarachi* etc. 3 (Ruinart 456) (ἴδοι ὁ Θεὸς καὶ κρινάτω σε ἐν τάχει, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικήσαντά με βασανίζεις ὡς φονέα), 5 (459) (θεοὶ . . . ἀπολέσθωσαν, καὶ πάντες οἱ θρησκεύοντες αὐτοῖς), 7 (463, 466) (Μή σοι καλῶς, μήτε αὐτοῖς . . . ἴδοι ὁ Θεὸς καὶ κρινάτω σε σήμερον), 9 (470) (μή σοι καλῶς εἴη . . . διὸ κρινεῖ σε ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τάχει, ὑπηρέτα τοῦ Σατανᾶ καὶ πάντων τῶν δαιμόνων); Lact. *Inst.* v. xx. 10 (Deo remittimus ultionem), *Mort. Pers.* lii.; *Passio Typasii* 8 (*Anal. Bolland.* ix. 122f) (Post breve autem tempus Salvator noster Jesus Christus pro ultione ecclesiarum laborantium martyrumque suorum Diocletiani et Maximiani ademit imperium. . . . ut de omnibus sanctus martyr Typasius doceatur de judicio vindicatus).

[6] Cypr. *Ep.* 22 (21) 1 (the letter of Lucianus); Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* vi. xli. 23; Conybeare 207.

[7] Cypr. *Ep.* 56 (52) 1, 2, 58 (55) 5, *Laps.* 2f; Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xvi. 5 (nouies aduersarium gloriosa confessione uicisti, nouem proeliis zabulum cum satellitibus suis debellasti, etc.): cf. Cypr. *Demetr.* 13 (confitenti et deos tuos . . . destruenti).

power of producing conversions we have already spoken in connection with the propagandist work of the Church.[1]

The Christian Aversion from Politics.—Part and parcel of the Christian attitude of disapprobation towards the State in general, and the Roman Empire in particular, as unrighteous and evanescent, was the profession of entire *unconcern in the matter of political ambitions and interests.* When Sabina was asked: "Wast thou not able to die in thine own country?" she replied: "Which is my country? I am the sister of Pionius."[2] Cyprianus warns his readers not to be diverted from martyrdom by political ambition.[3] "There is," he says elsewhere, after speaking of the Kingdom of God, "also an earthly kingdom; but he who has already renounced the world is too great for its honours and its kingdom, and for that reason he who dedicates himself to God and Christ desires not earthly but heavenly kingdoms."[4] The devil, he says again, "promises earthly honours, that he may take away the heavenly."[5] Pontius says, à propos of the banishment of Cyprianus by the pagan authorities: "Their country is too dear to them . . . to live outside their own state is a severe punishment for them: to the Christian the whole of this world is a single home. . . . Further than that, while he is honestly serving God, he is a stranger (peregrinus) even in his own state": hence banishment is no punishment for him.[6] In the Clementine 'Homilies,' Peter describes how Christ, the King of the future, refused the invitation of the king of the present to accept the kingdoms of the world with their wealth and luxury. "For he pledged himself with those that are his own to the effect that it is not lawful henceforth any more even to touch the things that have been handed over to" the devil.[7] Lactantius, in dismissing several proposed definitions of the highest good, says: "What (shall we say of) royalty itself? Not even that (constitutes the highest good); for not all men can reign, and it is necessary that all men should be capable of the highest good."[8] He speaks of the folly and injustice of seeking and contending over earthly dignities.[9] "The just and

[1] See above, p. 473.

[2] *M. Pionii* xviii. 7.

[3] Cypr. *Laud.* 17: Quod si te dignitas ambitiosa deterret et congregata in thesauris pecuniae admonet magnitudo, quae semper propositum bonae mentis auertit . . ., quaeso repetas uerba caelestia.

[4] Cypr. *Dom. Orat.* 13. On the royal status of Christians as such, cf. Vict. *Comm. Apoc.* i. 1 (18) (quotation of Ap i. 6, 1 P ii. 9).

[5] Cypr. *Zel. Liv.* 2.

[6] Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 11.

[7] *Clem. Hom.* viii. 21.

[8] Lact. *Inst.* iii. xi. 8.

[9] Lact. *Inst.* v. xv. 6, 7 (nam profecto in hac uita saeculari quoniam breuia et caduca sunt omnia, et praeferunt se alteris homines et de dignitate contendunt, quo nihil foedius, nihil adrogantius, nihil a sapientiae ratione sub-

wise man," he says, " . . . does not long for any power or honour, lest he inflict injury on any one; for he knows that all men, having been made by the same God and in the same condition, have been joined together by the law of brotherhood." [1] This last passage is important, indicating as it does that the thought that violence to others is inseparable from political life, entered very largely into the motives lying behind this early Christian quietism.

Disapproval and scorn are expressed for those who, by flattery or otherwise, cultivate the favour of kings.[2] The records of martyrdoms contain more than one instance of Christians scornfully rejecting offers of royal favour on condition of apostatizing.[3]

The logical outcome of these views was that Christians should *refuse to hold office as agents of the government*; and there can be no doubt that strong views to this effect were still held by a considerable number of Christians, while a still larger number regarded the tenure of office as highly dangerous, though not absolutely illegitimate. The reason given was of course partly a general sense of the incompatibility or at least incongruity of political life with spiritual health. Methodius says: " Let us lay the purple aside and take off the scarlet, for it does not quiet the soul of the thirsty." [4] Lactantius says: " Though God might have lavished on His people

motius: rebus enim caelestibus contraria sunt ista uniuersa terrena), 8 (sicut enim ' sapientia hominum summa stultitia est aput Deum ' [1 C iii. 19], stultitia, ut docui, summa sapientia est . . .), 9 (nam ut taceam quod haec praesentia terrae bona, quibus magnus honos tribuitur, uirtuti contraria sunt et uigorem mentis eneruant, quae tandem potest firma esse nobilitas, quae opes, quae potentia cum possit Deus reges quoque ipsos inferiores etiam infimis facere? . . .), xviii. 4. Cf. Vict. *Comm. Apoc.* iii. 2 (40) (humiles in saeculo). The Christian aloofness from political life was naturally a matter of reproach in the eyes of pagans. This may be the point of the rebuke which the Emperor Aurelianus (270–275 A.D.) once addressed to the Senate for their delay in consulting the Sibylline Books (when Rome was panic-stricken by an invasion of the Marcomanni): ' proinde quasi in Christianorum ecclesia, non in templo deorum omnia tractaretis ' (Vopiscus, *Aurelianus*, xx. 5 (*Hist. Aug.* ed. Peter ii. 163)).

[1] Lact. *Inst.* v. xxii. 7. Cf. vi. xvii. 10 (qui enim iustitiam, qui Deum, qui uitam perpetuam . . . consequi cupit, opes istas et honores et potentatus et regna ipsa contemnet), vii. v. 24f (see above, p. 508 n 3), x. 2 (ambitio postquam honores quos uoluit adepta est, consenescit), 3 (uirtus autem sine ulla intermissione perpetua est).

[2] *Clem. Hom.* ii. 27 (Simon censured for promising his followers ὑπὸ βασιλέων δοξασθῆναι καὶ δημοσίων τινῶν καταξιωθῆναι καὶ χρήμασιν ἀπεριορίστοις πλουτῆσαι); Lact. *Inst.* i. xv. 13 (men deified ancestors and predecessors, ' sicut faciunt qui apud reges etiam malos penegyricis mendacibus adulantur '), iii. xvii. 6 (qui claritati ac potentiae studet, huic praecipitur [i.e. by Epicurus] reges colere).

[3] *Acta Claudii* etc. 1 (Ruinart 309) (Munera eorum temporalia sunt); *Acta Tarachi* etc. 2 (Ruinart 454) (Πρόβος εἶπεν· οὔτε τῆς τιμῆς τῶν σεβαστῶν χρήζω). On the attitude to public life in the *Didascalia*, cf. Achelis in *TU(NF)* x. 2 (1904) 309f.

[4] Method. *On Life and Rational Action*, vi. 6 (Bonwetsch 214): see above, p. 458 n 1.

both wealth and kingdoms, as He had previously given to the Jews, . . . He wished them to live under the sway and rule of others, for this reason, lest, being corrupted by the happiness of prosperity, they should slip into luxury and despise the commandments of God."[1] Eusebius points out how Scripture gave instances of the unwillingness of good men to undertake public office, and "how Plato confirmed the reasonableness of the refusal."[2] But another reason was the fact already alluded to that public office so frequently involved the pronunciation or infliction of capital sentences or the application of violence on the State's behalf in some other way. Such acts would of course form part of the ordinary routine of the soldier's or magistrate's life; and it was chiefly due to the fact that there were some public offices, which as a rule involved nothing of the kind and therefore seemed harmless on this particular score, that the Christian abstinence from public office was not much more emphatic and absolute than it actually proved to be.[3] It is in entire keeping with this view of the case that the 'Egyptian Church-Order' refuses to admit a magistrate to Church-membership.[4] This definite rule quite possibly originated with Hippolytus, and certainly appears to have maintained itself in the East practically unmodified during the greater part of the third century.[5] But before a definite and well-considered conclusion on the problem could be reached, it was too late to secure general conformity to it: the Church was already compromised by the action of her less scrupulous and less reflective members. There survived, however, a very real and very general sense of the danger and contamination of public office. Thus not only do we find Lactantius warning his young friend Demetrianus not to let the duties of his office and the pleasantness of his earthly enjoyments divert his mind from truth and justice,[6]

[1] Lact. *Inst.* v. xxii. 14; cf. xxi. 7.

[2] Eus. *PE* 582cd.

[3] Gass 93: "Das stärkste Vorurtheil ruhte auf dem Richteramt, weil es auch Bluturtheile verhängen müsse, und gegen die Todesstrafe waren Alle, zumal die Montanisten, eingenommen." Cf. what was said above as to Lactantius' views on capital punishment, pp. 527f.

[4] *Const. Eg.* xi. 10: Qui potestatem gladii habet vel rector urbis est purpura vestitus, aut desinat aut reiciatur. See above, p. 432.

[5] See above, p. 362.

[6] Lact. *Opif. Dei* i. 4 (nam licet te publicae rei necessitas a ueris et iustis operibus auertat, tamen fieri non potest quin subinde in caelum aspiciat 'mens sibi conscia recti'), 5 (et quidem laetor omnia tibi quae pro bonis habentur prospere fluere, sed ita, si nihil de statu mentis inmutent. uereor enim ne paulatim consuetudo et iucunditas earum rerum sicut fieri solet in animum tuum inrepat), 6 (ideoque te moneo et 'repetens iterumque iterumque monebo,' ne oblectamenta ista terrae pro magnis aut ueris bonis habere te credas, quae sunt non tantum fallacia, quia dubia, uerum etiam insidiosa, quia dulcia).

but we see the Synod of Illiberis ordaining that a Christian municipal magistrate must absent himself from the church during his year of office,[1] and the Synod of Arelate providing that Christian magistrates, who "begin to act contrary to the discipline, then indeed should be excluded from communion; and similarly with those who wish to take up political life."[2] The sense of the incongruity of Christianity and political life expressed itself in another way, in the strong disapproval that was felt to the clergy engaging in the latter. Cyprianus counted it one of the marks of the degenerate state into which the Church had fallen in the days before the Decian persecution, that bishops had neglected their flocks and had become "agents of earthly kings."[3] The Pseudo-Clementine 'Epistle to Jacob' forbids the bishop to be a judge or an advocate or to engage in secular business.[4] The fact that Paulus of Samosata, the heretical bishop of Antiochia, held the office of 'ducenarius'

[1] *Can. Illib.* 56 (Magistratus vero uno anno quo agit duumviratum, prohibendum placet ut se ab ecclesia cohibeat). The duumvir in a provincial town was roughly what the consul was at Rome. Hefele (161) regards the ground of objection as being the patronage of idolatry connected with the office, but Dale rightly views this as insufficient: "Tertullian enumerates acts which, though part of the common experience of all magistrates and rulers during that age, were inadmissible in the true servant of Christ. 'As to the duties of civil power,' he says, 'the Christian must not decide on any one's life or honour—about money it is permissible; he must bind no one, nor imprison and torture any.' It was considerations of this nature, rather than the idolatrous associations connected with the office, which led the Synod to exclude the official, during his year of tenure, from communion with the Church: for to sentence even a slave to death, to imprison the debtor, or to put the household of a suspected criminal to the rack, though the duty of a magistrate, would in the Christian be a sin" (Dale 234f. Cf. Schmidt 279; and for the quotation from Tertullianus, see above, p. 360 n 3).

[2] *Can. Arel.* 7: De praesidibus qui fideles ad praesidatum prosiliunt, placuit ut cum promoti fuerint literas accipiant ecclesiasticas communicatorias, ita tamen ut in quibuscumque locis gesserint, ab episcopo ejusdem loci cura illis agatur, et cum coeperint contra disciplinam agere, tum demum a communione excludantur. Similiter et de his qui rem publicam agere volunt.

[3] Cypr. *Laps.* 6 ('episcopi plurimi quos et hortamento esse oportet ceteris et exemplo diuina procuratione contempta procuratores regum saecularium fieri, derelicta cathedra, plebe deserta,' etc.: there is a textual variant—'rerum' for 'regum'); cf. *Ep.* 1 (65) 1 (objection to a presbyter being made executor of a will).

[4] *Clem. Ep. Jac.* 5 (σὲ μὲν χρῆ ἀνεπιλήπτως βιοῦντα σπουδῇ μεγίστῃ πάσας τὰς τοῦ βίου ἀσχολίας ἀποσείεσθαι, μήτε ἐγγυητὴν γινόμενον μήτε συνήγορον μηδὲ ἑτέρῳ τινὶ βιωτικῷ παρεμπεπλεγμένον πράγματι. οὐ γὰρ κριτὴν καὶ δικαστὴν χρημάτων ἢ ἀσχολημάτων καθεστάναι σε θέλει τῶν νῦν βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων ὁ Χριστός, ἵνα συνεχόμενος εἰς τὰς νῦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φροντίδας μὴ εὐσχολῇς χωρίζειν λόγῳ ἀληθείας ἀνθρώπων τοὺς κρείττονας ἀπὸ τῶν χειρόνων. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἱ μανθάνοντες ἀλλήλοις παρεχέτωσαν . . . ὡς γάρ σοι ἀσεβές ἐστι τὰς βιωτικὰς φροντίδας ἀναδέξασθαι . . ., οὕτως ἑκάστῳ λαϊκῷ ἁμαρτία ἐστίν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς βιωτικαῖς χρείαις παρίστανται . . .), 6 (Ἐπεὶ ἐὰν βιωτικαῖς μερίμναις ἀσχοληθῇς, καὶ σεαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ἐνεδρεύσεις).

under Queen Zenobia, was reckoned a serious aggravation of his personal and theological misdemeanours. "He is arrogant and haughty," said the episcopal council concerning him, "assuming worldly dignities, and wishing to be called 'ducenarius' rather than bishop, and strutting through the market-squares, and reading and dictating letters as he walks along in public and accompanied by a bodyguard, with a large number of people going in front of him and a large number behind him, so that the faith is regarded with ill-will and hatred on account of his pomp and his pride of heart." He imposed on the minds of simple Christians by his pretentious conduct in ecclesiastical assemblies, "preparing for himself a tribunal and a lofty throne, not like a disciple of Christ, but, like the rulers of the world having a (separate magisterial) cabinet (to sit in), and calling (it such)," and so on.[1]

It was to a similar combination of reasons—horror of revenge, violence, and bloodshed, and horror of idolatrous contamination—that *the refusal of Christians to appeal on their own initiative to the pagan law-courts* in order to secure redress of wrongs was due. We shall see later that this refusal was not by any means universal among Christians, and unfortunately materials fail us for an estimate of its extent. Here we have simply to note a few passages indicating the survival—now in an absolute, now in a modified, form—of the definite abstention that seems to have hitherto characterized Christian practice. In the 'Didascalia' we read: "It is very high praise for a Christian to have no evil dispute with anyone; but if, through the agency of an enemy, temptation arises against anyone, let him try earnestly to be freed from him, even though he has to suffer some harm: only let him not go to the judgment of the gentiles. . . .[2] Let not the gentiles know of your legal disputes; and do not accept evidence from them against yourselves; nor in your turn prefer suits in their courts."[3] Similar but less sweeping instructions are given in the Clementines, where Christians are forbidden to take disputes between themselves to the pagan courts (on the lines of Paul's teaching in 1 Cor vi. 1ff.); but nothing is said about their not suing pagans there.[4] The Synod of

[1] Eus. *HE* VII. xxx. 8f: see below, p. 559 n 3.

[2] *Didasc.* II. xlv. 1 (the words following 'tentatio,' viz.: 'eique fit judicium,' are a gloss, being absent from the Greek parallel in *Const. Apost.* and inconsistent with the context), 2 (gentile testimony not to be accepted against a Christian), 3 (gentiles = the left hand: Mt vi. 3b quoted). See above, pp. 482f n 6.

[3] *Didasc.* II. xlvi. 1: see above, pp. 482f n 6.

[4] *Clem. Ep. Jac.* 10 (Οἱ πράγματα ἔχοντες ἀδελφοὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν κοσμικῶν μὴ κρινέσθωσαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρεσβυτέρων συμβιβαζέσθωσαν παντὶ τρόπῳ,

Illiberis laid it down that a Christian who acted as 'informer' (delator) should be excluded from communion—for ever, if the accused were outlawed or suffered the death-penalty; for five years, if he received a lighter sentence: a catechumen acting as 'informer' was not to be baptized for five years.[1] Eusebius contrasts the life of the perfect man with that of him who habitually frequents the market-places and the law-courts.[2] It is perhaps hardly needful to add that a Christian prohibition to sue an opponent before a pagan court did not involve a refusal to plead one's own case if one were taken to such a court as defendant.

Christian Obedience to the State.—Whenever the State's decrees were not at variance with what they felt to be the Will of God, Christians readily recognized it to be their duty to obey orders. They frequently appealed to the ready way in which they honoured their rulers, and *paid the taxes*. The old command to render what was Cæsar's to Cæsar was of course remembered.[3] The martyr Pollio of Sirmium told the magistrate that the Divine commands taught Christians "to obey kings when they command what is just."[4] Arnobius, perhaps with a touch of irony, spoke of the Emperors as "next to the gods and most august."[5] Lactantius blames Alcibiades for being the enemy of his country.[6] "Let us toil," he says, "only in order that nothing else in us may be punished by men except justice only."[7]

Non-Committal and Illustrative Allusions to Kings and Governments.—We find, as before, a number of non-committal allusions to kings, rulers, and governments—the neutral tone of

ἑτοίμως αὐτοῖς πειθόμενοι); *Clem. Hom.* iii. 67 (εἰ δὲ κρίνεσθαι θέλουσι περὶ ὧν ἀδικοῦνται, ἐπὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων συμβιβαζέσθωσαν· τὸν δὲ συμβιβασμὸν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσαναφερέτωσαν).

[1] *Can. Illib.* 73. Cf. *Can.* 74, which penalizes false witnesses (Dale 163f). *Can. Illib.* 75, which penalizes those who falsely accuse the clergy, refers apparently to charges laid in *ecclesiastical* courts (Dale 144). Cf. also Lactantius' prohibition of capital charges, *Inst.* vi. xx. 16 (quoted above, p. 528 n).

[2] Eus. *PE* 308b (quoted above, p. 482 n 3).

[3] *Didasc.* ii. xlvi. 1, though the words (Mc xii. 17) are here quoted without any apparent reference to taxation, but in regard to keeping Christian disputes out of pagan courts, etc. See above, p. 483 n.

[4] *Passio Pollionis* 2 (Ruinart 435). Cf. Theonas 2 (Routh iii. 441) (Mandatum Principis quod Deum non offendit, ab ipso Deo processisse putetis), 7 (iii. 443f) (the court librarian 'omnia tamen Caesari grata, maxima cum obedientia prosequetur').

[5] Arnob. iv. 35: cf. his illustrative allusion to the honouring of kings in iii. 3.

[6] Lact. *Inst.* iii. xix. 25.

[7] Lact. *Inst.* v. xxiii. 5; cf. v. xxii. 10, 16, where Lactantius speaks of the necessity of the just men being *subject* to the unjust. Cf. also *Passio Quirini* 4 (Ruinart 524) (Non enim similis sum noxiorum). On the general loyalty of Christians to the institutions of public life, cf. Harnack *KS* 150.

which practically forbids us to draw any inferences from them.[1] Almost equally empty of pertinent implications are the illustrative parallels adduced between Divine and human sovereignty,[2] and the use of regal and magisterial terminology in speaking of bishops and other Church-rulers[3] and even of Christians as such.[4] It is equally impossible to draw conclusions in disfavour of governments from the fact that analogies are drawn between a king's underlings on the one hand, and the hierarchy of demons on the other,[5] or from the comparison of the Christian's earthly life to the capture of a man within the territory of a hostile kingdom.[6]

THE DIVINE APPOINTMENT OF RULERS.—We come to somewhat firmer ground in finding repetitions of the traditional Pauline doctrine of kings being appointed by God. We find it—though generally in a somewhat weakened or modified form—in Dionysius of Alexandria,[7] in the martyr-acts,[8] in the 'Didascalia,'[9] in the

[1] *Passio Montani et Lucii* vi. 1 (Gebhardt 148); *Clem. Recog.* ix. 15 (Regi propter metum gentes subiacent), 27; Arnob. ii. 12 (ipsam . . . dominam Romam), iv. 1 (Romanos, dominos rerum ac principes); Lact. *Inst.* iii. xii. 19, xxii. 10 (existimauit [sc. Plato] oportere etiam mulieres militare et consiliis publicis interesse et magistratus gerere et imperia suscipere), iv. x. 15 (of the ancient Hebrew judges and kings—'non tamen in annum constituti sicut Romani consules, sed perpetua iurisdictione subnixi'), 16; Eus. *DE* viii. int. 365, i. 366–375, ii. 384b, 389–399 (ii. 99–109, 119, 124–134).

[2] *Acta Disput. Achat.* iii. 5 (if the proconsul serves a perishable Emperor, 'quanto magis ego potentissimo Deo obedire debeo'); Cypr. *Op. Et.* 21 (a gift is dignified by the presence of consuls or emperors: how much more glorious is alms given in the sight of God); Ps-Cypr. *Quod Idola* 8 (undivided monarchy alone possible—examples given); Ps-Just. *Cohort.* 17 (undivided monarchy); Commod. *Instr.* i. 28 (God's punishments), *Carm.* 81f (danger of disobedience, etc.); *Clem. Hom.* iii. 19 (God as king over His children), vi. 23 (God's punishments), ix. 19 (the King of Peace), x. 14f, 24, xi. 9, 12 (thankfulness rewarded and insult punished), xvi. 19 (honour paid by Creation to man as the image of God, like honour paid to a king's image); Arnob. iii. 3 (needlessness of doing homage to any but the Supreme Ruler); Lact. *Inst.* i. iii. 5–7 (undivided monarchy), v. xix. 25 (obedience and loyalty); Eus. *DE* v. iv. 226d (i. 246) (the Father and the Son compared to a king and his image).

[3] Cypr. *Ep.* 67 (67) 4 fin. ('sibimet ipsi regem constituerunt et non per me'—a quotation from Hosea viii. 4); Commod. *Instr.* ii. 27f (of deacons); *Didasc.* ii. xxvi. 4 (hic est rex uester potens), xxxiv. 1, 4f.

[4] *Clem. Hom.* ix. 19.

[5] *Clem. Hom.* v. 5; *Clem. Recog.* v. 19, 22; Lact. *Inst.* ii. xvi. 7–9.

[6] *Clem. Hom.* xv. 6–9.

[7] Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* vii. xi. 8: τὸν ἕνα Θεὸν . . . τὸν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐγχειρίσαντα τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις Οὐαλεριανῷ καὶ Γαλλιήνῳ Σεβαστοῖς.

[8] *Passio Montani et Lucii* iii. 2 (Gebhardt 147) (Dominus . . . in cuius manu sermones et corda sunt regis [Prov xxi. 1]), xii. 5 (Cum cor regis in manu Dei sit, quae causa moeroris est?), xx. 7 (cor enim regis ad sententiam statim flexit [sc. Dominus]).

[9] *Didasc.* vi. xix. 1: Nam et Romani lege utuntur, secundationem (i.e. the ritual as distinct from the moral law) autem praetermiserunt, propterea et eorum imperium confirmatum est (i.e. by God).

Clementines,[1] in the doubtful Epistle of Theonas,[2] in Lactantius,[3] and in Eusebius.[4] Allusion is also made to the ancient Hebrew judges and kings as owing their status to Divine ordination.[5] It is rather remarkable that in almost every case the statements of Christian authors of this period on the point lack something of the definiteness with which the belief was expressed in earlier times; and we have already had occasion to notice two or three passages in which the doctrine of the Divine appointment of rulers is conspicuously absent, and a theory of chance seems to take its place.[6]

THE RELATIVE APPROVAL OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT.—A number of passages occur—chiefly in the Clementines—in which *royal and other government is approved of in general terms.* Thus Peter says: "When the reasonable man reigns, there is, among those who are reigned over, true joy over him who reigns": [7] a little later he includes among the natural prerogatives for which man had received wisdom, "the raising of cities, the delimitation of kingdoms, the enactment of laws, the administration of justice." [8]

[1] *Clem. Hom.* iii. 72 (Θεὸς . . . ἄρχων ἀρχόντων, καὶ κύριος κυρίων, δεσπότης βασιλέων); *Clem. Recog.* iv. 33 (Nam et quod diximus, ut Caesar apud omnes milites et in omnibus castris atque in omni regno timeatur, cum sit unus et fortassis exiguus viribus, nonnisi potestate Dei agitur, qui timorem dat omnibus ut uni obtemperent).

[2] Theonas 2 (Routh iii. 441) (quoted above, p. 539 n 4).

[3] Lact. *Inst.* i. i. 13 (te Deus summus ad beatum imperii columen euexit), vii. xxvi. 11 (te Deus summus ad restituendum iustitiae domicilium et ad tutelam generis humani excitauit), 12 (te prouidentia summae diuinitatis ad fastigium principale prouexit, qui posses uera pietate aliorum male consulta rescindere, peccata corrigere, saluti hominum paterna clementia prouidere, ipsos denique malos a re publica submouere, quos summa potestate deiectos in manus tuas idem Deus tradidit), 14 (te dextera Dei potens ab omnibus periculis protegit, tibi quietum tranquillumque moderamen cum summa omnium gratulatione largitur), 15 (nec immerito rerum Dominus ac rector te potissimum delegit, etc.), 17 (te . . . quem rerum custodem uoluit esse [sc. Deus]), *Mort. Pers.* i. 3 (excitauit enim Deus principes qui tyrannorum nefaria et cruenta imperia resciderunt et humano generi prouiderunt). All these passages were written with reference to Constantinus' recent victory over the persecuting Emperors who preceded him: for the quotations from *Inst.*, see above, p. 459 n 9.

[4] Eus. *DE* v. i. 212 (i. 231) ("By me kings reign, and princes decree justice. By me princes become great" [Prov viii. 15f]), vi. ii. 260c (ii. 4) ("God Himself rules over all the nations"), vii. i. 322, 330d, 331, 334ab (ii. 60f, 69, 71) (the Romans became rulers "under the Rule of God," they were "directed by God to subject the nations to themselves," etc.). Cf. also the passages from *DE* quoted above, p. 509 n 6, in regard to the rise and fall of states being *foretold* by the O.T. prophets.

[5] Cypr. *Ep.* 67 (67) 4 fin. (quoted on p. 540 n 3); *Const. Eg.* i. 5 (a tempore Abrahami iudices . . . constituisti illi), ii. 4 (mandasti Moysi, ut eligeret seniores, etc.).

[6] See above, pp. 514f.

[7] *Clem. Hom.* iii. 19.

[8] *Clem. Hom.* iii. 36.

Again, in the 'Recognitions,' Clemens asks: "Would it be right in this world for all to be kings or chiefs or masters or teachers or jurists or geometricians or goldsmiths or bakers or smiths or literary men or rich men or farmers or perfumers or fishermen or poor men? It is certain that all could not be (these). Yet all these activities and many more the present life of man requires, and without these it cannot be carried on. Inequality is therefore necessary in this world. For there cannot be a king unless he has those over whom he may rule and whom he may command, nor can there be a master unless he has one over whom he may bear sway; and the others similarly." [1] The necessity of inequality—of the existence of kings and subjects—is repeated a little further on; but Clemens urges that Providence has made inequality an opportunity for acting justly and mercifully, "of dealing humanely with those who seem to be at one's mercy, and of preserving gentleness towards inferiors (subjectos), and of doing absolutely everything according to the law of God." [2] Methodius makes one of the ten virgins in his 'Symposium' say that kings and rulers, when they are temperate, are useful to themselves and the commonwealth.[3]

Moreover, there are to be found in Lactantius and Eusebius a number of passages expressing *appreciation of a civilized and legally controlled state of society*. Man, says Lactantius, was made weak and unable alone to defend himself, and therefore needing the pity and protection of his fellows, and also himself feeling pity for them: had it been otherwise, there would have been no society, no mutual respect, no orderliness, no humanity, no safe and civilized city-life.[4] He insists in the strongest terms on the duty of living with others for the sake of mutual help and protection. "The bond of human society must by all means be preserved, because man can in no wise live without man. Now the preservation of human society is the sharing (of things), that

[1] *Clem. Recog.* ix. 5.

[2] *Clem. Recog.* ix. 7: . . . et ob hoc necesse est . . . alium servire, alium dominari, alium regi, alium regere. Sed hanc inaequalitatem, etc. etc.

[3] Method. *Symp.* viii. 16 (Migne *PG* xviii. 169).

[4] Lact. *Opif. Dei* iv. 20 (homo quoque si eodem modo haberet ad propulsanda pericula suppetens robur nec ullius alterius auxilio indigeret, quae societas esset, quae reuerentia inter se, quis ordo, quae ratio, quae humanitas? aut quid esset tetrius homine, quid efferatius, quid inmanius?), 21 (sed quoniam imbecillus est nec per se potest sine homine uiuere, societatem adpetit, ut uita communis et ornatior fiat et tutior), *Inst.* iii. xxiii. 10 (nam si homo ad conspectum alterius hominis efferaretur, quod facere uidemus animantes quarum natura soliuaga est, nulla esset hominum societas, nulla urbium condendarum uel cura uel ratio, sic ne uita quidem satis tuta, cum et ceteris animalibus exposita esset inbecillitas hominum et ipsi inter semet ipsos beluarum more saeuirent).

is, giving help that we may be able to receive it." [1] "It is only the fear of God which guards the mutual society of men, (and) by which life itself is sustained, protected, and governed." [2] "Let impiety be removed, turbulent and pestilent discords and dissensions lulled asleep, by which the Divine union of human society and of public covenant is broken, torn asunder, (and) dispersed." [3] Lactantius speaks appreciatively of the learned jurists, who compiled the institutes of civil law.[4] He blames the philosophers for their inactivity, contrasting them in this respect with the politicians: "rightly does Tullius prefer to the teachers of philosophy the men of civil affairs, who guide the state, who either found new cities, or guard with equity those already established, who preserve the safety and freedom of the citizens with good laws or wholesome counsels or weighty judgments." [5]

Eusebius says that "God has placed the civil and social life of man in the midst of many," [6] and that the Hellenes had borrowed from the Hebrews, not only their philosophy, but also "what was otherwise of common benefit and profitable for their political needs." [7] He draws a proof of the existence and wisdom of God from the existence of life, on the analogy that "cities and states could not be completed without laws and an order of government." [8] We shall notice presently some further passages in Eusebius expressing still more definitely his appreciation of civil life.[9]

As a practical instance of the same realization of the value of efficient government, we may recall the fact that Dionysius of Alexandria strongly objected to being temporarily banished to

[1] Lact. *Inst.* VI. x. 25 (huic uero, qui se ipse dissociat ac secernit a corpore, non ritu hominis, sed ferarum more uiuendum est. quod si fieri non potest, retinendum igitur omni modo uinculum societatis humanae, etc.). In the *Epitome*—to step for a moment beyond our proper boundaries—we get from Lactantius the idea of laws as rendered necessary by human sin: 'sed origo huius mali, quo societas inter se hominum, quo necessitudinis uinculum dissolutum est, ab ignoratione ueri Dei nascitur. . . .' Hence various sins '. . . cum haec fierent, tum leges sibi homines condiderunt pro utilitate communi, ut se interim tutos ab iniuriis facerent' (Lact. *Epit.* liv. 6, 8—quoted by Troeltsch [166n] in connection with the Stoic theory of the Law of Nature, as adopted and adapted by the Christian Fathers).

[2] Lact. *Ira Dei* xii. 5.

[3] Lact. *Ira Dei* xxiv. 12.

[4] Lact. *Inst.* I. i. 12: et si quidam prudentes et arbitri aequitatis institutiones ciuilis iuris conpositas ediderunt, quibus ciuium dissidentium lites contentionesque sopirent, quanto melius nos et rectius diuinas institutiones litteris persequemur? etc.

[5] Lact. *Inst.* III. xvi. 2.

[6] Eus. *PE* 248b.

[7] Eus. *PE* 299a.

[8] Eus. *PE* 301d; cf. *DE* VIII. int. 363d, 365a (ii. 97f) (on the primitive and uncivilized savagery of man) and the passages from *DE* quoted above, p. 505 n 6 (appreciation of the Pax Romana).

[9] See below, p. 548.

Colluthion, because it was "exposed to annoyances caused by travellers and to the incursions of robbers." [1]

Nor were there lacking *many tangible instances of praiseworthy government.* Most of these were found in the history of the past. The ancient kings of Israel were often mentioned in laudatory terms.[2] But the good examples were not confined to Scriptural history. Lactantius depicts the primitive rulers of the race as righteous benefactors: their subjects praised and even deified them, he says, "either on account of (their) wonderful virtue, . . . or, as is usually done, in flattery of their present power, or on account of the benefits by which they had been brought to (an orderly state of) humanity. Then the kings themselves, since they had been dear to those whose lives they had set in order, left when they died a great sense of their loss." [3] He believed the reign of Saturnus to have been a time when the true God alone was worshipped, when there was no polytheism, no dissension, enmity, or war, either between relatives or strangers, and when justice prevailed and flourished.[4] Nor were the more recent annals of political history without their ornaments. Lactantius recognizes that one political party might be "better and juster" than another, and he instances Gnæus Pompeius, who "wished to be a defender of the good men, since he took up arms for the State, the Senate, and liberty." [5] While condemning the injustice of Julius Cæsar, he warmly commends his readiness to forgive.[6] "Gaius Cæsar, such was his clemency, wished even in the heat of civil war to accomplish nothing else than that he might seem to deserve well of the State, by preserving two of the best citizens, Cicero and Cato." [7] Even in still nearer times—after Domitianus, for example—"many good chiefs held the helm and rule of the Roman Empire." [8] Such a judgment de-

[1] Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VII. xi. 15f.

[2] *Didasc.* I. vi. 11 (scire debes ex ipsis [i.e. the O.T. Scriptures], quia quanticumque iusti fuerunt reges, a Domino multiplicati sunt in hoc saeculo); Lact. *Inst.* I. iv. 8 (quid quod aliqui eorum [i.e. of the prophets] principes aut etiam reges fuerunt, in quos cadere non potest suspicio cupiditatis ac fraudis, et tamen praeconium Dei singularis eadem qua ceteri diuinatione fecerunt ?).

[3] Lact. *Inst.* I. xv. 2 (non est dubium quin illis temporibus homines regem ipsum totamque gentem [i.e. the royal family or clan] mactare summis laudibus ac nouis honoribus coeperint, ut etiam deos appellarent siue ob miraculum uirtutis—hoc uere putabant rudes adhuc et simplices, etc. etc.), 3.

[4] Lact. *Inst.* V. v. 3–8.

[5] Lact. *Inst.* VI. vi. 16f.

[6] Lact. *Inst.* VI. xviii. 34 (Marcus Tullius . . . obliuionem iniuriarum in magnis laudibus posuit. 'Spero te' inquit Caesari, 'qui obliuisci nihil soles nisi iniurias—'), 35 (see above, p. 463 n 5).

[7] Lact. *Inst.* III. xviii. 12.

[8] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* iii. 4.

pended very largely on the imaginary innocence of these rulers in the matter of persecution; but even in the time of Decius, Achatius of Antiochia in Pisidia could tell the prefect Martianus that the Christians pray continually that the Emperor may reign justly and peaceably.[1] Dionysius speaks in terms of warm eulogy of the not very estimable Emperor Gallienus, who had granted an edict of toleration to the Church. "The royal government," he says, "having as it were put away its old age and been purified of its former wickedness, now flourishes more vigorously, and is seen and heard of at a greater distance, and expands everywhere. . . . And it occurs to me again to review the days of the royal years. For I see how the(se) most impious men, having been famous, became after a little while nameless. But the very pious and god-loving (Emperor), having passed the septennium, is now completing (his) ninth year."[2] Much worthier than Gallienus of Christian praise were Constantius and his son Constantinus, and much more lavishly was it bestowed upon them.[3]

The many *censures passed on bad rulers and their deeds and on the maladministration of justice,* corruption of the judges, impunity of the guilty, and so on, often voice in an indirect way the Christian recognition of the possibility, the need, and the value, of good government.[4] Many of these complaints seem to concede *the right-*

[1] *Acta Disput. Achat.* i. 3 (Gebhardt 115) (see below, p. 551 n 2).

[2] Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VII. xxiii. 3f. Cf. Bigelmair 64 ("Gallienus, sonst als Kaiser und Mensch nicht gerade unantastbar, wurde deshalb" [i.e. because of his edict] "doch von den Christen mit stürmischen Jubel begrüsst").

[3] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* viii. 7 (Constantium praetereo, quoniam dissimilis ceterorum fuit dignusque qui solus orbem teneret), xv. 7 (Constantius, ne dissentire a maiorum praeceptis uideretur, conuenticula, id est parietes, qui restitui poterant, dirui passus est, uerum autem Dei templum, quod est in hominibus, incolume seruauit), xviii. 10 (Constantinus sanctissimus adulescens et illo fastigio [i.e. of being made Cæsar] dignissimus), xliv. 3 (confirmato animo Constantinus et ad utrumque paratus). Cf. the laudatory addresses to Constantinus interpolated, probably by Lactantius himself, in Lact. *Inst.* I. i. 13ff, VII. xxvi. 11ff (see above, p. 459 n 9), and Eus. *Vit. Const.* passim.

[4] See the various indictments of governments in general and of the Empire in particular quoted above, pp. 505ff. Cf. also Lact. *Inst.* III. xxi. 6 (criticism of Plato's philosopher-kings), VI. xv. 12 (quis enim possit non dolere, si patriam . . . tyrannus oppresserit? potest aliquis non dolere, si sublatam uiderit libertatem, si proximos, si amicos, si bonos uiros aut exterminatos aut crudelissime trucidatos?); Eus. *Mart.* i. 1 (Procopius on his trial irritated his judge by an open criticism of the division of the Empire among four rulers: he quoted the oft-quoted lines of Homer: Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, Εἷς βασιλεύς), viii. 5 (see above, p. 532 n 9). On the maladministration of justice, etc., cf. Cypr. *Demetr.* 11 (a nocente crimen admittitur, nec innocens qui uindicet inuenitur. de accusatore uel iudice metus nullus: inpunitatem consecuntur mali, dum modesti tacent, timent conscii, ueneunt iudicaturi); Commod. *Instr.* i. 31 (to judges against bribery); *Didasc.* IV. vi. 2 (Church not to receive gifts 'ab iniustis actoribus vel ab iniustis

*fulness of laws and in particular of judicial penalties*—a concession which is frequently met with in a more direct form. Achatius, for instance, says to the Prefect: "The public law punishes the fornicator, the adulterer, the thief, the corrupter of males, the evil-doer, and the murderer. If I am guilty of these, I condemn myself now before thou utterest sentence: but if I am led to punishment because I worship Him who is the true God, I am condemned by the will, not of the law, but of the judge."[1] According to the Clementines, man has received wisdom to enable him to administer justice.[2] "Who is there among men," asks Clemens, "who does not lust after what belongs to others? And yet he is curbed by fear of the penalty ordained by the laws, and acts more restrainedly. On account of fear, nations are subject to kings."[3] Methodius says that adulterers ought to be tortured and punished.[4] Arnobius admits that the fear of punishment for breaking the law secures a certain measure of safety and honour for the images of the gods.[5] Lactantius tells Constantinus that it is his task "to correct misdeeds" and to remove the evil men themselves from the State.[6] He comes closer to the theory of the subject in his treatise 'On the Anger of God': "They are deceived by no small error who defame censure, whether human or Divine, with the name of bitterness or wickedness, thinking that he who

accusatoribus vel a iudicibus personam accipientibus'), 4 ('. . . vel ab omni magistratu imperii Romani, qui in bellis maculati sunt et sanguinem innocentem effuderunt sine iudicio, qui iudicia peruertunt, qui furti causa improbe ac dolose conversantur cum paganis et omnibus pauperibus'); Arnob. iv. 34 (he blames the pagans for not prohibiting slanderous tales about the gods by 'rogationibus, plebis scitis, consultorum senatus metu . . . nec a uobis saltem istum meruerunt honorem, ut quibus expellitis a uobis eisdem ab his legibus propulsaretis iniurias'); Lact. *Inst.* v. i. 2 (no criminal ought to be condemned without an opportunity of defending himself and a fair trial of his case), ii. 3 (of an unnamed philosopher who increased his wealth by tampering with the judges), ix. 15 (non enim de nostro, sed ex illorum numero semper existunt qui . . .), 17 (. . . qui si iudices sedeant, aut inmeritos perdant mercede corrupti aut noxios inpune dimittant), vii. xv. 8 (in time of Antichrist 'confundetur omne ius et leges interibunt'), xvii. 9 ('non lex aut ordo . . . seruabitur'), *Ira Dei* xx. 7 (plurimi qui delatorem comprimunt aut precibus aut praemio, plurimi qui iudicia eludunt per gratiam uel potentiam), *Mort. Pers.* xxii. 4 (under Galerius 'eloquentia extincta, causidici sublati, iure consulti aut relegati aut necati'). See above, p. 527.

[1] *Acta Disput. Achat.* iii. 2.

[2] *Clem. Hom.* iii. 36.

[3] *Clem. Recog.* ix. 15.

[4] Method. *Symp.* ii. 5 (Migne *PG* xviii. 56): *αὐτοὺς μὲν βασανιστέον καὶ τιμωρητέον.*

[5] Arnob. vi. 26. Cf. iv. 34, where Arnobius asks the pagans why they do not, by means of laws, prevent their gods being defamed.

[6] Lact. *Inst.* vii. xxvi. 12 (quoted above, p. 541 n 3)—in reference doubtless to the evil agents of the fallen Emperors. Cf. i. i. 13 (euersam sublatamque iustitiam reducens taeterrimum aliorum facinus expiasti), 15 (quoted above, p. 518 n 5).

visits wrong-doers with punishment ought to be called a wrong-doer. But if so, we have wrongful laws, which ordain punishments for sinners, (and) wrongful judges, who visit those convicted of crime with 'capital' punishment. But if the law is just, which repays to the wrong-doer what he deserves, and if the judge is called upright and good, when he punishes evil deeds—for he who punishes evil men guards the safety of the good—therefore God, when He opposes evil men, is not a wrong-doer; but he is a wrong-doer, who either wrongs an innocent man, or spares a wrong-doer, that he may wrong many."[1] In the sequel he again and again insists on the rightfulness of punishing with severity a slave guilty of great offence.[2] "Unless fear guards this earthly kingdom and empire, it is dissolved. Take away anger from a king, and not only will no one obey him, but he will even be cast down from his high rank."[3] Yet Lactantius grants, somewhat inconsistently, that a judge trying a case and pronouncing sentence on a criminal according to law may quite well do so without anger, and while he is not to be blamed if he is angry, it is better for him to be in a state of equanimity.[4] It must be observed that Lactantius does not attempt to harmonize these views with what he said previously in the 'Institutes' about the necessity of the just man being always in subjection to the unjust, and the wrongfulness of bringing a capital charge against any one or serving as a soldier. His inconsistency is sufficiently obvious to a modern reader, though he himself may well have been unaware of it. He might have justified the dualism, had he had a better grasp of the pertinence of subjective conditions and differences in the determination of the rightfulness of any course of action; but, even so, he would have had to find

[1] Lact. *Ira Dei* xvii. 6f. Cf. *Inst.* III. xvi. 2 (appreciation of those 'qui salutem libertatemque ciuium uel bonis legibus uel salubribus consiliis uel iudiciis grauibus conseruent'), VI. xvi. 10 (qui libidinosus [sc. est], etiam quod legibus uetatur adfectat).

[2] Lact. *Ira Dei* xvii. 8–11, 16, xviii. 6–9, 12 (see below, p. 608).

[3] Lact. *Ira Dei* xxiii. 10.

[4] Lact. *Ira Dei* xvii. 16 (non dico de iis qui aduersum leges peccant, quibus etsi iudex sine crimine irasci potest, fingamus tamen eum sedato animo esse debere, cum subicit poenae nocentem, quia legum sit minister, non animi aut potestatis suae; sic enim uolunt, qui iram conantur euellere. sed de iis potissimum dico qui sunt nostrae potestatis, ut serui, ut liberi, ut coniuges, ut discipuli: etc.), xviii. 1 (. . . atquin nullus est qui peccantem possit uidere tranquille. possit fortasse qui legibus praesidet, quia facinus non sub oculis euis admittitur, sed defertur aliunde tamquam dubium. nec umquam potest scelus esse tam clarum ut defensioni locus non sit, et ideo potest iudex non moueri aduersum eum qui potest innocens inueniri, cumque detectum facinus in lucem uenerit, iam non sua, sed legum sententia utitur), 2 (sed potest concedi ut sine ira faciat quod facit, habet enim quod sequatur: nos certe, cum domi peccatur a nostris, . . . indignari necesse est; etc.).

a larger place for love, expressing itself through non-resistance and gentleness and suffering, as well as through positive goodwill, as the characteristically Christian policy for overcoming sin in others.

Eusebius accounts for the moral blindness with which primitive man glorified vices by pointing out that "at that time laws were not yet being administered among men, nor did (any) punishment threaten offenders."[1] He speaks of the hierophants and others, who confessed their impostures under torture in the Roman court at Antiochia and were put to death by Licinius with torture, as "paying the just penalty of their pernicious deception."[2] The doctrine of Fate, he urges, "would upset the laws, which are made for the sake of men's advantage. For what must one enjoin or forbid to those who are held down by another constraint? Nor will one be obliged to punish offenders who have done no wrong against the same cause, nor to assign honours to those who act excellently—though each of these (customs) has supplied a great cause for the repression of injustice and for the encouragement of well-doing."[3]

It is not to be denied that neither of the two authors just quoted had the intellectual acuteness of Origenes, which enabled him to hold in his mind together the companion truths of the Christian duty of gentleness and the relative legitimacy and real value of subordinate policies of coercion, without the danger of sacrificing the former to the latter. Possibly the intellectual limitations, which are said to have impaired Eusebius' judgment on the tremendous issue at stake in the Arian controversy,[4] hampered his insight on ethical problems also. Lactantius was evidently at times clear and definite on the illegitimacy of all violence for Christians; but he could not find a place for the wrath of God or for the function of the magistrate without compromising what he had said about the sanctity of all human life. The nearest he got to it was when he said: "Whoever reckons it a pleasure that a man, though deservedly condemned, should be slain in his sight, defiles his own conscience, just as much as if he

[1] Eus. *PE* 73cd; cf. 70b (Οὔπω γὰρ εἰσέτι τότε νόμων καθ' οὓς χρὴ βιοῦν συνεστώτων, οὐδέ γε τῆς ἡμέρου πολιτείας ἐν ἀνθρώποις κατατεταγμένης, . . .). The argument is not quite clear, however; for among the reasons why unworthy characters were deified was the fact that they conferred benefits on primitive man by annulling his uncivilized state by means of settled government (70cd).

[2] Eus. *PE* 135cd (Διὸ καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς ὀλεθρίου πλάνης δίκην ἐκτίσαντες, κτλ.); cf. *HE* IX. xi. 5f.

[3] Eus. *PE* 244d.

[4] Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, 38–40; Bardenhewer 245.

were to become spectator and sharer of a murder (homicidii) committed in secret." [1]

An interesting attempt to explain the dualism inherent from the first in the Christian position is made in the *Clementine Homilies*, where a place for the pagan system of criminal law is found by the help of somewhat crude quasi-Manichæan ideas. "Two kingdoms have been established, the one (the Kingdom) of what is called Heaven, and the other (the kingdom) of those who now reign upon earth. Also two kings have been appointed, one of whom is chosen to reign by law over the present and temporary world, who has been so composed as to rejoice over the destruction of the wicked; but the other, being king of the age to come, loves every human nature (*πᾶσαν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν*). Not being able to have free scope (*παρρησίαν*) in the present (world), he gives profitable counsels, as if trying to conceal who he really is.[2] Of these two, the one acts violently to the other, God having bidden (him). But each man has power to obey whichever of them he wishes for the doing of good or evil. . . . If anyone does evil, he becomes the servant of the present evil (king), who, having by a just judgment received the power against him on account of sins, and wishing to use it before the coming age, rejoices in inflicting punishment in the present life, and (by) thus indulging his own passion accomplishes the Will of God. . . . But these two governors are the swift hands of God, eager to anticipate the accomplishment of His Will: that this is so has been said in the Law. . . . 'I will kill, and I will make alive; I will strike, and I will heal' [Deut. xxxii. 39]. For truly He kills, and brings to life. He kills with the left hand, that is, by means of the Evil One, who has been so composed as to rejoice over the evil treatment of the impious. But He saves and benefits with the right hand, that is, by means of the Good One, who has been so created as to rejoice over the benefiting and salvation of the righteous. These do not have their beings outside of God; for there is no other source (of being but God); nor are they cast forth by God like animals, for they were of the same mind with Him. . . . The wicked One, therefore, having served God blamelessly to the end of the present age, inasmuch as he is not of the one essence which is solely inclined to evil, can, by a change in his composition, become good. For not even now does he do

[1] Lact. *Inst.* VI. xx. 10. The passage occurs within a few lines of the absolute prohibition of homicide, military service, and capital charges (xx. 16f, see above, p. 528 n), and recalls the somewhat similar utterance of Athenagoras (*Legat.* 35, quoted above, p. 264 n 3).

[2] *Clem. Hom.* xx. 2 (see above, p. 510 n 3).

evil, though he is evil, having received power to afflict (κακουχεῖν) lawfully." [1] The author here commits himself to a theory of the universe, in which few of his fellow-Christians of that time, or of this, would be found to agree with him. His words are yet very significant for our present purpose as showing that he was aware of the fact that an act might be right and lawful when done by an imperfect creature of God, and might lead to good and useful consequences, and yet might have to be put right outside the pale of Christianity, and therefore surely be wrong, if performed by Christian hands. He might have gone on to add that what Christian hands would do in the same circumstances, if they were there to do it, would lead to consequences still better and more useful.

Lastly, we have to notice an interesting suggestion made by the unknown author of the *Dialogus de Recta Fidei*. He shows us Adamantius (who is thought by some to be intended for Origenes) in discussion with a Marcionite or Manichæan on the divergence of Old and New Testament ethics in the matter of the treatment of sinners. The Marcionite argues that the discrepancy proves that there must be more than one Divine Being. The defence of Adamantius consists for the most part in producing traces of love, gentleness, kindness to enemies, and so on, from the Old Testament, and references to vengeance and punishment in the New, particularly in the teaching of Jesus. He thus easily takes the wind out of his opponent's sails without making much headway himself towards solving the antinomy. At one point, however, he puts his finger for a moment on the true key to the puzzle. "I do not think it will seem absurd," he says, "if we use an illustration, in order that the sense of what we are saying may be made clearer. Does not a woman, when she has borne a son, first nourish him on milk, and afterwards, when he has grown up, on more solid foods? And I do not think the woman is on this account reckoned by anyone to act inconsistently, because she first gave her breasts to the baby with milk (and) afterwards, when he had grown up, provided (him with) stronger foods. The apostle Paul, too, knew how to promulgate laws to men according to their several progress, when he says: 'I gave you milk to drink, not food; for ye were not yet able (to take it), and not even yet are ye able: for ye are still carnal' [1 Cor. iii. 2f]. In the same way, therefore, God also gave laws to men according to the progress of their minds. To Adam He gave a law in one way as to a little child, but in another way to Noah, in another way to Abraham, in another way to the people of Israel through

[1] *Clem. Hom.* xx. 3.

Moses. Through the Gospel also, according to the further progress of the world, the law-giving is different. Why therefore does God seem inconsistent, seeing that He has treated the whole world in the same way as (He might treat) a man from his birth on to old age, beginning (as the world did) from its first childhood, then after that growing and progressing, coming to middle age, and thence hastening to the maturity and perfection of old age, (and treated) each age of it with apt and adequate laws? But lest ye should think that I affirm this without evidence, I show that it is written how one and the same God commands different things. God bids Abraham sacrifice his own son: afterwards, by Moses, He forbids a man to be slain at all, but orders him who is caught in this act to be punished. Because, therefore, He orders at one time a son to be slain, but at another the slayer to be punished, do we say that there are two Gods contrary to one another?" Here Eutropius, the pagan arbiter of the discussion, asks: "Does He Himself order (a man) to be killed, and (yet) say: 'Thou shalt not kill'?" And Adamantius replies: "Precisely. And not only is it found so in this, but also in many other things. For sometimes He orders sacrifices to be offered to Himself, and then again He forbids it. . . ."[1] The line of thought would have been worthy of the great Alexandrian thinker, into whose mouth some believe it to be placed.

Our section on the relative justification of non-Christian governments must close with a notice of the Christian custom of *praying for the imperial rulers*, sometimes in obedience to the command to pray for enemies and persecutors, but often with a lively sense of indebtedness to the rulers for the blessings of peace and security.[2]

[1] *Adamant.* i. 9; cf. 10–18, ii. 15. For further quotations on this topic from Chrysostomus and Basilius, see *Lux Mundi*, 241f.

[2] *Acta Disput. Achat.* i. 3 (Et cui magis cordi est uel a quo sic diligitur imperator, quemadmodum ab hominibus Christianis? assidua enim nobis est pro eo ac iugis oratio, ut prolixum aeuum in hac luce conficiat ac iusta populos potestate moderetur et pacatum maxime imperii sui tempus accipiat); Cypr. *Demetr.* 20 (et tamen pro arcendis hostibus et imbribus impetrandis et uel auferendis uel temperandis aduersis rogamus semper et preces fundimus), *Act. Procons.* 1 (hunc [i.e. Deum] deprecamur diebus ac noctibus . . . pro incolumitate ipsorum imperatorum); Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VII. i., xi. 8 (τούτῳ [τῷ Θεῷ] διηνεκῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν [sc. Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Γαλλιήνου] ὅπως ἀσάλευτος διαμείνῃ, προσευχόμεθα); Conybeare 202f; Eus. *Mart.* viii. 10f, *Vit. Const.* i. 17; Arnob. iv. 36 (conuenticula . . . in quibus summus oratur Deus, pax cunctis et uenia postulatur magistratibus exercitibus regibus familiaribus inimicis); Lact. *Inst.* VII. xxvi. 17 (written after Constantinus' triumph) (cui [sc. Deo] nos cotidianis precibus supplicamus, ut te in primis, quem rerum custodem uoluit esse, custodiat, deinde inspiret tibi uoluntatem, qua semper in amore diuini nominis perseueres: quod est omnibus salutare, et tibi ad felicitatem et ceteris ad quietem). For Galerius' dying request that Christians should pray to God for the welfare of the Emperors and the public, see Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xxxiv. 5 and Eus. *HE* VIII. xvii. 10.

CHRISTIANS SHARE THE STATE'S PROTECTION.—Whenever the Church was *relieved by the act of a ruler from the sufferings and perils of persecution*, the fact was put on record and spoken of in terms of warm appreciation.[1] Lactantius mentions only one persecutor between Domitianus and Valerianus, viz. : Decius. He represents the reign of the successors of Domitianus as a time of safety and growth for the Church. " In the times that followed, during which many good princes held the helm and government of the Roman Empire, (the Church) suffered no attacks from (her) enemies, but stretched out her hands to east and west, so that there was now no corner of the earth so remote that the religion of God had not penetrated to it." [2] In particular, Constantius and Constantinus are warmly praised for their refusal to persecute and for the favour they showed to Christianity.[3] After times of persecution, the Church receives thankfully at the Emperor's hands, not only peace and toleration, but the *restitution and official recognition of her property*, the confiscated possessions, cemeteries, gardens, meeting-places, houses, etc., belonging to individual Christians as well as to the Church or churches generally.[4] Fairly early in his reign, Constantinus made large gifts of money to the Church ; and in 321 A.D. legal permission was given for property to be bequeathed to the Church : [5] but this development of the situation lies outside the scope of our present inquiry.

We are unfortunately without exact information as to the extent to which Christians in this period *appealed to the pagan law-courts*

[1] *Acta Disput. Achat.* v. 6 (Decius imperator . . . Achatium . . . uehementer admirans aestimationi propriae et legi suae reddidit); Eus. *HE* VII. xiii. (Edict of Gallienus), *DE* VI. xx. 299d (ii. 41). Per contra, cf. Eus. *HE* IX. ix. 23–25, x. 12 (unfavourable reception of decrees of toleration issued by Daia); Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xxxiii. 11—xxxv. (Galerius' edict of toleration). Peace to the Church, but no mention of the Emperors, referred to in Cypr. *Laps.* 1 ; Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VI. xli. 9, VII. v. 1 ; Eus. *Mart.* xiii. 13.

[2] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* iii. 4 (rescissis igitur actis tyranni non modo in statum pristinum ecclesia restituta est, sed etiam multo clarius ac floridius enituit, secutisque temporibus, quibus multi ac boni principes Romani imperii clauum regimenque tenuerunt, nullos inimicorum impetus passa manus suas in orientem occidentemque porrexit), 5 (ut iam nullus esset terrarum angulus tam remotus quo non religio Dei penetrasset, nulla denique natio tam feris moribus uiuens, ut non suscepto Dei cultu ad iustitiae opera mitesceret. sed enim postea longa pax rupta est).

[3] Eus. *HE* VIII. xiii. 12, 13, 14 (Κωνσταντῖνος . . . ζηλωτὴν ἑαυτὸν τῆς πατρικῆς περὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον εὐσεβείας κατεστήσατο), appx. 4f, IX. xi. 9, x. v ; Lact. *Mort. Pers.* i. 2f, xxiv. 9, xlviii. ; Theonas 1 (Routh iii. 439) (jam pace per bonum principem ecclesiis concessa).

[4] Eus. *HE* VII. xiii. (Gallienus), x. v. 9, 11, 17 ; Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xlviii. 7–9 (Constantinus and Licinius).

[5] Eus. *HE* x. ii. 2, vi. ; *Codex Theodos.* XVI. ii. 4 : cf. Uhlhorn *C* 448 ; *DCA* ii. 1730b.

*in order to secure redress of wrongs committed against themselves.* That there was a very general aversion to the use of the heathen courts we know; but it is also clear that, towards the end of the third century, it was not altogether uncommon for Christians to bring suits to them. The 'Didascalia,' as we have seen, forbids the reference of any dispute to a pagan court; the Clementines forbid that of disputes between fellow-Christians, but are silent as to disputes between Christians and pagans.[1] The Clementine 'Epistle to Jacob' certainly contemplates Christians acting as advocates, for it requires Christian laymen to help one another in that capacity, so that the bishop shall not need to do so: [2] but it might be argued that the only cases here in question are those in which Christians were involved against their will as defendants. Lactantius forbids the Christian to sue any one on a capital charge, because of the guilt of bloodshed; [3] but he apparently leaves him free to sue in the courts for a lesser penalty. It is, in fact, Lactantius himself who tells us of the first iniquitous edict of Diocletianus against the Christians, ordaining that "every legal suit against them should be received, but that they themselves should not be able to bring an action for injury, adultery, or theft, (and) finally that they should not have (the rights of) liberty and (? public) speech (vocem)." [4] Whether he is right as to the historical details or not,[5] his words clearly indicate that Christians more or less frequently sued those who had wronged them before the pagan judges. Lactantius tells us a little later that, "lest justice should inadvertently be administered to any (Christian), altars were placed in the audience-chambers and before the tribunal, in order that litigants might sacrifice before they pleaded their causes, (and) that thus the judges might be approached in the same way as the gods were." [6] The Canons of the Synod of Illiberis forbidding a Christian to be an 'informer' (delator) or a false-witness seem to show that the presence of Christians in the heathen law-courts was not uncommon, and further that a striking moral degeneration had taken place, which apparently had something to do with the frequency and character of their appearances.[7]

There were of course *other ways of receiving the State's protection*

[1] See above, pp. 538f. [2] *Clem. Ep. Jac.* 5 (quoted above, p. 537 n 4).
[3] Lact. *Inst.* VI. xx. 16 (quoted above, pp. 527f n 8).
[4] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xiii. 1.
[5] Cf. the parallel version of the edict in Eus. *HE* VIII. ii. 4 = *Mart.* pref. 1 (with McGiffert's notes); Plumptre in *DCB* i. 835b; Bigelmair 69; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 333n.
[6] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xv. 5.
[7] *Can. Illib.* 73f (see above, p. 539).

*and help* than by process of a law-suit. The Clementines relate how the friends of Peter, being alarmed at the indignation which Simon had excited against him at Antiochia, sent for the Roman centurion Cornelius, who happened to be there with a message from the Emperor to the governor of the province, and asked for his assistance. Cornelius offered to give it out that the Emperor had ordered sorcerers to be sought for and slain at Rome and in the provinces, that many had already been so dealt with, and that he (Cornelius) had been secretly sent by the Emperor to seize and punish Simon. This news being conveyed to Simon by Peter's spies, the former speedily departed in accordance with the apostle's desire.[1] This amusing piece of fiction sheds an interesting side-light on the author's view of the Christian's relations with the State; but too much of course must not be made of it.

By far the most significant piece of evidence in this connection is *the affair of Paulus of Samosata*, bishop of Antiochia. This man, having been condemned for heresy, excommunicated, and deposed from his see by a synod of bishops, availed himself of the popular tumults and of the protection of his patroness Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, to retain possession of the cathedral and the episcopal residence for about three years after his sentence. When, however, Aurelianus had, in 272 A.D., defeated Zenobia, the catholic bishops appealed to him. "Paul being in no wise willing to leave the church-house, the Emperor Aurelianus was appealed to, and decided most reasonably as to what was to be done, ordering that the house should be handed over to those to whom the bishops of the doctrine in Italy and in the city of Rome should write. Thus the aforesaid man was expelled from the church by the secular power with the utmost disgrace."[2] This incident is of great importance as indicating the direction in which the stream of Christian thought was running. It was probably only the

[1] *Clem. Hom.* xx. 13; *Clem. Recog.* x. 55.

[2] Eus. *HE* vii. xxx. 19: ἀλλὰ γὰρ μηδαμῶς ἐκστῆναι τοῦ Παύλου τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἴκου θέλοντος, βασιλεὺς ἐντευχθεὶς Αὐρηλιανὸς αἰσιώτατα περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου διείληφε, τούτοις νεῖμαι προστάττων τὸν οἶκον, οἷς ἂν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἐπίσκοποι τοῦ δόγματος ἐπιστείλαιεν. οὕτω δῆτα ὁ προδηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ μετὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης αἰσχύνης ὑπὸ τῆς κοσμικῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξελαύνεται τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Cf. *DCB* iv. 252b; Bigelmair 65 ("Dieser richtige Entscheid dürfte wohl auf einen sachkundigen, christlichen Berater aus der Umgebung des Kaisers zurückzuführen sein"); and particularly the full comments of Innes 16–19 (he expresses doubt as to which side raised the appeal; but the language of Eusebius and Theodoretus [cf. *DCB* l.c.] leaves little doubt that it was the catholics: he rightly points out that the decision was asked for only in regard to the material possessions of the Church—the Emperor was not expected to go into the dogmatic question).

intermittent recurrence of persecution which prevented a close rapprochement between the Church and the Empire long before the days of Constantinus. As soon as an emperor appeared who went out of his way to tolerate and favour the Church, the Church displayed no unwillingness to let him interfere in her internal affairs and adjudicate in her disputes. An incident that occurred at the close of our period, when Constantinus himself summoned a synod of bishops at Rome to settle a disputed claim to the bishopric of Carthago (313 A.D.),[1] was the first example of the policy natural and peculiar to the new régime which was then introduced. In the appeal of the orthodox bishops to Aurelianus and the ignominious expulsion of Paulus of Samosata from the church-house at Antiochia by the secular arm, we have a striking and ominous anticipation of the change that was about to come.[2]

Christians at Court and among the Governing Classes. —Our period witnessed a continuance of that process of permeation, by which Christianity came to embrace an ever-increasing number of people belonging to the upper and governing classes.[3] Cyprianus had occasion to warn his readers not to be deterred from martyrdom by the ambitions of rank.[4] The rescript of Valerianus dealt with various classes of Christians, among others, with those who were "senators and men of high rank and Roman knights."[5] The Pseudo-Cyprianic treatise 'Adversus Judæos' (? about 255 A.D.) calls upon men of all classes, including those of wealth and station, to enter upon the Christian heritage.[6] The martyr Marinus

[1] Eus. *HE* x. v. 18–20; *DCB* i. 367f. In an earlier letter to Cæcilianus, bishop of Carthago, Constantinus bade him, in case of schismatic conduct on the part of any (probably an allusion to the Donatists), apply to the proconsul of Africa and the local 'vicarius præfectorum,' in order that the offenders might be judicially corrected (Eus. *HE* x. vi. 4f, with McGiffert's note; Hefele 177f). Whether Cæcilianus acted on these instructions we do not know.

[2] Cf. Uhlhorn *C* 448f; Harnack *KS* 152, 155.

[3] Vict. *Comm. Apoc.* iii. 1 (40) (homines neglegentes, aliud quam quod oportet in saeculo agentes, opere inanes, nomine tantummodo Christianos), 3 (42) (. . . homines locupletes, credentes in dignitatibus conlocatos, sed credentes ut homines locupletes, apud quos in cubiculo scripturae quidem tractantur, foris autem an sint fideles a nemine intelleguntur, scilicet iactantes et dicentes se omnia cognoscere, praediti fiducia litteraturae, opera autem uacantes).

[4] Cypr. *Laud.* 17 (see above, p. 534 n 3).

[5] Cypr. *Ep.* 80 (81) 1 (rescripsisse Valerianum ad senatum ut episcopi et presbyteri et diacones in continenti animaduertantur, senatores uero et egregii uiri et equites Romani dignitate amissa etiam bonis spolientur): cf. *Passio Mariani et Jacobi* viii. 1 (Gebhardt 140) (259 A.D.) (Aemilianus, quamuis equestris ordinis gentiliter haberetur, unus tamen in carcere et ipse de fratribus, etc.).

[6] Ps-Cypr. *Jud.* 5: licet dignitate magnifici, licet nobiles, licet senes, licet iuuenes pauperes diuites boni malique, domini atque serui indifferenter aequaliter introite in hereditatem.

(262 A.D.) was "a man famous by birth and wealth": his interment was carried out by his fellow-Christian Astyrius, who was a Roman senator, "and well-known to all by reason of his high birth and opulence."[1] Eusebius often speaks of the high social rank of those who fell in the last great persecution.[2] Frequent allusions are made in the Clementines to Clemens' noble birth and connection with the imperial family.[3] The wife of a prefect of Rome under Maxentius was a Christian.[4] The wife and daughter of Diocletianus, before the persecution broke out, had ceased to offer sacrifices, and become attached to the Christian faith.[5]

*The friendliest relations often existed between the Emperors on the one hand, and individual Christians, as well as the Church generally, on the other.* Dionysius remarks of Valerianus, before he became a persecutor, "how kind and friendly he was towards the men of God. For not one of the Emperors before him was so favourably and cordially disposed towards them, not even those who were said to have been openly Christians (*οἱ λεχθέντες ἀναφανδὸν Χριστιανοὶ γεγονέναι*), (or) received them as he did, openly and with great civility and friendliness at the beginning (of his reign). And his whole house was full of pious persons, and was a church of God."[6] The Astyrius we have just mentioned enjoyed the personal favour of the Emperors.[7] Paulus of Samosata was patronized, not by

[1] Eus. *HE* VII. xv. 1, xvi (*ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης συγκλητικῶν γενόμενος βασιλεῦσίν τε προσφιλὴς καὶ πᾶσι γνώριμος εὐγενείας τε ἕνεκα καὶ περιουσίας*).

[2] Eus. *HE* VIII. v. 1 (*τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων τις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄγαν κατὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ βίῳ νενομισμένας ὑπεροχὰς ἐνδοξοτάτων*), xi. 2 (*καί τις ἕτερος Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀξίας ἐπειλημμένος, Ἄδαυκτος τοὔνομα, γένος τῶν παρ' Ἰταλοῖς ἐπισήμων*, κτλ.), xii. 3, 5, xiv. 15 (Christian women of wealth and station). The martyr Codratius was a senator (Conybeare 197f). Cf. also the *Acta Tarachi* etc. 3 (Ruinart 455) (Andronicus says: *εὐγενής εἰμι, καὶ τῶν πρώτων τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως υἱός*).

[3] *Clem. Hom.* iv. 7, xii. 8, 20, xiv. 10; *Clem. Recog.* vii. 8, ix. 35.

[4] Eus. *HE* VIII. xiv. 16f, *Vit. Const.* i. 34. The inscription dedicated by Pescennius Marcellus to his wife Pescennia Quoduultdeus, who was in all probability a Christian, may belong to this period; but it is also possible that it is post-Constantinian (cf. *CIL* viii. (1) 870; Schmidt 324, 335; Bigelmair 218f n 7; Harnack *ME* ii. 296 n, and see above, p. 389 n 6). The usual idea that she was the wife of a proconsul (Schmidt, Harnack, Bigelmair) apparently rests on a somewhat doubtful reading of the inscription; and in any case there is no ground for identifying her husband Pescennius Marcellus with Gaius Quintilius Marcellus (not Metellus, as E.T. of Harnack *l.c.* has it), who was consul with Alexander Severus in 226 A.D. and was later proconsul of Africa (see Lampridius, *Alexander Severus*, lxviii. 1 (in *Hist. Aug.* ed. Peter i. 299)).

[5] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xv. 1: cf. Eus. *HE* VIII. i. 3 (*τί δεῖ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς λέγειν οἴκους καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀρχόντων; οἱ τοῖς οἰκείοις εἰς πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τῷ θείῳ παρρησιαζομένοις λόγῳ τε καὶ βίῳ συνεχώρουν, γαμεταῖς καὶ παισὶ καὶ οἰκέταις, μόνον οὐχὶ καὶ ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ἐπιτρέποντες*): Harnack *ME* ii. 51; Bigelmair 163.

[6] Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VII. x. 3.

[7] Eus. *HE* VII. xvi. (see above, n 1 on this page).

a Roman Emperor, but by Zenobia, queen of Palmyra.[1] Aurelianus in the earlier part of his reign was favourably disposed to the Christians.[2] In reference to the time just before the outbreak of persecution in 303 A.D., Eusebius speaks of "the Emperors' cordiality (δεξιώσεις) in regard to our people," and "the great friendship which they kept towards the doctrine."[3] The eunuch Dorotheus, a learned presbyter at Antiochia, is mentioned as having been treated by Diocletianus with special honour.[4] Not the Emperors only, but government-officials also displayed great friendliness towards the Christians.[5] The favours received by the Christians from Constantius and Constantinus, more particularly the latter, have already been alluded to. They form one of the outstanding characteristics of the new order of things introduced by him; and we do not need to dwell further on them here.[6]

Christians in the Service of the Imperial Household.—We often read of Christians belonging to or being employed in the households of Emperors and governors, particularly in the capacity of slaves and domestics, and sometimes in positions of great responsibility and confidence. The martyr Conon worked in one of the royal gardens in southern Asia Minor.[7] The edict of Valerianus mentions Christians who were called Cæsariani.[8] Dionysius mentions a certain Egyptian Christian, Ischyrion, who

[1] *DCB* iv. 250b, 252b.

[2] Eus. *HE* vii. xxx. 19 (see above, p. 554 n 2), 20 (τοιοῦτος μέν γέ τις ἦν τὸ τηνικάδε περὶ ἡμᾶς ὁ Αὐρηλιανός, προϊούσης δ' αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀλλοῖόν τι περὶ ἡμῶν φρονήσας, ἤδη τισὶν βουλαῖς, ὡς ἂν διωγμὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐγείρειεν, ἀνεκινεῖτο).

[3] Eus. *HE* viii. i. 2.

[4] Eus. *HE* vii. xxxii. 2f, viii. i. 3f (see below, next note, also p. 558 n 5 and p. 560 n 3). For Emperors as benefactors of the Church, see above, p. 552).

[5] Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 14 (conueniebant interim plures egregii et clarissimi ordinis et sanguinis, sed et saeculi nobilitate generosi, qui propter amicitiam eius antiquam secessum subinde suaderent. Cf. Harnack *ME* i. 509f); Eus. *HE* vii. xxxii. 7 (of Anatolius of Alexandria, τῶν ἐν τέλει προνομίας ἐξαιρέτου πρὸς ἁπάντων ἠξιωμένου), 8 (of Eusebius, later of Laodicea, μέγα τε κλέος καὶ διαβόητον ὄνομα μέχρι καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηλάτου κεκτημένον), viii. i. 4 (Dorotheus πάντων αὐτοῖς [i.e. the emperors] εὐνούστατός τε καὶ πιστότατος καὶ τούτων ἕνεκα διαφερόντως παρὰ τοὺς ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἡγεμονίαις ἐντιμότατος, κτλ.), 5 (οἵας τε καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ἄρχοντας παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐπιτρόποις καὶ ἡγεμόσιν ἀποδοχῆς ἣν ὁρᾶν ἀξιουμένους).

[6] To the passages quoted above on p. 552, we need to add only the two laudatory addresses and four brief apostrophes to Constantinus inserted by Lactantius in his *Institutes* after this Emperor's triumph (see above, p. 459 n 9).

[7] *Mart. Conon.* ii. 2 (Gebhardt 130): Κόνωνα . . . βασιλικὸν ἐπαρδεύοντα κῆπον.

[8] Cypr. *Ep.* 80 (81) 1 (the passage quoted above, p. 555 n 5, continues, after some intervening words, 'Caesariani autem quicumque uel prius confessi fuerant uel nunc confessi fuerint confiscentur et uincti in Caesarianas possessiones descripti mittantur'). On the meaning of 'Caesariani' (= probably, at this date, simply the freedmen in the imperial household), cf. Bigelmair 62f, 162; Harnack *ME* ii. 49; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 268 n, 333.

was employed as a paid steward by one of the rulers.[1] The 'Acts of Fructuosus' (martyred 259 A.D.) mention "our brothers of the household of Æmilianus the governor."[2] The doubtful epistle of Theonas is addressed to one Lucianus, the Christian majordomo either of Constantius or Diocletianus.[3] There were many Christian servants in the households of Diocletianus and his colleagues before 303 A.D.; and they were highly esteemed, and preferred to their fellow-servants.[4] Dorotheos, the presbyter of Antioch, was taken by Diocletianus into his household.[5] Lactantius shows us the Christian servants of Diocletianus standing by and making the sign of the cross while he was sacrificing,[6] and those of Galerius' mother abstaining from her sacrificial feasts.[7] The first measure contemplated by Diocletianus against the Christians was that they should be excluded from the court and the army.[8] One of the martyrs of Palestine was Theodulus, who had held an honoured place in the household of Firmilianus, the governor of the province.[9]

CHRISTIANS IN POLITICAL LIFE.[10]—As early as 251 A.D. Cyprianus was complaining that bishops had been neglecting their sees and gadding about over the provinces engaged in the service of earthly monarchs.[11] Dionysius speaks of Christians in the public service (*δημοσιεύοντες*) at the time of the Decian persecution.[12] The edict of Valerianus mentions Christian senators:[13] the already

[1] Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VI. xlii. 1 (*ἐπετρόπευέν τινι τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ μισθῷ*).

[2] *Acta Fructuosi* 5 (Ruinart 266) (. . . Aemiliani Praesidis).

[3] See above, p. 458 n 5. On the Christian officials at Constantius' court, cf. Eus. *Vit. Const.* i. 16f.

[4] Eus. *HE* VIII. i. 3 (the passage quoted on p. 556 n 5 continues *οὓς ἐξόχως καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν συνθεραπόντων ἀποδεκτοὺς ἠγοῦντο*), vi. 1 (*τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Δωρόθεον βασιλικοὺς παῖδας, οἳ καὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω παρὰ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἠξιωμένοι τιμῆς, γνησίων τε αὐτοῖς διαθέσει τέκνων οὐ λειπόμενοι, κτλ.*).

[5] Eus. *HE* VII. xxxii. 3 (he was a eunuch by birth *ὡς καὶ βασιλέα διὰ τοῦτο οἷόν τε παράδοξον, αὐτὸν οἰκειώσασθαι, κτλ.*), VIII. i. 4 (*οἷος ἐκεῖνος ἦν Δωρόθεος, . . . ὅ τε σὺν αὐτῷ περιβόητος Γοργόνιος, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῆς ὁμοίως τούτοις ἠξίωντο διὰ τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον τιμῆς*), vi. 4f, 7 (martyrdoms of imperial servants). Cf. Harnack *ME* ii. 51 n 4) ("We may accept the death of the two martyred courtiers Sergius and Bacchus as historical, though their *Acta* are unauthentic"); Bigelmair 164. *CIL* xiv. 1877 tells us of a certain Callidromus of Ostia who was probably, like his son, an imperial freedman of the time of Diocletianus, and a Christian.

[6] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* x. 2.

[7] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xi. 1.

[8] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xi. 3: satis esse si palatinos tantum ac milites ab ea religione prohiberet.

[9] Eus. *Mart.* xi. 24.

[10] Cf. Harnack *ME* ii. 36–40; Troeltsch 124ff.

[11] Cypr. *Laps.* 6 (see above, p. 537 n 3).

[12] Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VI. xli. 11.

[13] Cypr. *Ep.* 80 (81) 1 (see above, p. 555 n 5). Bigelmair (144) says this simply means men of senatorial rank and income, not necessarily actual senators.

twice-mentioned Astyrius of Palestine was a Roman senator.[1] In 262 A.D., during the revolt of Æmilianus in Alexandria, the Christian Anatolius busied himself with public affairs and was a member of the council of Brucheium, the quarter of the city which was being besieged by the Romans.[2] Later in the sixties, we see Paulus, bishop of Antioch, occupying the post of 'ducenarius' under Queen Zenobia.[3] In the years before the great persecution, the Emperors entrusted Christians with "the governorships of the provinces, excusing them from trouble about sacrificing, out of their great friendliness to (Christian) teaching."[4] The governorship of a province of course involved the administration of justice and the use of soldiers. We hear of a certain Philoromus, who "had been appointed to no mean office in the royal administration of Alexandria, and daily administered justice, attended by soldiers according to his rank and Roman dignity."[5] Another martyr in

[1] Eus. *HE* VII. xvi. (see above, p. 556 n 1). A. Westcott (*TE* 173f) infers from the rebuke addressed by Aurelianus to the Senate and quoted above, p. 535 n (end), not only that Christianity was a 'religio licita' at this time (270–275 A.D.), but "that, in all probability, a considerable number of the senators of Rome were Christians." Cf. Doulcet 154f.

[2] Eus. *HE* VII. xxxii. 7 (*μυρίας μὲν οὖν τοῦδε καὶ ἄλλας ἀριστείας ἐν τῇ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τοῦ Προυχίου πολιορκίᾳ μνημονεύουσιν, ἅτε τῶν ἐν τέλει προνομίας ἐξαιρέτου πρὸς ἁπάντων ἠξιωμένου, δείγματος δ' ἕνεκα μόνου τοῦδε ἐπιμνησθήσομαι*), 8f (Anatolius obtains indirectly from the besieging general a promise to spare non-combatants who should leave Brucheium: *ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν δεξάμενος, βουλὴν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων συναγαγὼν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πάντας ἠξίου φιλικὴν δοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις δεξιάν, κτλ.* This suggestion being rejected, he proposes the expulsion of non-combatants), 10f (the senate agrees, and many are consequently saved). Cf. Harnack *ME* ii. 39. I do not know on what authority Venables (*DCB* i. 111a) says that at the siege of Brucheium "the command of the place was assigned to" Anatolius, unless it be because Anatolius was in a position to convene the senate.

[3] Eus. *HE* VII. xxx. 8 (see above, pp. 537f, 554f). A ducenarius under the Empire normally meant a procurator with a salary of 200 sestertia: the procurator was employed either on financial duties under the governor of the province, or else on the general administration of a small province, or in some other public business.

[4] Eus. *HE* VIII. i. 2: cf. Bigelmair 138 ("Die Christen erstehen auf einmal in allen Ämtern"—as soon as there was exemption from sacrifice).

[5] Eus. *HE* VIII. ix. 7: *οἷος Φιλόρωμος ἦν, ἀρχήν τινα οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν βασιλικῆς διοικήσεως ἐγκεχειρισμένος, ὃς μετὰ τοῦ ἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς τιμῆς ὑπὸ στρατιώταις δοροφορούμενος ἑκάστης ἀνεκρίνετο ἡμέρας.* In classical Greek *ἀνακρίνεσθαι* means 'to make preliminary legal investigations'; but I suppose here it can mean nothing else than simply 'administer justice': so McGiffert translates. Bigelmair (153) renders "täglich Recht sprach," and adds: "Derselbe scheint Gauverwalter gewesen zu sein über den Landbezirk Alexandria. (Die Stadt war von der Gauverwaltung eximiert.) Dieses Amt, das die Verwaltung des Gaues, die Erhebung der Steuern und auch eine gewisse untergeordnete Gerichtsbarkeit in sich schloss, und dessen Träger zur Römerzeit den Titel *στρατηγός* führte, scheint am besten der eusebianischen Charakterisierung der Stellung des Philoromus zu entsprechen."

the persecution was of patrician birth, and had enjoyed the dignity of the consulship.[1] Another, Phileas, bishop of Thmuis, is described as " a man eminent for his patriotic conduct and services." [2] Another, Dorotheus, presbyter of Antiochia, had been put in charge of the imperial dye-works at Tyrus.[3] Another, Adauctus, had " passed through every (grade of) honour conferred by the Emperors, and had thus filled without reproach the general offices of what is called by them the stewardship (of the imperial household) and the ministry of finance." [4] Constantius regularly employed Christians as his ministers of State.[5] Several Ostian inscriptions of this period tell us of Christians employed in subordinate government-services.[6] Phrygian inscriptions tell us of Christians occupying the post of senator in their own towns.[7] In a certain town in Phrygia at the time of the persecution, it was found that the mayor, the prætors, and all the officials, as well as the rest of the population, were Christians.[8] The 'Canon' of the Synod of Illiberis, excluding duumvirs from the church during their year of office, is itself a proof that it was not a very uncommon thing for a Spanish Christian to hold that office.[9] The first persecuting edict of Diocletianus ordered the degradation of all Christians who had attained official

[1] This was Liberalis, to whom an epitaph was put up by Damasus. See *DCB* iii. 716a; De Rossi II. i. 101f, 104:

> Quamquam patricio clarus de germine consul
> inlustres thrabeas nobilitate tuas,
> Plus tamen ad meritum crescit quod morte beata
> martyris effuso sanguine nomen habes, etc.

[2] Eus. *HE* VIII. ix. 7. . . . ταῖς κατὰ τὴν πατρίδα πολιτείαις τε καὶ λειτουργίαις.

[3] Eus. *HE* VII. xxxii. 3: . . . ὡς καὶ βασιλέα . . . αὐτὸν οἰκειώσασθαι, καὶ τιμῆσαί γε ἐπιτροπῇ τῆς κατὰ Τύρον ἁλουργοῦ βαφῆς.

[4] Eus. *HE* VIII. xi. 2 τὰς καθόλου διοικήσεις τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένης μαγιστρότητός τε καὶ καθολικότητος, κτλ. According to Sophocles (*Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, 1900), ὁ μάγιστρος means 'the master of the imperial household, the chief officer of the emperor's palace,' and ὁ καθολικὸς in a non-ecclesiastical sense = Latin rationalis, 'intendent of finance.'

[5] Eus. *Vit. Const.* i. 16.

[6] *CIL* xiv. 1876 (Basilides, deputy of Sabinus, imperial dispensator at the port: ? not much later than 250 A.D.), 1877 (Callidromus, an ex-dispensator, and his son, an imperial freedman and assistant of some procurator or other—'adiutor proc(uratoris) sum[marum rationum ?]'—perhaps a revenue officer: reign of Diocletianus), 1878 (Felix, foreman or overseer of the first of the four workshops in the imperial mint at Ostia: early fourth century).

[7] Ramsay in *The Expositor* III. viii. 423f, *CRE* 435 n.

[8] Eus. *HE* VIII. xi. 1 (ὅτι δὴ πανδημεὶ πάντες οἱ τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες, λογιστής τε αὐτὸς καὶ στρατηγοὶ σὺν τοῖς ἐν τέλει πᾶσιν καὶ ὅλῳ δήμῳ, κτλ.): cf. Bigelmair 146. The parallel account in Lact. *Inst.* v. xi. 10 suggests to some a churchful of people (universum populum cum ipso pariter conuenticulo) rather than a whole town, and in any case does not mention any officials.

[9] *Can. Illib.* 56 (see above, p. 537 n 1): cf. Bigelmair 138.

rank.[1] Lactantius writes to his young friend Demetrianus, who held some official position, congratulating him on his prosperity and speaking of "the necessitie(s) of public business."[2] After the triumph of Constantinus, the employment of ecclesiastics in the imperial service, and of Christians generally in the secular business of the State, became a very usual practice. The Emperor himself conferred 'honour' on the bishops, and kept ecclesiastics with him as his counsellors and teachers at court and on his travels.[3] The Synod of Arelate takes it for granted that a Christian might hold the office of governor (praeses) and enter generally into political life, and contented itself with an endeavour to deter such from acts "contrary to the (Christian) discipline."[4] Eusebius included the "taking charge of (public) administration" and "the other more civic pursuit(s)" among the activities permissible to Christians of the second (or lay) grade.[5]

THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE.—Eusebius carries on the Melitonian idea of the significant synchronism between the commencement of the Empire and the commencement of Christianity.[6] With this he associates Origenes' conception of the providential peace thus secured for the rapid spread of Christianity.[7] He speaks of the Empire as the proper field for the spread of Christianity.[8] But all this did not go beyond what had been thought and said by Christians of earlier times. The mighty change wrought in the position of the Christian Church in the world by

[1] Eus. *HE* VIII. ii. 4 = *Mart.* pref. 1 (καὶ τοὺς μὲν τιμῆς ἐπειλημμένους ἀτίμους); Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xiii. 1 (ut religionis illius homines carerent omni honore ac dignitate).

[2] Lact. *Opif. Dei* i. 4f (see above, p. 536 n 6). Lactantius, whilst a Christian, seems himself to have held the post of professor of Latin rhetoric at Nicomedia, conferred on him by Diocletianus (Hieronymus, *Vir. Illustr.*, lxxx.; *DCB* iii. 614a).

[3] Eus. *HE* x. ii. 2 (royal letters sent to bishops καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ χρημάτων δόσεις), *Vit. Const.* i. 32, 42. A hundred years later, in the time of Honorius, pagans were forbidden to serve at court (Bigelmair 164, quoting *Codex Theodos.* xvi. v. 42).

[4] *Can. Arel.* 7 (see above, p. 537 n 2). Cf. Ziegler 172; Bigelmair 139: "Mit diesem Beschluss ist der Kampf beendigt."

[5] Eus. *DE* I. viii. 30a (i. 49) (see above, p. 469 n 1).

[6] Eus. *DE* VI. xx. 299c, VII. i. 322b, 330abd, VIII. i. 368d, 369, 374, ii. 396bc, iii. 424b (ii. 41, 61, 68f, 102f, 107f, 131, 157). See above, pp. 266f.

[7] Eus. *DE* III. vii. 139f (i. 161), VII. ii. 344d, 345ab, VIII. iv. 410ab, IX. xvii. 457f (ii. 80f, 144, 187f). See above, p. 415 n 1. An interesting passage on these lines is quoted by Harnack (*KS* 146) from the *Theophaneia*, one of the latest works of Eusebius, written about 335–337 A.D. (Harnack *C* ii. 110, 117, 120f).

[8] Eus. *DE* VII. i. 323ab (ii. 61f) (the prophets foreknew and intimated (though in obscure language) "that the teaching of our Saviour Jesus Christ was going to shine throughout the Roman Empire on all mankind, and that the books of the prophets would be popular in Rome itself, and among all the nations under Roman rule").

the triumph of Constantinus over the persecuting Emperors (312–313 A.D.) may be regarded as marking the fulfilment of a long-cherished hope of the Church, viz. the virtual conversion of the head of the Empire to Christianity, and the acquisition for Christianity of at least a de facto pre-eminence over the other religions of the Empire, together with a liberal measure of State-patronage. This culmination had been preceded by a long period of anticipations, hopes, and unconscious preparations;[1] and it now remains for us to trace the few indications of it during the last sixty years of the period of waiting. Dionysius reveals the fact that in his day it had already become customary in Christian circles to look upon the former Emperors Alexander Severus and Philippus the Arabian as professed Christians; and he tells us that Valerianus (253–260 A.D.) in the earlier part of his reign surpassed both of these in his kindness to the Christians, so that "his whole house was full of pious persons, and was a church of God."[2] He calls Gallienus (260–268 A.D.), the son and successor of Valerianus, "the very pious and god-loving (Emperor)."[3] Coins of Salonina, the wife of Gallienus, have been found, bearing the Christian inscription 'in pace'; and it is at least possible that she was a Christian.[4] Eusebius represents Constantius Chlorus to us as a convinced and devout monotheist, and says that the company assembled in his palace closely resembled a church of God, consisting as it did very largely of Christians; but he does not say in so many words that the Emperor himself was actually a Christian.[5] The exact nature of

[1] Cf. Harnack *KS* 133, 153. For the religious and political preparation on the side of the Empire, *ibid.* 153–156.

[2] Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VII. x. 3 (see above, pp. 401f and 556). It is to be noted that the mark ☧, found on certain coins of Decius, and previously thought to be the Christian symbol (*DCA* ii. 1273f), is simply a mint mark with no Christian significance.

[3] Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VII. xxiii. 4 (see above, p. 545, and cf. Harnack *KS* 152).

[4] H. Cohen, *Description historique des Monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*, v. 495: "Le revers AVG. IN PACE, phrase qui ne se rencontre ailleurs que sur les monuments chrétiens, a fait juger à M. le baron de Witte que Salonine était chrétienne." Her coins also mention Diana, Fortuna, Juno, Venus, Vesta, etc. (*op. cit.* 495–511). Harnack (*ME* ii. 51 n 1) says: "It is pure fantasy to assert . . . that . . . Salonina was a Christian," but admits that no explanation of 'in pace' has been offered. Cf. *DCA* ii. 1274; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 272 ("Salonina may have been a Christian").

[5] Eus. *Vit. Const.* i. 17: οὕτω δῆτα τὸν πάντα τῆς βασιλείας χρόνον εὐσταθῆ καὶ γαληνὸν διακυβερνῶν αὐτοῖς παισὶ καὶ γαμετῇ σὺν οἰκετῶν θεραπείᾳ πάντα τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον ἐνὶ τῷ πάντων βασιλεῖ Θεῷ καθιέρου, ὡς μηδὲν ἀποδεῖν ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ τὴν ἔνδον ἐν αὐτοῖς βασιλείοις συγκροτουμένην πληθύν, κτλ. Cf. Harnack *ME* ii. 51 n 3 ("We are no longer able to ascertain how near Constantius Chlorus drew to Christianity") and Theonas 1 (Routh iii. 440) (Princeps ipse nondum Christianae religioni adscriptus).

the personal Christianity of Constantinus is also an enigma. He was not baptized until he lay on his death-bed, perhaps owing to doubts as to how far his duties as a statesman would conflict with those of a full Christian ; and many traces of paganism were still to be seen in his public acts and in his personal conduct.[1] At the same time there can be no doubt that he was a sincere adherent of the faith so far as he understood it, and conceived himself to be acting under the protection and in the service of the God of the Christians.[2] It is equally difficult to sum up correctly and briefly the exact change made in the status of the Church by Constantinus' accession to power. An examination of the laws enacted by him touching Church-affairs forbids us to speak of any such thing as the formal establishment of Christianity as the State-religion. In these laws the Christians simply appear as a religious sect to whom certain extensive privileges are ensured.[3] But short of describing it as the legally established State-religion, it is scarcely possible to over-estimate the influence and power of which the Church now became possessed. This immense change inaugurates a new period in the history of Christendom, which is characterized by features and problems of its own. Upon the investigation of these it is no part of our present task to enter. Our study has familiarized us with the main historical pre-conditions of the new period, and has brought us up to its very brink. But the enterprise in hand does not carry us over the border-line. The terminus ad quem of our inquiry has been reached as soon as we espy the sign of the cross emblazoned on the shields and embodied in the standards of the army that defeated Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge,[4] when we hear the Edict of Mediolanum finally putting a stop to the great persecutions,[5] when we catch the notes

[1] *DCB* i. 643b, 644b, 645a; Westcott *TE* 224–233; Gibbon i. 412, 423, 434; *The Year's Work in Classical Studies, 1922–1923*, 48.

[2] On the personal religion of Constantinus, see Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xliv., xlviii.; Eus. *Vit. Const.* i. 27–32, 37–42, etc.; Uhlhorn *C* 425–431; Boissier *FP* i. 7–39; Hobhouse 85–92; Wordsworth in *DCB* i. 644ff; Bigelmair 331–333; Westcott *TE* l.c. Eusebius speaks (*DE* vi. ii. 260d (ii. 4)) of the accession of gentile rulers to the Christian Church, and (vi. xx. 299c (ii. 41)) of the Roman rule preventing the Egyptians and other superstitious people blaspheming the Church. For the monotheism of Licinius, see Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xlvi.

[3] Innes 25: "No religion is established by it" (the Edict of Mediolanum). ". . . Constantine, indeed, contrary to the popular idea, never established or professed to establish Christianity."

[4] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xliv.; Eus. *Vit. Const.* i. 28–31, 37–41: *DCA* ii. 908ff, cf. 1277–1286.

[5] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xlviii.; Eus. *HE* x. v. 1–14. On its meaning, cf. Innes 23–28; Boissier *FP* i. 41–79; Bigelmair 71; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 357ff; Hobhouse 93.

of relief, of triumph, and of flattering congratulation bursting forth from the lips of Christian authors,[1] and when we begin to trace the first changes wrought by Christianity on the legislation of the Roman Empire.[2]

## CHAPTER VII

### WAR

The Peacefulness of Christianity.—We come across numerous statements expressing the essential peacefulness of Christianity. As before, the Messianic prophecies foretelling that under the Messiah there would be peace, and that weapons of war would be changed into farming implements, is referred to as being fulfilled in Christianity.[3] Several writers observe that, since the advent of Christ, peace had prevailed on earth more than before.[4] Commodianus says to the Christian: "Make thyself a peacemaker to all (men)."[5] The martyr Lucianus told the judge at Nicomedia that one of the laws given by Christ to Christians was that they should "be zealous for peace."[6] It was not always possible to remain at peace with a hostile world; but within the Church a breach of the peace was regarded as a reproach and as a disgrace.[7]

[1] Lact. *Inst.* I. i. 13–16, VII. xxvi. 11–17, *Mort. Pers.* lii.; Eus. *HE* X. i. etc., *Vit. Const.* passim.

[2] On the Christian legislation of Constantinus, cf. Schmidt 409–446; Lecky ii. 29f, etc.; Uhlhorn *C* 434–436, 441f; Brace 84–86; *DCA* ii. 941f; Innes 28ff; Boissier *FP* 79–84; Hobhouse 94ff; Westcott *TE* 211–224.

On the Constantinian settlement generally and its results, favourable and unfavourable, cf. Isaac Taylor, *Spiritual Despotism* (1835), 243–292, 462–471; Lecky ii. 15ff; Uhlhorn *C* 443–450, 477–479, *Ch.* 223ff; Hatch *ECC* 74–77, 143–153, 172–185; Brace 51f; Bestmann ii. 445–448; Fremantle 163ff; Ziegler 181–183; Boissier *FP* i. 41–84; Robertson *RD* 158ff; Bigelmair 75 ("Die Strömungen innerhalb des Christentums, die dereinst von einem Eintritt in das Erdenleben abgeraten, waren zurückgetreten, und der Opportunismus trat das Erbe an, ein reiches Erbe—die Weltherrschaft"), 333; Carlyle 176ff; Harnack *ME* ii. 334–337, *KS* 129f, 155–158; Hobhouse 122–125; Troeltsch 150f; Bartlet *P* 113–116.

[3] Ps-Cypr. *Jud.* 9; *Adamant.* i. 10; Eus. *PE* 10c; cf. *DE* VII. i. 337f; ii. 344d, 345b, iii. 358c, VIII. iii. 407a, iv. 410ab, IX. xvii. 458 (ii. 74f, 80f, 92, 141, 144, 187f) (Isa ii. 3f, etc.).

[4] Method. *Symp.* x. 1 fin.; Arnob. i. 6; Eus. *PE* 10c–11a, 179ab, *DE* VII. ii. 345ab, VIII. int. 363b, IX. xvii. 457d, 458 (ii. 80f, 96, 187f).

[5] Commod. *Instr.* ii. 22.

[6] Lucianus *Apol.* ap. Routh iv. 6 (. . . studere paci). Cf. *Didasc.* II. xx. 10 (Pax vero est tranquilla ecclesia); Cypr. *Bon. Pat.* 20 (patientia est quae . . . pacem custodit); *Clem. Hom.* iii. 19; *Clem. Recog.* ii. 27, 29–31.

[7] Cypr. *Unit.* 24; *Didasc.* II. i. 7, liv.; Eus. *HE* VIII. i. 7f, ii. 2.

The Condemnation of War.—In order rightly to appraise the Christian view of war, account has to be taken first of all of the sensitiveness of Christian moral feeling on the subject of homicide and bloodshed,[1] though it is not legitimate to infer from such feelings that those who express them necessarily held that Christians must not take part in war, unless the authors indicate explicitly—as, for instance, Lactantius and the author or editor of the 'Egyptian Church-Order' do[2]—that they draw such an inference themselves. The same is true in its own way of the numerous utterances in which war is spoken of by Christians as one of the chief crimes and calamities of the human race.[3] These utterances create an undoubted presumption in favour of a strong aversion on moral grounds from military life; but they do not of themselves commit the speaker to an abstention from the use of arms in all cases.

Christians' Contact with Soldiers.—The experience which the Christians themselves had of pagan soldiers was scarcely likely to give them a favourable impression of the influence of military

[1] Cypr. *Bon. Pat.* 14 (adulterium, fraus, homicidium mortale crimen est . . . nec post gestatam eucharistiam manus gladio et cruore maculatur), *Zel. Liv.* 2 (manum iniuriis lacessentibus ad petulantiam caedis instigat [sc. diabolus]), 8 (hinc [i.e. from jealousy] . . . manus ad caedis uiolentiam prompta, etiamsi a gladio interim uacua, odio tamen furiatae mentis armata), *Ep.* 58 (55) 4 (quibus occidere non licet, sed occidi necesse est); Commod. *Instr.* i. 26, ll. 27ff (Sanguis enim fratris ad me proclamauit in altum, etc.); *Didasc.* II. xlii. 5—xliii. 2; *Clem. Hom.* iii. 25, vii. 4; *Can. Illib.* 6, 73f; *Adamant.* ii. 18, iv. 2; *Can. Ancyr.* 22f.

[2] Lact. *Inst.* VI. xx. 15–17 (see above, pp. 527f n 8); *Const. Eg.* xi. 9f: cf. *Clem. Recog.* ix. 19 (of the Seres: 'sed neque occisus ibi homo fertur aliquando, et tamen nullius libertas arbitrii compulsa est secundum vos a sella Martis ignita, ut ferro uteretur ad hominis necem,' etc.).

[3] Cypr. *Ep.* 73 (72) 4 (heresies called 'pestes et gladii'), *Demetr.* 2, 5; Commod. *Instr.* i. 34, l. 12 (Bellatur ibi, dein cantantur pro psalmis amores), ii. 3, ll. 12ff (Inibi . . . Obsidiae nullae, sicut nunc, neque rapinae), *Carm.* 585f (Quid iuuat . . . scire de uitiis regum, de bellis eorum?); Greg. Thaum. *Ep. Can.* 5; *Didasc.* IV. vi. 4 (omni magistratu imperii Romani, qui in bellis maculati sunt, etc.); Ps-Just. *Cohort.* 2 (Zeus condemned in Homer's words as *ἀνθρώπων ταμίης πολέμοιο*), 17; *Clem. Hom.* ii. 44, iii. 24–26, 29 (Simon stood *ὡς πολέμαρχος . . . δορυφορούμενος* by the crowd), 62, iv. 20, ix. 2f; *Clem. Recog.* ii. 24, 36 (ex peccatis enim bella nascuntur et certamina, ubi autem peccatum non fit, pax est animae), iv. 31, x. 41 (Et hinc [i.e. ex libidine] est unde impacata bella consurgunt, urbes ruunt, etc.); Method. *Symp.* v. 5 (Migne *PG* xviii. 105) ('Εντεῦθεν [i.e. from the devil] *μεθυσκόμενα τὰ ἔθνη, θήγουσιν ἑαυτῶν εἰς ἀλληλοφόνους μάχας τοὺς θυμούς*, κτλ.), x. 1, 4; Arnob. i. 3f, 13, ii. 1, 39, 45, 76, iii. 21, 26, 28, v. 45, vi. 2, vii. 9, 36, 51; Lact. *Inst.* I. xviii. 8–17, xix. 6, II. vi. 3, III. xvii. 8, V. v. 4, 12–14, vi. 6f, VI. v. 15, vi. 18–24 (exposing the injustice of aggressive [?] wars on behalf of one's country; but cf. *Inst.* VI. xv. 12 [quis enim possit non dolere, si patriam . . . hostis euerterit?]), xix. 2f, 10, VII. xv. 9f, xviii. 7, *Mort. Pers.* vii. 2; Eus. *PE* 10b–d, 11a, 133d, 163b, 179a, 192c (*μόθοι καὶ μάχαι καὶ πόλεμοι, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰρήνη καὶ τὰ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πράγματα*, are dear to Athena).

service upon character; for the soldier was frequently—we might almost say normally—the instrument through which the hatred of their persecutors expressed itself in the form of the most appalling tortures, not to mention a whole host of minor afflictions and annoyances.[1] Apart from persecution altogether, the soldier often appears in Christian writings in an unfavourable light.[2] This view, however, has to be qualified by a few notices recording the friendliness and sympathy of pagan soldiers to Christians under persecution,[3] though the favour had often to be purchased with a bribe.[4] Sudden conversions of soldiers at scenes of persecution were not unknown.[5] Eusebius of Laodicea, while resident at Alexandria at the time of the revolt of Aemilianus, was on the friendliest terms with the Roman general, and obtained from him a promise of safety for those who should desert from the besieged quarter of the town.[6] In the Clementines, Peter and his companions are represented as availing themselves of the friendly help of Cornelius the centurion.[7]

Biblical and Historical Wars.—The warriors and the wars of the *Old Testament* and of the times of the Maccabees are referred to by Christian writers in terms of respect and esteem, without any suggestion of disapprobation.[8] The Marcionites, of course, felt a difficulty over these wars, owing to the contrast they presented to the ethical teaching of Jesus; and they solved the

[1] *M. Pionii* xxi. 2; Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 15, 18; Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* vii. xi. 22, vi. xl. 4; *Passio Mariani et Jacobi* ii. 2, 4, iv. 3, v. 1; *Acta Fructuosi* 1 (Ruinart 264f); *Passio Montani et Lucii* iii. 1, iv. 2, vi. 3, xi. 2, xxi. 9; *Didasc.* iv. vi. 4; Eus. *HE* viii. iii. 4, iv. 3, x. 3, xi. 1, *Mart.* iv. 8, 10, vii. 2, ix. 2, 7, xi. 6, *HE* ix. ix. 20 (7); *Acta Tarachi* etc. 1f (Ruinart 454); Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xii.

[2] Arnob. ii. 38 (quid [sc. prodest mundo] rei militaris experientissimos duces, capiendarum urbium peritos, in equestribus proeliis aut in pedestri pugna immobiles atque invictissimos milites?), 39; Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xxvi. 3 (misconduct of Prætorian guards at Rome in time of Galerius), xxvii. 5f (havoc wrought in Italy by Galerius' army in its retreat), xxxvii. 5 (rapacity of Daia's guards); Eus. *HE* viii. xiv. 3 (massacre committed in Rome by Maxentius' troops), 11 (wantonness of Maxentius' soldiers).

[3] Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 16; Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* vi. xli. 16; Conybeare 205.

[4] Conybeare 193; *Didasc.* v. i. 1 (if a fellow-Christian is condemned and imprisoned, 'ex labore et ex sudore faciei vestrae mittite ei, unde vivat et militibus ipsum custodientibus mercedem solvat, ut allevetur et curae particeps fiat, ne penitus affligatur beatus frater vester').

[5] See above, p. 473 n 2.

[6] Eus. *HE* vii. xxxii. 8 (see above, p. 557 n 5), 9.

[7] See above, p. 554.

[8] Cypr. *Bon. Pat.* 10, *Zel. Liv.* 5, *Fort.* 8; Ps-Cypr. *Jud.* 6; Vict. *De Fabrica Mundi* 6 (Routh iii. 458; Haussleiter 6); Lact. *Inst.* iv. xvii. 12f; Eus. *DE* iv. xvii. (i. 216f), viii. i. 368ab, 373bc (ii. 101f, 107), etc. etc. Cf. the similar commendation of the centurion Cornelius of Acts x. (Cypr. *Ep.* 72 (71) 1, *Dom. Orat.* 32).

difficulty by referring the whole of the Old Testament to an inferior Deity. The orthodox, on the other hand, insisted that the Old Testament was as directly inspired as the New; but they were not very successful in their efforts to bridge the chasm between them. The interesting discussion of the subject in the 'Dialogus de Recta Fidei' has already been alluded to.[1] The orthodox protagonist in that dialogue boldly defends the shedding of blood by Moses, though he does not go very far with his suggestive theory for harmonizing it with the unarmedness of the Christian.[2]

Together with the passages bearing on the Biblical wars, we may take those in which *the great Jewish war of 66–70 A.D.* and the fall of Jerusalem are referred to as being a Divine punishment sent upon the nation for its treatment of Christ,[3] and also those in which war generally is spoken of as a judgment or chastisement sent by God.[4]

[1] *Adamant.* i. 9–18, ii. 15: see above, pp. 550f.

[2] *Adamant.* i. 10 (Nihil ergo uidetur indignum eos, qui bellum intulerant iniuste, tanquam hostes belli legibus depraedatos), 12 (Iustum utique erat eos qui insurrexerant uelut inimicos atque insidiatores interimi), 13 (De his quidem, qui bellum iniuste inferunt, recte esse consequens ut excipiant ea quae belli lege referuntur, ostendimus, unde et Christum docuimus iubere inimicos in tenebras exteriores detrudi, ubi erit fletus et stridor dentium).

[3] *M. Pionii* iv. 18 (. . . *ἅπασαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν . . . γῆν . . . ἕως τοῦ νῦν μαρτυροῦσαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ γενομένην αὐτῇ ὀργήν, δι' ἃς ἐποίουν οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτὴν ἁμαρτίας, κτλ.*); Ps-Cypr. *Quod Idola* 10, 12f, *Jud.* 6 (repudiatus enim Christus populo misit tyrannum quem uoluerunt, qui ciuitates eorum diruit et plebem captiuitatis eorum damnauit et spolia accepit et ad solitudinem Sodomae patriam eorum redegit), 7 (exile, misery, and beggary of Israel), 8 (Haec poena in Israel est et condicio in Hierusalem); *Didasc.* vi. xix. 1 (Dominus uero noster . . . ea, quae non salvant, solvit, non solum per semet ipsum docens, sed et per Romanos inspirans [? read operans, with Syriac] et templum deposuit, altare cessare faciens et sacrificia destruens, etc.); Lact. *Inst.* iv. xxi. 2 (the preaching of Peter and Paul had foretold 'hoc futurum esse . . . ut post breue tempus inmitteret Deus regem, qui expugnaret Iudaeos et ciuitates eorum solo adaequaret, ipsos autem fame sitique confectos obsideret'), 3f (horrors of the siege '. . . eo quod exultauerint super amantissimum et probatissimum Dei filium'), 5 (itaque post illorum obitum, cum eos Nero interemisset, Iudaeorum nomen et gentem Vespasianus extinxit fecitque omnia quae illi futura praedixerant); Eus. *PE* 8d, 9a (Hebrew prophets foretold *τὴν ἐσομένην εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπιστίαν καὶ ἀντιλογίαν τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους, τά τε κατ' αὐτοῦ δρασθέντα αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτίκα καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν μετελθόντα αὐτοῖς σκυθρωπά· λέγω δὲ τῆς βασιλικῆς μητροπόλεως αὐτῶν τὴν ἐσχάτην πολιορκίαν, καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τὴν παντελῆ καθαίρεσιν, αὐτῶν τε τὴν εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη διασποράν, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ πολεμίοις δουλείαν, κτλ.*); *DE* (persaepe—I noted about 100 passages, but it would be tedious to enumerate the references: the destruction of Jerusalem is regarded as a fulfilment of prophecy, and as directly instigated, led, and aided by God Himself, vii. i. 322ab, 327b, 333c, viii. iv. 408d, 412a (ii. 61, 65, 71, 143, 146)); *Adamant.* i. 11 (Denique posteaquam Christus manus extendit in Hierusalem, populus ille, qui ei non credidit, una cum templo ipso et urbe prostratus est, et si quis forte superfuit, extorris patria et captiuus abductus est).

[4] Cypr. *Demetr.* 5 (Quod autem crebrius bella continuant . . . non enim

THE CHRISTIAN WARFARE.[1]—One of the most noticeable features in certain parts of the literature of the period in this connection is the frequency with which *military language* is used to describe the Christian life. Christians are Christ's soldiers; Christ is the imperator; the Church is his camp; baptism is the sacramentum; heretics and schismatics are rebels and deserters; and so on. A multitude of military phrases occur in the portrayal of Christian trials and achievements, particularly in connection with persecution.[2] A detailed analysis of the passages would tell us very

. . . ista accidunt, quod dii uestri a nobis non colantur, sed quod a uobis non colatur Deus), *Mort.* 2 (general prophecy of wars, famines, etc., referred to); *Didasc.* II. vi. 7–10 (quotation of Ezek. xxxiii. 1–6: '. . . gladium cum induxero super terram,' etc.), 11 (Gladius ergo iudicium est, buccina evangelium, speculator episcopus constitutus super ecclesiam); Lact. *Inst.* VII. xviii. 4 (prophecy quoted from the Hermetic writings as to wars, pestilences, etc., in the great final chastisement of the world's sins: *τὴν κακίαν ἐκκαθάρας πὴ μὲν ὕδατι πολλῷ κατακλύσας, πὴ δὲ πυρὶ ὀξυτάτῳ διακαύσας, ἐνίοτε δὲ πολέμοις καὶ λοιμοῖς ἐκπαίσας ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἀποκατέστησεν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κόσμον*), xix. 5f (Christ's final conflict); Vict. *Comm. Apoc.* i. 4 (22, 24) (sword in Christ's mouth indicates his future judgment of the guilty in general and of Antichrist in particular), iv. 7 (58) (eminentem uictoriam Christi), vi. 1 (68) (ceteri tres equi: famem, <bella> et pestilentiam in euangelio dominus ostendens praedicata manifeste significat), 2 (70) (Equus rufus et qui sedebat super illum habens gladium: bella sunt, quae futura significat, . . . quotation of Lc xxi. 10f), viii. 2 (86) (plagarum orbi missarum clades), xi. 2 (96) (. . . id est huiusmodi homines aut a gentibus aut cum gentibus conculcari), xii. 3 (108, 110) (acturum autem eundem omnes gentes in uirga ferrea: <uirga ferrea> gladius est, etc.), xiv. 3 (132, 134) (de gentibus perituris in aduentum domini dicit), xix. (136, 138) (Equum autem album et sedentem super eum dominum nostrum cum exercitu caelesti aduenientem ad regnandum ostendit, cuius in aduentu omnes colligentur gentes et gladio cadent); Eus. *DE* VIII. int. 364cd (ii. 98) (referring to ancient times). Cf. the usual Christian view of the chastisement of the persecuting Emperors in the form of their overthrow at the hands of Constantinus (Lact. *Inst.* I. i. 15, VII. xxvi. 13f, *Mort.*; *Pers.* lii. 3; Eus. *HE* IX. xi. 9, X. i. 1, 7, etc., *Vit. Const.* i. 3, etc.). I pass by the purely non-committal references to wars as mere matters of history (*Clem. Recog.* ix. 27; Arnob. i. 13–16, iv. 4, 37, vii. 12, 50; Lact. *Inst.* III. xxii. 10; Eus. *PE* 15c, 222b).

[1] Cf. Cadoux *ECAW* 166–170.

[2] Cypr. *Laud.* 10, 19, 26, *Ep.* 10 (8) 1–5, 37 (15) 1, 28 (24) 1, 31 (25) 5, 30 (30) 2, 6, 38 (32) 1, 39 (33) 2, 46 (43) 2, 54 (50) 1, 55 (51) 4, 17, 19, 56 (52) 2, 57 (53) 1–5, 59 (54) 17, 58 (55) 1–4, 6, 8f, 11, 60 (56) 2, 61 (57) 2f, 65 (63) 1, 73 (72) 10, 22, 74 (73) 8f, 77 (77) 2, 78 (78) 1, 80 (81) 2, *Laps.* 2 (Cyprianus here speaks of confessors as soldiers of Christ who could not endure the devil's wreath: B.-Baker [*ICW* 31] seems to suggest that this refers to actual soldiers; but more probably the phrase is simply metaphorical), 36, *Dom. Orat.* 15, *Mort.* 2, 4, 9, 12, 15, *Bon. Pat.* 12, *Zel. Liv.* 2f, *Fort.* 1f, 4 of pref., and 13; Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 8, 10; Ps-Cypr. *Rebapt.* 16 fin., *Jud.* 1, 7; Commod. *Instr.* i. 34, ii. 9–12, 20, 22, *Carm.* 77; *Passio Mariani et Jacobi* i. 3, iii. 3f, viii. 4, x. 3; *Acta Fructuosi* 3 (Ruinart 266); *Passio Montani et Lucii* iv. 6, xiv. 5; Conybeare 195, 202, 206; *Passio Quirini* 2 init. (Ruinart 522); *Didasc.* II. vi. 10; *Clem. Ep. Jac.* 4; *Clem. Hom.* ix. 21; *Clem. Recog.* iv. 33, vii. 24; Arnob. ii. 5, 8; Lact. *Inst.* I. iii. 19, III. xxiii. 2, V. xix. 25, xxii. 17, VI. iv. 15–19, xx. 16 (ita neque militare iusto licebit, cuius militia est ipsa iustitia), *Mort. Pers.* xvi. 4–11; Eus. *PE* 15c, 16b, 165b, 663b, *DE* VII. i. 334d (ii.

little in regard to our main inquiry: some of them are simply meant to be edifying rhetoric; in some the parallel is carried out in great detail; in others it consists of a bare illustrative analogy.[1] We observe that the military metaphor commends itself most strongly to Cyprianus, Commodianus,[2] and the authors of the martyr-acts—roughly speaking, to the Latin rather than the Greek writers[3]—and that fondness for it was greatly stimulated by persecution. It is significant that the word 'paganus,' which later became a common term for non-Christian, meant, strictly speaking, 'civilian' as opposed to 'soldier,' and the development of its usage indicates how strongly the idea of the Christian as the soldier par excellence had permeated the mind of Latin Christianity.[4] Most of the passages in which military metaphors are used are obviously non-committal on the writer's attitude to earthly warfare,[5] though there are some in which the analogy is put in such a way as to suggest a general acceptance of the rightness of war. Thus Cyprianus says: "It is a good soldier's (business) to defend the camp of his commander against rebels and enemies: it is (the business) of a famous general to keep the standards entrusted to him"; and he goes on to plead accordingly

72). Of Christians who were actually soldiers—Cypr. *Ep.* 39 (33) 3; Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VI. xli. 16; *Acta Marcelli* 1f, 4 (Ruinart 343f); *Passio Typasii* 2 (*Anal. Bolland.* ix. 118); Eus *HE* VIII. iv. 3. For Christ as the eschatological warrior, see above, p. 568n.

[1] Cf. Harnack *MC* 40–42.

[2] Scullard 259f. For the military element in contemporary Mithraism and the question of its possible influence on Christian thought, cf. Scullard 116; Harnack *ME* i. 417f n, *MC* 38ff, 42; Workman 84ff, 183f; Bigg *CE* 48f; Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 659f.

[3] Harnack *ME* i. 415–418.

[4] For an instance of its normal use, see Suet., *Galba*, xix. 2 (dimota paganorum turba). See also Trench, *On the Study of Words*, 68–70; Gibbon ii. 394 n, 176; Harnack *ME* i. 416–418, *MC* 68f n, 122; Bigg *CE* 42 n.

[5] Harnack *ME* i. 416: "I need not say that the Christian's warfare was invariably figurative in primitive Christianity (in sharp contrast to Islam)." For an interesting criticism of this military language of the third century, cf. Harnack *MC* 42f: "Ein fanatischer Ton einerseits, ein bramarbasierender andrerseits, kam in die Erbauungsliteratur des Abendlands. Der Christ drohte zum 'miles gloriosus' zu werden. Handelte es sich auch durchaus um eine geistliche Kriegerschaft—irdische Lust am Kampf und Streit, Beute- und Siegeslust im gemeinen Sinn konnten sich auch auf diese Weise entwickeln. Die kriegerische Sprache war keineswegs durch die wirkliche Lage —von den stossweisen Verfolgungen abgesehen—gerechtfertigt; sie wurde zur Manier. Die Märtyrerakten, die in der grossen Verfolgung unter Diokletian und seinen Mitkaisern, und noch mehr die, die später geschrieben sind, lassen es oft genug an der Ruhe und Besonnenheit fehlen, die den Christen in ihren klassischen Urkunden . . . vorgeschrieben war. Aber wer darf die Haltung von Leuten kritisieren, die dem Henker überantwortet waren and einem grausamen Tode entgegengingen? Ihre Biographen allein unterliegen der Kritik."

for the re-baptism of heretics.[1] Or again: "If it is a glorious thing for earthly soldiers to return in triumph to their country after conquering the enemy, how much more excellent and great is the glory of returning in triumph to Paradise after conquering the devil?"[2] But, however strong an impression such passages may give as to the author's approval of military life, the utmost caution is needed in drawing the inference. Commodianus, if the reading is to be trusted, censures the wars of the world, and summons the reader to "enter under arms" in the spiritual sense, within the space of five lines;[3] while Lactantius, in the same book in which he expresses his disapproval of military service for Christians, draws an elaborate parallel between the wisdom of enduring, for the sake of peace and security in the future, the irksomeness of preparing to defend oneself against an earthly foe, on the one hand, and the need of entering upon the toilsome spiritual warfare against the devil on the other.[4]

Christian Approval of War.—In the course of the last few paragraphs we have reviewed several departments of Christian thought, in which some sort of recognition of the rightfulness and value of war seems to be indicated, but which on the whole cannot be safely pressed to yield any very definite conclusion bearing directly on Christian conduct. We have now, however, to take note of a number of utterances, in which a rather more direct approval is expressed, though they still, strictly speaking, fall short of a pronouncement on the Christian's practical duty. Thus Cyprianus reckons it among the calamities of the time that the numbers

[1] Cypr. *Ep.* 73 (72) 10.

[2] Cypr. *Fort.* 13. Cf. also *Clem. Hom.* ix. 21 (= *Clem. Recog.* iv. 33), also v. 5 (Appion's illustration); and Vict. *Comm. Apoc.* i. 7 (28) (the seven letters meant for the *whole* Church: 'nihil enim differet, utrum quis uexillationi, paucorum militum numero, an per eam toto exercitu loquatur').

[3] Commod. *Instr.* i. 34, l. 8 (intra sub arma [but Dombart reads antra]), l. 12 (Bellatur ibi, etc.).

[4] Lact. *Inst.* vi. iv. 15 (nam sicut in hoc saeculo cum est propositum cum hoste certamen, prius laborandum est, ut sis postmodum in otio, esuriendum sitiendum, aestus frigora perferenda, humi quiescendum uigilandum periclitandum est, ut saluis pignoribus et domo et re familiari et omnibus pacis ac uictoriae bonis perfrui possis), 16 (sin autem praesens otium malueris quam laborem, malum tibi maximum facias necesse est—praeoccupabit enim aduersarius non resistentem, uastabuntur agri, diripietur domus, in praedam uxor ac liberi uenient, ipse interficiere aut capiere: quae omnia ne accidant, praesens commodum differendum est, ut maius longiusque pariatur—) 17 (sic in omni hac uita, quia nobis aduersarium Deus reseruauit, etc.), 18f: cf. his representation of Christ as a warrior, vii. xix. 5f—a representation which also figures in Vict. *Comm. Apoc.* i. 4 (22, 24) (quoted above, p. 568 n), iv. 7 (58) (eminentem victoriam Christi), xix. (136, 138) (quoted above, p. 568 n), and (non-eschatologically) in Eus. *DE* iv. xvii. 199b, v. ii. 218, iii. 221 (i. 220, 237, 240).

and efficiency of soldiers are decreasing.[1] The Clementines speak of the obedience of armies to the Emperor as an instance of the beneficial effect of fear implanted by God.[2] Methodius says that kings, rulers, generals, and various other classes of people, are useful to themselves and to the community, if they are temperate.[3] Philoromus, an Alexandrian Christian employed in public judicial functions, was daily attended, whilst on duty, by a guard of soldiers.[4] The martyr Typasius is represented as saying to Maximianus : " If thou release me to serve Christ, thou shalt conquer those barbarians without a struggle ; and within these forty days, victory shall be announced, not only from the East and the Gauls, but from Britannia and Egypt." Next day, many of the barbarians are slaughtered ; and the rest sue for peace.[5] Lactantius says that God made man naked and unarmed, because he could be armed by his talent and clothed by his reason.[6] He blames Epicurus for his policy of being all things to all men, by virtue of which he forbade the timid man to serve as a soldier.[7] He counts the loss of military discipline among the disasters of the days of Antichrist.[8] He speaks of " what the ancients did by the law of war to the vanquished." [9] He criticizes Maximinus Daia as ignorant of military affairs,[10] while he eulogizes Constantinus for having endeared himself to his soldiers by his personal attractions and character and his " diligence in military matters." [11] He describes with satisfaction and gratitude to God the victories of Constantinus

[1] Cypr. *Demetr.* 3 (decrescit ac deficit in aruis agricola, in mari nauta, miles in castris) ; cf. 17 (ruinis rerum, iacturis opum, dispendio militum, diminutione castrorum).

[2] *Clem. Hom.* ix. 21 (. . . Θεοῦ γὰρ βουλῇ τὰ πάντα δεδουλωμένα φόβῳ . . .) ; *Clem. Recog.* iv. 33 fin. (. . . nonnisi potestate Dei agitur, qui timorem dat omnibus ut uni obtemperent), ix. 15 (Quod autem timor Dei multum valeat ad reprimendas concupiscentias, cape humani timoris exemplum . . . Regi propter metum gentes subiacent et armatus paret exercitus).

[3] Method *Symp.* viii. 16. Cf. Vict. *Comm. Apoc.* i. 4 (22) ('gladius enim militem armat, gladius hostem interficit, gladius desertorem punit'—this à propos of Christ's sword : see above, p. 568 n).

[4] Eus. *HE* viii. ix. 7 (see above, p. 559 n 5).

[5] *Passio Typasii* 2f (*Anal. Bolland.* ix. 118).

[6] Lact. *Opif. Dei* ii. 6 (statuit enim nudum et inermem, quia et ingenio poterat armari et ratione uestiri) ; cf. *Inst.* vii. iv. 14 (itaque nudum formauit et inermem, ut eum sapientia et muniret et tegeret).

[7] Lact. *Inst.* iii. xvii. 3 : uetat . . . timidum militare.

[8] Lact. *Inst.* vii. xvii. 9 : id erit tempus quo iustitia proicietur . . . non lex aut ordo aut militiae disciplina seruabitur.

[9] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xxiii. 5.

[10] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xix. 6 : quippe qui neque militiam neque rem publicam sciret.

[11] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xviii. 10 : qui insigni et decoro habitu corporis et industria militari et probis moribus et comitate singulari a militibus amaretur, a priuatis et optaretur.

and Licinius over Maxentius and Daia respectively,[1] mentions how Licinius prescribed a form of prayer for his soldiers to use before battle,[2] tells us how Constantinus, in obedience to a dream, had the sacred monogram ☧, representing at once the sign of the cross and the first two letters of the name of Christ in Greek, inscribed on his soldiers' shields,[3] and warmly congratulates him on his triumph.[4] Eusebius writes in a very similar strain. He criticizes Daia for rendering the army effeminate : [5] and the closing chapters of his 'Church-History' and his later 'Life of Constantinus' abound in grateful and even fulsome eulogies of the sovereign who had overthrown the persecutors by force of arms and thereby secured peace for the Church.[6]

The way in which *Christian prayers on behalf of the Emperor's soldiers* are mentioned makes it clear that it was not only their conversion to Christianity or their spiritual salvation that was prayed for, but also their efficiency and success as maintainers of the peace and as a protection against the attacks of enemies. "We pray continually," says Achatius, "for him" (i.e. the Emperor) "that he . . . may rule the people with just power and pass the time of his reign in peace, then for the safety of the soldiers and the stability of the world." [7] "We always ask and pour out our prayers," says Cyprianus, "for the repulse of enemies, for the obtaining of rain, and for the removal or moderation of troubles ; and we pray constantly and urgently for your peace and safety, propitiating and appeasing God night and day." [8] "Why (have our) meetings (deserved) to be cruelly broken up," asks Arnobius, "seeing that in them the Supreme God is prayed to, peace and pardon are asked for all—magistrates, armies, kings, friends, enemies ? " [9]

[1] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xliv.–xlix.

[2] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xlvi : cf. Harnack *MC* 89f.

[3] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xliv. 5f : facit ut iussus est et transuersa X littera, summo capite circumflexo, Christum in scutis notat. quo signo armatus exercitus capit ferrum.

[4] Lact. *Inst.* I. i. 13–16, VII. xxvi. 11–17.

[5] Eus. *HE* VIII. xiv. 11. Cf. Harnack *ME* ii. 55 n 2 ("Eusebius's feelings thus are those of a loyal citizen of the empire"), *MC* 73 ("Das setzt doch eine gewisse Wertschätzung eben des Heeres bei Eusebius voraus"). Cf. also Eus. *HE* IX. x. 14 (Daia's death was not οἷα στρατηγοῖς πολεμάρχαις, ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς καὶ γνωρίμων πολλάκις ἀνδριζομένοις ἐν πολέμῳ, τὴν εὐκλεῆ τελευτὴν εὐθαρσῶς ὑπομεῖναι συνέβη).

[6] See also the passage from *DE* quoted above, p. 469 n 1, below p. 578, from which it is clear that he regarded military service in a righteous cause as a normal activity of Christian *lay* life.

[7] *Acta Disput. Achat.* i. 3 (see above, p. 551 n 2) : the passage continues : 'deinde pro salute militum et pro statu mundi et orbis').

[8] Cypr. *Demetr.* 20.

[9] Arnob. iv. 36 (see above, p. 551 n 2). In regard to the significance of

Christians in the Imperial Armies.—Before attempting anything in the way of a general statement on this subject, it must be our endeavour to present as completely and exactly as possible the positive evidence available. Dionysius of Alexandria tells us that there were soldiers among the martyrs in the Decian persecution (250 A.D.).[1] About 260 A.D., when peace had been restored to the Church by the Edict of Gallienus, there occurred at Cæsarea in Palestine the martyrdom of a Christian military officer named Marinus. He was a man of wealth and good birth, and had received military distinctions. When he was about to be promoted to the rank of centurion in order to fill a vacancy, another candidate for promotion declared before the tribunal "that it was not legal, according to the ancient laws, for him (Marinus) to receive the Roman honour, as

Christian prayers for the army, cf. the remarks of Harnack quoted above, p. 417 n 3).

[1] Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VII. xi. 20: πλὴν ἴστε ὅτι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ νέοι καὶ γέροντες, καὶ κόραι καὶ πρεσβύτιδες, καὶ στρατιῶται καὶ ἰδιῶται, καὶ πᾶν γένος καὶ πᾶσα ἡλικία . . . τοὺς στεφάνους ἀπειλήφασι. The passage occurs in Dionysius' letter to Domitius and Didymus, which can be proved to refer to the persecution of Decius, though Eusebius erroneously connects it with that of Valerianus (Kruger 213; Harnack *C* ii. 63; Feltoe 65): Bigelmair (190), however, and Harnack (in *ME* ii. 58 n—the matter is correctly stated in *MC* 77f) quote it as referring to the latter emperor. In the course of the Decian persecution at Alexandria, a soldier named Besas rebuked the crowd that insulted the martyrs on the way to execution. He was immediately challenged, was arraigned as a Christian, confessed, and was beheaded (Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VI. xli. 16); also a squad of five soldiers, present at the trial of a Christian, attracted attention by making violent gestures of anxiety when the accused threatened to deny his faith, and then rushed before the tribunal and confessed themselves Christians. The governor as well as his council, was amazed, but seems to have ordered them to execution (Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VI. xli. 22f: ἀθρόον δέ τι σύνταγμα στρατιωτικόν, Ἄμμων καὶ Ζήνων καὶ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἰγγένης καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς πρεσβύτης Θεόφιλος, εἱστήκεισαν πρὸ του δικαστηρίου. κτλ.). Are we to understand that all these were already secretly Christians for some time before their confession, or that their conversion was due to a rush of feeling under the affecting circumstances of the hour? The latter seems to me to be quite as likely as the former; but Bigelmair (189), Harnack (*ME* ii. 57f, *MC* 75–77), and Moffatt (*DAC* ii. 668f) assume that they were already virtually Christians ("die ganze kleine Soldatenschar" [consisting, by the bye, of five soldiers only, as I understand Dionysius] "aus Christen oder aus christlich Gesinnten bestand," says Harnack—though Moffatt [669a] admits that at least Besas may have been converted suddenly); and Harnack infers from this that Christianity must have been very widely spread in the army in Egypt, as there could have been no idea of picking Christian soldiers for this particular task. This seems to me to be making a little too much out of the passage (see above, p. 473 n 2).

We cannot be sure how much or how little historical truth is embodied in the martyr-acts of Polyeuctes, an officer in the Legio Fulminata at Melitene on the Upper Euphrates. He is said to have been beheaded for refusing to sacrifice in obedience to a persecuting edict of 'Decius and Valerianus'(!), though he had not previously professed himself a Christian (Conybeare 123–146; *DCB* iv. 437a; Harnack *ME* ii. 61, *MC* 83 ("Die Akten des . . . Polyeuktes . . . sind bei Seite zu lassen"); Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 670a (his acts "yield no authentic evidence for the period of his death").

he was a Christian and did not sacrifice to the Emperors." Marinus thereupon admitted to the judge that he was a Christian, and was given three hours for reflection. On leaving the court, he was met by the bishop Theotecnus, who led him into the church, and there asked him to choose between his sword and the Gospels. He chose the Gospels, returned at the appointed time to the tribunal, confessed his Christianity again, was sentenced, led away, and beheaded.[1] "The story shows that among officers in the army the profession of Christianity was not tolerated, and it would even seem as though express regulations on the subject were in existence. But it shows also that in practice Christianity was connived at. The authorities always waited for some occasion of conflict to arise." [2] "The number of Christian officers and soldiers in the army gradually increased . . . after the reign of Gallienus; so much so that the military authorities began to connive at Christianity; they made allowance for it, and looked on quietly while Christian officers made the sign of the cross at the sacrifices. Moreover, they also dispensed silently with their attendance at these sacrifices." [3] In 295 A.D., on the occasion of the martyrdom of Maximilianus at Teveste, the proconsul of Africa said to the young Christian who refused to enter the legions: "In the sacred retinue (comitatu) of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus, Constantius and Maximus, there are Christian soldiers, and they serve (as such)." [4] Fabius Victor, the martyr's father, was possibly in the army himself: he had bought his son a new military coat in anticipation of his enlistment.[5] The law requiring military officers to sacrifice was for the most part dormant, but might at any time be enforced. This and other conditions—to be noted presently—made the legitimacy of military service for Christians a highly debatable point: and in face of the conditions of the time, the silence of the Synod of Illiberis on the subject is very significant.

[1] Eus. *HE* VII. xv.

[2] Harnack *ME* ii. 58f; cf. *MC* 78f (78 n: "Welche spezielle Gesetze hier gemeint sind, wissen wir nicht, wahrscheinlich besondere kaiserliche Verordnungen, dass im Heere kein christlicher Offizier zu dulden sei"). There hardly seems need to suppose with Görres that the death of Marinus must have taken place during a state of persecution instituted by Macrianus when in revolt against Gallienus, on the ground that Gallienus had already issued an edict of toleration for the Christians—Eus. *HE* VII. xiii. (see *DCB* iii. 832b and McGiffert's note to Eus. ad loc): Eusebius says expressly *εἰρήνης ἀπανταχοῦ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οὔσης*.

[3] Harnack *ME* ii. 54; cf. *MC* 81f: he quotes Eus. *HE* VII. xv. and Lact. *Mort. Pers.* x. in this connection.

[4] Ruinart 341.

[5] Ruinart 340, 342: cf. Harnack *MC* 84f, and see below, p. 586 n 1.

There was apparently too much to be said on both sides for a definite decision to be given either way.[1] The appendix to the eighth book of Eusebius' 'Church-History' tells us that, long before the outbreak of the general persecution, Galerius attempted, by means of degradation, abuse, and menace of death, to compel the Christians in the army—beginning with those in his own household—to desert their faith.[2] We learn from Eusebius and Hieronymus that about 299 A.D. a general named Veturius attempted to purge the troops under him of Christian soldiers, and a great number of them consequently retired from the service, and a few suffered the penalty of death.[3] It may be that the refusal of the centurion Marcellus (298 A.D.) in Tingitana (Western Mauretania) to remain in the army any longer, on account of the requirement of sacrifice, was the outcome of a similar movement on the part of the military authorities in that quarter of the Empire.[4] The doubtful 'Acts of Typasius' tell us that he was a soldier of Mauretania, who had served with credit, and who, desiring to devote himself wholly to religion, refused a royal donative, and shortly afterwards obtained from Maximianus an honourable discharge. All this took place some years before his martyrdom, which occurred in 305 A.D. or later.[5] The famous legend of the martyrdom of the whole Thebaic legion (recruited in the Egyptian Thebaid) at the hands of

[1] Harnack *MC* 79f n 2: "Dennoch ist seitens der Kirche eine generelle oder spezialisierte Anweisung für die christlichen Soldaten in Bezug auf ihr Verhalten niemals erfolgt: die Materie zu regeln war unmöglich. Sehr bezeichnend sind in dieser Hinsicht die Kanones der Synode von Elvira in Spanien (um. d. J. 300). Sie beschäftigen sich hauptsächlich mit der Regelung des christlichen Lebens innerhalb der heidnischen Umgebung; aber in Bezug auf den Soldatenstand beobachten sie ein beredtes Schweigen" (cf. *ME* ii. 54 n).

[2] Eus. *HE* VIII. appx. 1: cf. Bigelmair 191.

[3] Eus. *HE* VIII. iv. 2 (the devil had been plotting against the churches ever since the time of Decius and Valerianus, *οὐκ ἀθρόως τε τῷ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπαποδυομένου πολέμῳ, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῶν κατὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα μόνων ἀποπειρωμένου—ταύτῃ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀλῶναι ῥᾳδίως ᾤετο, εἰ πρότερον ἐκείνων καταγωνισάμενος περιγένοιτο—πλείστους παρῆν τῶν ἐν στρατείαις ὁρᾶν ἀσμενέστατα τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν προασπαζομένους βίον, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἔξαρνοι γένοιντο περὶ τὸν τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸν εὐσεβείας*), 3 (an unnamed *στρατοπεδάρχης* begins persecution by offering the Christian soldiers the choice between apostasy and deprivation: *πλεῖστοι ὅσοι τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας στρατιῶται τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ὁμολογίαν, μὴ μελλήσαντες, τῆς δοκούσης δόξης καὶ εὐπραγίας ἧς εἶχον ἀναμφιλόγως προυτίμησαν*), 4 (*ἤδη δὲ σπανίως τούτων εἴς που καὶ δεύτερος οὐ μόνον τῆς ἀξίας τὴν ἀποβολήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θάνατον τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἐνστάσεως ἀντικατηλλάττοντο*: the devil as yet proceeded as far as death only in the cases of a few—*ἐπ' ἐνίων*). The name of the officer, Veturius, is given in Hieronymus' *Chronicle* (Migne *PG* xix. 581); cf. Harnack *ME* ii. 59 n, and McGiffert, note to Eus. ad loc.

[4] Ruinart 343f: see below, p. 581, and cf. Bigelmair 191.

[5] *Anal. Bolland.* ix. 117 (Typasius, qui jam dignis stipendiis inter commilitaneos militabat), 119 (Maximianus . . . ei honestam missionem cum testimonio totius exercitus dedit), 120 (sicuti omnes cives mei noverunt, inculpate militavi). Cf. Harnack *C* ii. 481f, *ME* ii. 62 n 2, *MC* 83 n 4.

Maximianus at Agaunum, near the Lake of Geneva, is variously referred to 286, 297, or 302 A.D. The evidence for it is late; and the story as it stands is impossible. It may be that the actual martyrdom of a few—conceivably a few hundred—Christian soldiers for refusing to sacrifice underlies the legend: more than that cannot be said.[1] In the year 302 A.D., Diocletianus, being then in the East, was greatly upset by unfavourable omens at sacrifice; and, this being attributed by the chief soothsayer to the presence of Christians, he not only ordered his whole retinue to sacrifice on pain of being scourged, but also wrote to the commanding officers ordering that soldiers should be similarly compelled to sacrifice, and, if they did not obey, dismissed from the service.[2] The following winter, when Galerius was urging him to undertake a general persecution of the Christians, Diocletianus long persisted "that it would be enough if he restrained only those at court and the soldiers from (professing) that religion."[3] When the persecution actually began, soldiers were its first victims.[4] Several accounts of their sufferings are preserved—naturally varying a good deal in historical reliability. Among the fairly reliable martyr-acts are those of the veteran Julius, who was beheaded at Dorostorum in Moesia for refusing to sacrifice: he had served twenty-seven years, had seven times engaged in battle, had fought well, and generally had a good record. Another Christian soldier had apparently been martyred just before him; and, when he went to his death, a third was awaiting sentence.[5] Probably the same locality—possibly, how-

[1] *DCB* iii. 641b–644b; Bigelmair 194–201 (thinks that it was not a legion but a cohort, possibly 500 men, that was called Thebaica, and was martyred: he gives the date as probably 302 A.D.); Harnack *ME* ii. 61 n 1, *MC* 83 ("Legende wie die von der thebaischen Legion gehören vollständig ins Reich der Fabel und sind abzuweisen"); De Jong 17f.

[2] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* x. 1–4.

[3] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xi. 3: see above, p. 558 n 8.

[4] Eus. *HE* viii. i. 7 (cf. iv. 3–5); Epiphanius *Haeres.* lxviii. 2 (Migne *PG* xlii. 185) (of the lapsed οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ στρατιωτῶν ὄντες, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ κληρικῶν ὑπάρχοντες διαφόρου κλήρου, πρεσβυτερίου τε, καὶ διακονίας, κτλ.). Cf. Harnack *MC* 80, 82 ("Der letzte grosse Kampf, der zu dem weltgeschichtlichen Umschwung geführt hat, spitzte sich zu der Frage zu, ob das Heer seinen religiösen Tradition treu bleiben oder durch Duldung des Christentums auf sie verzichten solle").

[5] *Acta Julii* (*Anal. Bolland.* x. 50ff) 2 (Etenim in vana militia quando videbar errare, in annis xxvii numquam tamquam scelestus aut litigiosus oblatus sum iudici. Septies in bello egressus sum, et post neminem retro steti nec alicujus inferior pugnavi. Princeps me non vidit aliquando errare), 4 (Isichius autem quidam, christianus cum esset miles et ipse custodiretur, dicebat sancto martyri: . . . memor esto mei. Nam et ego sequar te. Plurimum etiam saluta, posco, fratrem Valentionem famulum Dei, qui nos jam per bonam confessionem praecessit ad Dominum). Harnack reprints these *Acts* in *MC* 119–121. An older edition of them is in Ruinart 569f. Cf. Harnack *ME* ii.

ever, Campania in Italy—was the scene of the martyrdom of Marcianus and Nicander, who were also slain for refusing to sacrifice.[1] To Moesia, too, belongs the martyrdom of the Christian soldier Dasius for his refusal to join in the dissolute celebrations of the Saturnalia (20 Nov. 303 A.D.).[2] It is perhaps to this persecution that we have to refer the martyrdom at Rome of Nereus and Achilleus, two prætorians, who insisted, like Marcellus, on leaving the service.[3] Tarachus, in Cilicia, obtained his discharge in a lawful manner on the outbreak of persecution, and was subsequently martyred.[4] Ferreolus, a military tribune, was martyred at Vienna in Gaul.[5] Typasius of Mauretania has already been referred to.[6] Theodorus, a young Christian of Tyrus, was forced into the ranks by conscription (306 A.D.), but met his death at Amasea in Pontus for the usual refusal to sacrifice.[7] The martyrdom of Pamphilus at Cæsarea in 309 A.D. was preceded by that of Seleucus, a stalwart Cappadocian, who had held a distinguished position in the army, and at the beginning of the persecution had had to endure scourging, and had then obtained his discharge from the service.[8] Account has further to be taken of the possibility that the suspicions of Diocletianus, to the effect that Christians were at the bottom of the revolt in Melitene and Syria

62 n 1, *MC* 83f, 85 (from these acts "erkennt man, dass es Ausnahmen gewesen sind, wenn christliche Soldaten ihren Christenstand so empfanden, dass ihnen der Dienst im Heere unerträglich wurde"). Lecky says (i. 269): "it is probable that . . . Christianity diminished the insubordination, though it may have also diminished the military fire, of the soldiers." The boasts of Julius agree better with the former, than with the latter, half of this statement.

[1] Ruinart 570–573; Harnack *ME* ii. 62 n 4 ("The Acts are untrustworthy").

[2] *DCB* i. 789b; Harnack *ME* ii. 62 n 5, *MC* 83f n 5; Bigelmair 192f; Workman 183.

[3] See below, p. 587.

[4] Ruinart 451ff; Harnack *C* ii. 479f, *ME* ii. 62 n 3 ("The Acts are late and poor"); *DCB* iv. 781.

[5] Ruinart 489–491; *DCB* ii. 506b.

[6] See above, p. 575.

[7] Ruinart 505–511; *DCB* iv. 956f. It is very difficult to be sure whether any historical foundation underlies the story of the martyrdom of the 'quattuor coronati,' four soldiers who are said to have been flogged to death at Rome for refusing to sacrifice (*DCA* i. 461b; *DCB* iv. 702f; Bigelmair 328–330).

[8] Eus. *Mart.* xi. 20–22.: cf. Harnack *MC* 86. The στρατηγοί of the Phrygian town, the inhabitants of which were martyred en masse (Eus. *HE* viii. xi. 1; see above, p. 560 n 8), can hardly have held military command. At the most, they may have had police duties. It is just possible that Albanus, the proto-martyr of Britain, was martyred about this time and was a soldier (Workman 271 n 3; Harnack *ME* ii. 273 n 1; *DCB* i. 69f). Other soldier martyrs of minor importance and questionable historicity are mentioned by Bigelmair (192–194) and Harnack *MC* 84 n 3). Cf. also Harnack *ME* ii. 219 n 1 for the case of Agapetus, later bishop of Synnada, and Doulcet 180 n and *DCB* iv. 593b for the case of Sebastianus.

in 303 A.D.,[1] were well-founded, and also of the action of the Armenian Christians in taking up arms—and that successfully—in defence of their faith against the efforts of Maximinus Daia to compel them to abandon it.[2]

We may perhaps believe that the armies of Constantius contained a larger proportion of Christians than those of the other Emperors, though in this respect the comparative fewness of Christians in Western as compared with Eastern Europe would partly neutralize the effect of the greater leniency of the Western Emperor. There must have been large numbers of Christians in the armies of Constantinus and Licinius in their campaigns against Maxentius and Maximinus Daia respectively. Eusebius seems to have thought that the whole of the Melitenian Legion had been Christian since 170 A.D.;[3] and he certainly regarded military service as being, like business and family-life, a permissible activity for the Christian layman with his second-grade morality. In contrast to "the perfect form of the Christian life," "the inferior (standard is)," he says, "more human, such as condescends even to pure marriages and procreation of children, and takes charge of (public) administration, (and) gives instructions to those who are rightfully serving as soldiers as to what is to be done, and has a mind for farming and trade and other more civic pursuits, as well as for the religions. For such men there are arranged times for the practice of discipleship and days for the hearing of the Divine words."[4] We know that Pachomius, later famous as a monk, served in the war against Maxentius, and was won to Christianity by the love which some Christian citizens showed to himself and others.[5] The Constantinian troops

[1] Eus. *HE* VIII. vi. 8 (see above, p. 532). Apparently the Melitenian Legion included at least a proportion of Christian soldiers ever since before 170 A.D. (see above, pp. 277f) right on to the time of Constantinus. This is what we might infer from Eusebius, who (*HE* V. v. i) describes the Christian soldiers of 173 A.D., as *τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς* Μελιτηνῆς *οὕτω καλουμένης λεγεῶνος στρατιώτας διὰ πίστεως ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς δεῦρο συνεστώσης*. Should we take *συνεστώσης* as qualifying *λεγεῶνος* (ignoring the absence of the article before it), and translate with Westcott (*TE* 120): "the so-called Melitinian legion, which through faith has continued in existence from that time to the present" (which implies that it contained Christian soldiers throughout the interval), or should we take it as qualifying *πίστεως* and translate with McGiffert: "the so-called Melitene legion, through the faith which has given strength from that time to the present"? I am advised that the former rendering is more likely to be the correct one.

[2] Eus. *HE* IX. viii. 2, 4 (see above, p. 532 n 8).

[3] Eus. *HE* V. v. 1 (see last note but one): "aber man kann ihn auch anders verstehen" (Harnack *MC* 83).

[4] Eus. *DE* I. viii. 30a (i. 49) (written before 313 A.D., for persecution was still raging—cf. IV. xvi. 182d (i. 204) and Harnack *C* ii. 120) (for the Greek, see above, p. 469 n 1).

[5] *Vita Pach.* 4 in Migne *PL* lxxiii. 232f; *DCB* iv. 170b. I cannot find any

were witnesses of the professed adherence of their great leader to the Christian faith just before the battle of the Milvian Bridge, and actually bore in that battle the sign of the cross upon their shields and in their standards : [1] they took their part in the bloodshed of the battle, and doubtless joined in their leader's confident boast that he had conquered by virtue of that same sign.[2] The campaign of Licinius against Daia after his meeting with Constantinus at Mediolanum would enlist Christian sympathy as warmly as that of Constantinus against Maxentius. It was not unnaturally regarded as a direct conflict between Christianity and paganism.[3] Licinius himself prescribed for his soldiers a form of prayer which was monotheistic, if not overtly Christian, in tone.[4] His victory would naturally attract additional Christian favour and support. We do not know how far Christian soldiers were implicated in the terrible massacres, tortures, and murders that marked Licinius' triumph.[5] Later in his reign, between 315 and 322 A.D., Licinius relapsed into paganism, and required the soldiers in the cities to sacrifice on pain of being degraded and dismissed the service.[6]

authority for Harnack's statement (*ME* ii. 63 n 1, *MC* 85) that it was the love shown by Christian *soldiers* that won Pachomius.

[1] Cf. Harnack *ME* ii. 54 : " The public toleration and preferential treatment of the Christian religion began with the affixing of the cross to the colours of the regiments."

[2] Eus. *HE* IX. ix. 1–11, *Vit. Const.* i. 28–31, 37–41, ii. 16, iv. 20f ; Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xliv.

[3] Cf. Eus. *HE* IX. x. 3.

[4] Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xlvi : cf. Harnack *MC* 89f : " . . . Wie verbreitet muss doch die christliche Religion, sei es auch in seltsamen Verdünnungen, im Heere gewesen sein, wenn Licinius dieses Experiment wagen konnte ! "

[5] Eus. *HE* IX. x. 4 (slaughter in battle), xi. 3 (all those of Maximinus' party killed, especially the high officials), 4 (examples), 5f (the hierophant Theotecnus tortured to elicit confession of imposture, and then slain with his companions *μετὰ πλείστας ὅσας αἰκίας*), 7f (the children and relatives of Maximinus Daia slain), *PE* 135cd (Theotecnus and associates confess *διὰ βασάνων αἰκίας*, and are punished) ; Lact. *Mort. Pers.* xlvii. 2 (caedebatur acies eius inpune et tantus numerus legionum, tanta uis militum a paucis metabatur), 3 (. . . iam strata erat ingens multitudo), 4 (. . . at in exercitu pars dimidia prostrata est . . . ), l. 2 (Licinius commands that Valeria, the widow of Galerius, and Candidianus, the son of Galerius by a concubine, should be slain), 3 (Candidianus puts himself into Licinius' hands at Nicomedia : ' in honore haberi uidebatur, nihil tale metuens occisus est '), 4 (Licinius slays Severianus, the son of the late Emperor Severus), 6 (he slays Maximus, the eight-year-old son, and the seven-year-old daughter, of Daia, after throwing their mother into the Orontes), 7 (sic omnes impii uero et iusto iudicio Dei eadem quae fecerant, receperunt), li. (how Valeria and her mother Prisca were caught at Thessalonica, beheaded, and their bodies cast into the sea : ' ita illis pudicitia et condicio exitio fuit ').

[6] Eus. *HE* X. viii. 10, *Vit. Const.* i. 54 (says the same, but only of those who held military commissions in the several cities of the Empire—*τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν στρατιώτας ἡγεμονικῶν ταγμάτων ἀποβάλλεσθαι*). Cf. Harnack *MC* 91 ; De Jong 33f. It is to this period (320 A.D.) that the legend of the forty soldiers martyred at Sebaste in Armenia belongs (Gebhardt 166–181 : cf. *DCB* ii.

The final war between himself and Constantinus was again a war between paganism and Christianity, and terminated in a decisive triumph for the latter.[1]

Before turning to the other side of the picture, or attempting to sum up the final position, a word must be said on the question of *the numbers of Christians in the army* during this period. In the unfortunate absence of any definite statistics, we have to content ourselves with a few vague generalities; and there is consequently need of great caution in drawing conclusions. It is clear that there were more soldiers in the armies at the end than in the middle of the third century, and that Constantinus' accession to power increased the number still further. It is possible that before the persecution there was a larger percentage of Christians in the troops of Constantius than in those of the southern and eastern Emperors, though of this we cannot be sure. It is, doubtless, true that there were 'many' soldiers in the legions of Diocletianus and Galerius round about 300 A.D.; but what does 'many' mean? Figures are, of course, out of our reach; but when we consider that these two Emperors endeavoured to cleanse their whole army of Christians, we cannot imagine that the percentage could have been very high. No sovereign readily deprives himself of a tenth, or even of a twentieth, part of his military power. As we shall see presently, Christian opinion, even at this date, contrary to the usual idea, was still very far from being unanimous as to the propriety of military service for Christians; and some caution is needed in accepting some of the phrases in which the state of affairs is at times described.[2]

Christian Refusal of Military Service.—In enumerating the soldiers who appear as Christians during the last few decades of our period, we have had occasion to mention a number who found that *the idolatrous conditions of the service* rendered it impossible for them to remain in it. Many an officer refused to serve

556f; De Jong l.c.). Geffcken has argued that the forgery of the letter of Marcus Aurelius to the Senate about the Christian soldiers in his army belongs to the time when Licinius was threatening to renew the persecution: see Bigelmair 186 n 1. See also below, p. 591 n 1.

[1] Harnack *MC* 91.

[2] Harnack and Moffatt are on the whole cautious, but are a little inclined to overestimate the evidence. See the remarks of the former on the subject in *MC* 83, 87, and of the latter in *DAC* ii. 669ff. Stories of whole legions being Christian are not historical (see above, pp. 277f, 576 n 1, and 578). Harnack's remark about Licinius' army has already been quoted (previous page, n 4). Cf. Westermarck i. 346 ("the number of Christians enrolled in the army seems not to have been very considerable before the era of Constantine"); De Jong 26 ("slechts dit staat vast, dat de Christenen in het leger nog maar eene kleine minderheid vormden," etc.).

any longer, because he was required to offer sacrifice to the Emperors or to the heathen gods.[1] Sometimes, as in the case of Marinus,[2] the death-sentence was incurred without the question of retirement being raised. Some, like Marcellus the centurion,[3] were sentenced for declaring that they could serve no longer. When Marcellus was sentenced to death, Cassianus, the clerk of the court, loudly protested, and flung his writing materials on the ground, declaring that the sentence was unjust.[4] Others, like Typasius in Mauretania,[5] Tarachus in Cilicia,[6] and Seleucus in Cappadocia,[7] succeeded in securing their discharge. The enforcement of the official regulations even before the great persecution led to the dismissal of many Christians from the army.[8]

But the objection to being implicated in idolatry was far from being the only difficulty that faced the Christian in connection with military service. There can be no doubt that *the humanitarian objection to bloodshed* played a very large part in Christian thought and feeling on the matter. While for many minds it doubtless constituted no difficulty, it was yet for many others a weighty consideration. The evidence on the subject is of two kinds—*the sentiments expressed by Christian authors*, and the records of Christians actually refusing to serve.

Cyprianus, as we have seen, said some very serious things in condemnation of war; but he nowhere—in the writings of his that have come down to us—had occasion to say in so many words whether a Christian might or might not serve in the legions.[9] It would be a nice problem to consider whether on this point—as

[1] Harnack *ME* ii. 54: "The Christian soldier occupied a more perilous position than the ordinary Christian. At any moment his connection with the forbidden sect might occasion summary proceedings against him."

[2] See above, pp. 573f.

[3] See above, p. 575. His *Acta* are printed by Ruinart (343f) and Harnack (*MC* 117–119). Marcellus, on the occasion of the celebration of the Emperor's birthday, cast off his military belt before the standards, and called out: 'Jesu Christo regi aeterno milito.' Then he threw down his vine-staff and arms, and added: 'Ex hoc militare Imperatoribus vestris desisto, et deos vestros ligneos et lapideos adorare contemno, quae sunt idola surda et muta. Si talis est conditio militantium, ut diis et Imperatoribus sacra facere compellantur, ecce projicio vitem et cingulum, renuntio signis, et militare recuso.' Cf. Brace 89; Harnack *ME* ii. 61f n 4, *MC* 84f; Bigelmair 191; Workman 182.

[4] *Passio Cassiani* 1 (Ruinart 345) (exsecrationem sui clara voce contestans, graphium et codicem projecit in terra . . . Respondit beatissimus Cassianus, 'iniquam eum dictasse sententiam'). Cf. *DCB* i. 413b; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 328.

[5] See above, p. 575. Some years after his discharge, he was recalled to the ranks, and was put to death for refusing to re-enter the service.

[6] See above, p. 577. [7] See above, p. 577. [8] See above, pp. 575f.

[9] One of his most explicit statements is in *Bon. Pat.* 14 (adulterium, fraus, homicidium mortale crimen est . . . nec post gestatam eucharistiam manus gladio et cruore maculatur). See above, p. 565 n 1.

in others—he adopted the views of his 'master' Tertullianus, or departed from them. His strong anti-secular bent would rather suggest the former.[1] It is worth mentioning in this connection that Maximilianus, who was martyred in 295 A.D. for refusing to serve, was buried by his friends near Cyprianus' tomb.[2] Arnobius speaks as if abstention from warfare had been the traditional Christian policy ever since the advent of Christ. The amount of war had been diminished, he said, not increased, since Christ came. "For since we—so great a force of men—have received (it) from his teachings and laws that evil ought not to be repaid with evil, that it is preferable to suffer an injury rather than inflict it, to pour out one's own (blood) rather than stain one's hands and conscience with the blood of another, the ungrateful world has now for a long time (enjoyed) a benefit from Christ, inasmuch as through him the madness of ferocity has been softened, and has begun to withhold (its) hostile hands from the blood of a kindred creature. But if absolutely all, who understand that they are men by virtue, not of the form of their bodies, but of the power of their reason, would be willing to give ear for a little to his wholesome and peaceful decrees, and would not, swollen with pride and arrogance, trust to their own senses, rather than to his admonitions, the whole world would long ago have turned the uses of iron to gentler works and be living in the softest tranquillity and would be coming together into wholesome concord, maintaining inviolate the sacred obligations of treaties."[3] Similarly Lactantius: "If God alone were worshipped, there would not be dissensions and wars; for men would know that they are sons of the one God, and so joined together by the sacred and inviolable bond of Divine kinship; there would be no plots, for they would know what sort of punishment God has prepared for those who kill living beings."[4] "Someone will say here: 'What therefore, or where, or of what sort is piety?' Assuredly (it is) among those who are ignorant of wars, who keep concord with all, who are friends even to their enemies, who love all men as their brothers, who know how to

[1] Moffatt (*DAC* ii. 667a) says of Cyprianus that he "admired Tertullian and on this point agreed with him": he also names him (*op. cit.* 657b) as one of "the writers who explicitly oppose war," the others being Origenes and Tertullianus.

[2] See below, pp. 585f, and Ruinart 342 (Et Pompejana matrona corpus ejus de judice eruit, et imposito in dormitorio suo perduxit ad Carthaginem, et sub monticulo juxta Cyprianum Martyrem secus palatium condidit: et ita post XIII. diem eadem matrona discessit, et illic posita est).

[3] Arnob. i. 6.

[4] Lact. *Inst.* v. viii. 6: . . . animarum interfectoribus.

restrain their anger, and to soothe all fury of mind by quiet control." [1] In meeting the argument that a just man is foolish, for, to save his own life, he will not in warfare take a horse away from a wounded man, nor in shipwreck a plank from one who clings to it, Lactantius answers that, for one thing, the just man will never be faced with these circumstances. "For why should he take a voyage, or what should he seek from another man's land—he for whom his own possessions are sufficient? And why should he wage war, and mix himself up in other people's passions—he in whose mind dwells perpetual peace with men? He who knows not how to seek gain, for whom a livelihood is enough, and who regards it as wrong, not only to inflict slaughter himself, but even to be present with those who inflict it and to look on, will forsooth be delighted with foreign merchandise or human blood!" [2] "Undoubtedly this is the reason why he who prefers to be in need or to die rather than to injure another or to take away anything from him, appears (to them) to be foolish—because they think that man is destroyed by death." [3] "When God prohibits killing, He not only forbids us to commit brigandage, which is not allowed even by the public laws, but He warns (us) not to do even those things which are regarded as legal among men. And so it will not be lawful for a just man to serve as a soldier—for justice itself is his military service—nor to accuse any one of a capital offence, because it makes no difference whether thou kill with a sword or with a word, since killing itself is forbidden. And so, in this commandment of God, no exception at all ought to be made (to the rule) that it is always wrong to kill a man, whom God has wished to be (regarded as) a sacrosanct creature." [4] Lactantius does not claim or suggest that there were no Christians in the army; and his language may perhaps be held to imply that he is dissenting from and opposing the opinion of other Christians: but he could hardly have written as he did, if his views were merely those of an inconsiderable handful of extremists. One would rather gather that he must have been conscious of voicing the convictions of a very large proportion—if not a majority—of his fellow-Christians.[5]

[1] Lact. *Inst.* v. x. 10.

[2] Lact. *Inst.* v. xvii. 12f. We need not infer from the amazing feebleness of Lactantius' reasons against taking a sea-voyage that his argument against taking part in war rested on no better foundation.

[3] Lact. *Inst.* v. xviii. 1.

[4] Lact. *Inst.* vi. xx. 15–17 (for the Latin, see above, pp. 527f n 8). "No early Christian is so Tolstoyan in his ethics as Lactantius" (Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 662b).

[5] Lactantius in his old age was appointed by Constantinus tutor to his

If the evidence as to *the actual conduct of Christians* in this matter bulks less largely than such a view of Lactantius' statement would lead us at first sight to expect, this is to be accounted for by the fact that it was a comparatively rare occurrence for any man to be pressed into the army against his will, and that the humanitarian plea would naturally appeal more strongly to Christian civilians than to Christian soldiers, whom long familiarity had inured to the horrors of war. But the evidence, such as it is, is very significant. We have first an indirect witness to the facts in the Neoplatonic philosopher Plotinus. In the first of his two treatises 'On Providence,' written about 268 A.D., he says: "God Himself ought not to fight on behalf of the unwarlike; for the (cosmic) law says that (men) ought to be brought safe out of wars (by) being courageous, but not (by) praying. For (it is) not those who pray, but those who attend to the earth, (that ought to) reap its produce," etc.[1] When we bear in mind the connections of Plotinus with Alexandria and with Ammonius Saccas,[2] the standing hostility of Neoplatonists to Christianity, and the reputation of Origenes in philosophic circles, it does not seem extravagant to suppose that we have here an allusion to the closing chapters of 'Contra Celsum,' and further, an allusion which would be somewhat pointless, unless the views stated and defended in those chapters still represented the views of most Christians, so far as they were known to Plotinus.

Taking next the cases, already referred to, of soldiers giving up the service because they were Christians, we notice that, while refusal to sacrifice and fear of idolatrous contamination are apparently the main reasons put forward, they do not of themselves adequately account for the language used by the men concerned. Thus Marcellus' last words to his judge were: "I threw down (my arms); for it was not seemly that a Christian man, who renders military service to the Lord Christ, should render it (also) by (inflicting) earthly injuries."[3] Tarachus told the governor Maximus at Tarsus

son Crispus, and seems to have acted as such from about 313 to about 316 A.D. (Hieronymus, *Vir. Illustr.*, lxxx.; *DCB* iii. 614a: cf. Guignebert 196 and De Jong 27f). We do not know how he put his views into practice in this delicate and complicated combination of circumstances; but there is no occasion to suspect him either of cowardice or of insincerity or of change of views.

[1] Plotinus, *Ennead*, III. ii. 8. I owe this reference to De Jong (16). For the date of the two treatises on Providence, see Carl Schmidt in *TU(NF)* v. 4 (1901) 71f. This teaching of Plotinus reappears in Machiavelli (Inge, *Outspoken Essays* (*Second Series*), 122).

[2] Cf. *DCB* iv. 99a, 419b.

[3] *Acta Marcelli* 4 (Ruinart 344) (Non enim decebat Christianum hominem molestiis saecularibus militare, qui Christo Domino militat). Similarly

that he had been a soldier; "but because I was a Christian, I have now chosen to be a civilian."[1] The words of Marcellus strongly suggest the usual Christian aversion to bloodshed, and those of Tarachus, though less explicit, point in the same direction. The clearest case, however, is that of Maximilianus, a young Numidian Christian, just over twenty-one years old, who, in 295 A.D. in the reign of Maximianus, was brought before Dion the proconsul of Africa at Teveste as fit for military service.[2] He refused to serve or to accept the soldier's badge, saying repeatedly that he could not do so, because he was a Christian and served Christ.[3] Dion tried again and again to overcome his objections, but without success. It is fairly clear from the martyr's own words that his objection was largely, if not solely, to the business of fighting. The question of sacrificing to idols is not mentioned by either party. "I cannot serve as a soldier," says Maximilianus, "I cannot do evil; I am a Christian."[4] Dion told him: "In the sacred retinue of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus, Constantius and Maximus, there are Christian soldiers, and they serve (as such)." Maximilianus replied: "They know what is fitting for them; but I am a Christian, and I cannot do evil." "What evil do they do who serve?" asked the proconsul. "Thou knowest what they do," was the reply.[5]

*Passio Cassiani* 1 (Ruinart 345) (cum Marcellus . . . Christi se militem esse proclamaret, summa auctoritate constantiae molestiis saecularibus militare non posse, etc.). Cf. Harnack *ME* ii. 62 n ("When on trial, he added that it was unbecoming for a Christian, who served his captain Christ, to serve in secular engagements") and B.-Baker *ICW* 30 ("having become a Christian and believing that war was not permitted by his faith," etc.). The date of Marcellus' martyrdom is given as 298 A.D.

[1] *Acta Tarachi* etc. 1 (Ruinart 452) (. . . διὰ δὲ τὸ Χριστιανόν με εἶναι, νῦν παγανεύειν ἠρετησάμην). Cf. Harnack *ME* ii. 62 n 3 (his case is omitted in *MC*). For the meaning of παγανεύειν ('to appear in ordinary dress'—Sophocles), cf. above, p. 569 n 4.

[2] De Jong prefixes to his version of the *Acts of Maximilianus* an interesting account of the method of conscription then in force (19f).

[3] *Acta Maximiliani* 1 (Ruinart 340f) (Mihi non licet militare, quia Christianus sum . . . Non possum militare; non possum malefacere. Christianus sum), 2 (Non milito . . . non milito saeculo; sed milito Deo meo . . . Non accipio signaculum. Jam habeo signum Christi Dei mei . . . Non accipio signaculum saeculi; et si signaveris, rumpo illud, quia nihil valet. Ego Christianus sum, non licet mihi plumbum collo portare, post signum salutare Domini mei Jesu Christi . . . Non possum militare . . . Militia mea ad Dominum meum est. Non possum saeculo militare. Jam dixi, Christianus sum).

[4] *Acta Maximiliani* 1 (see last note).

[5] *Acta Maximiliani* 2 ( . . . Maximilianus respondit: Ipsi sciunt quod ipsis expediat. Ego tamen Christianus sum, et non possum mala facere. Dion dixit: Qui militant quae mala faciunt? Maximilianus respondit: Tu enim scis quae faciunt). This last question and answer, Ruinart tells us (341 n 12), are absent 'in editis,' the reason for the omission apparently being that the words clearly run counter to the traditional Roman

If the conclusion that we have drawn from these words be correct, it strengthens the corresponding supposition in the cases of Marcellus and Tarachus; and the fact that the stand made by Maximilianus was heartily approved by his own father[1] and the other Christians of his circle, among whom the story was almost immediately committed to writing, and the further fact that he was received among the saints of the Church,[2] indicate what a large measure of sympathy he evoked among the Christians of his own and the immediately succeeding period.[3] There are, as far as I

Catholic view of war. Ruinart himself inserts the passage, but adds in regard to it: 'ex qua tamen posse colligi videtur, Maximilianum militiam non respuisse, quasi per sese mala esset, sed ob occasiones peccandi, quas frequenter milites experiuntur.' The negative side of this statement is rightly challenged by De Jong (25: "O. i. echter kunnen de bedoelde woorden minstens even goed op het bloedvergieten slaan," etc.). As another sample of the truly amazing blindness of many modern scholars to the acute moral problem with which the early Christian recruit was faced, we may take Doulcet (181). After quoting the conversation detailed in this note, about Christians in the army doing evil, Doulcet comments: "Ils pouvaient être exposés à sacrifier aux idoles," etc., and a little later, turning as it were a closed eye to the microscope, he adds: "et d'ailleurs nous ignorons si des raisons légitimes ne justifiaient pas l'attitude du jeune homme dans cette circonstance particulière." Bigelmair, in his otherwise full account of Christians in the army, does not, so far as I can see, mention Maximilianus at all: he is, of course, an awkward saint for a Roman Catholic to deal with.

[1] Maximilianus' father, Fabius Victor, is one of the problems of the story. On the one hand, he is himself a 'temonarius,' i.e. he is in some way responsible for finding a recruit (cf. De Jong 19ff: Ducange gives, as the meaning of 'temonarii,' 'qui pretium, pecuniamque vice tironum exigebant, quippe ad praebitionem tironum provinciales tenebantur'), and he evidently expected his son to enlist, for he had got him a new coat to wear as a soldier (*Acta* 3: vestem meam novam, quam mihi ad militiam praeparaveras)—possibly he was himself a 'veteranus' (Harnack [*MC* 84] goes beyond the evidence in taking this for granted—the 'temonarius' apparently was not necessarily a soldier himself (De Jong 21): equally unproven, I think, is the statement [Harnack *MC* 85] that Fabius Victor remained in the army after his son's death). On the other hand, he refused to persuade his son to give way, saying: 'Ipse scit, habet consilium suum, quid illi expediat,' and, after the execution, returned home joyfully, soon afterwards apparently to be martyred himself (Pater autem ejus Victor regressus est domui suae cum gaudio magno, gratias agens Deo, quod tale munus Domino praemisit, ipse postmodum secuturus).

[2] De Jong 26 n 1.

[3] The proconsul asked Maximilianus, in regard to his refusal to serve: 'Quis tibi hoc persuasit?' and the youth replied: 'Animus meus, et is qui me vocavit.' Dr. Moffatt (*DAC* ii. 664b) quotes this in support of his statement that "the recalcitrant recruit declares that no one had instigated him," and seems to regard it as indicating the rarity of such anti-military convictions (cf. Doulcet 181: "le proconsul lui-même indique qu'il avait peu d'imitateurs"). But the words cannot be made to bear any such construction. Maximilianus simply meant that he took upon himself the full responsibility for what he was doing, not that his fellow-Christians disagreed with him; and naturally he preferred not to report the names of his like-minded co-religionists to the proconsul.

The *Acts of Maximilianus* are printed by Ruinart (340–342) and reprinted from him by Harnack (*MC* 114–117). The great *Acta Sanctorum* (Mar. 12)

know, no grounds for supposing that Maximilianus had come specially under the influence of Tertullianus—beyond the fact that they were both Africans—or that Christians who refused to serve belonged for the most part to Montanistic sects.[1] It is probably true that such instances were sufficiently numerous to have helped to bring about that imperial suspicion and dislike, out of which the great persecution sprang.[2] Reference will be made shortly to the various Church-Orders in vogue, probably in Egypt and Syria, perhaps even in Italy as well, during this period, in which Christians were stringently forbidden to become soldiers, and converted soldiers were forbidden to shed blood. In this connection, it is worth while mentioning that Pope Damasus (366–384 A.D.), who took a great interest in the records and tombs of the martyrs, put up an epitaph to two prætorian soldiers, Nereus and Achilleus, who "suddenly laid aside (their) madness, turned round and fled; they leave the impious camp of (their) general, cast down (their) shields, helmets, and bloodstained weapons; they confess, and bear (along) with joy the triumph of Christ": they were put to death with the sword. Uncertain as we are of the date of their martyrdom, the most reasonable supposition is that it fell in or shortly before the time of the persecution of Diocletianus—a supposition which is confirmed by the analogy of the various other cases of a similar kind which we have just noticed. The references to the "impious camp" and the "bloodstained weapons" remind us both of the offence of idolatry and also of that of bloodshed.[3]

seem to omit them on the ground of obscurity. De Jong (21–25) gives a Dutch version. On their genuineness, cf. Gibbon ii. 120 n 146; Harnack *C* ii. 473, *MC* 84 n 2; De Jong 21. The story has often been referred to: e.g. Gibbon ii. 120; Neander, *Church History* (ET), i. 202f; Lecky ii. 248; Doulcet 179–181; Brace 89; B.-Baker *ICW* 30; Harnack *ME* ii. 61 n 3, *MC* 84f; Workman 185f; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 328. Bigelmair, as I have said, ignores it.

[1] As Guignebert (199) suggests.

[2] Cf. Gibbon ii. 120f; Lecky i. 460; Gwatkin *ECH* ii. 328f.

[3] See Achelis in *TU* xi. 2 for a full study of the fictitious *Acta* of these martyrs, as well as of the historic groundwork. The epitaph reads:

Militiae nomen dederant saevumQ. gerebant
Officium pariter spectantes jussA TYrrani
Praeceptis pulsante metu serviRE PARati
Mira fides verum subito posueRE FVROREm
Conversi fugiunt ducis impia castrA RELINQVVNT
PROiciunt clypeos faleras telAQ CRVENTA
CONFEssi gaudent Christi portarE TRIVMFOS
CREDITe per Damasum possit quid GLORIA CHRISTI.

The capitals represent the letters still extant in the catacombs: the rest of the epitaph is known from manuscripts. Achelis says (44): "Damasus wusste demnach, dass Nereus und Achilleus Soldaten, und zwar Prätorianer waren, dass sie ihres christlichen Glaubens wegen sich zur Desertion genötigt sahen, und demzufolge Märtyrer oder Confessoren wurden. . . . Vor allem über den Zeitpunkt ihres Martyriums bleiben wir im Unklaren." Cf. also 45:

THE FINAL SITUATION.[1]—It is generally thought that, with the accession of Constantinus to power, the Church as a whole definitely gave up her anti-military leanings, abandoned all her scruples, finally adopted the imperial point of view, and treated the ethical problem involved as a closed question.[2] Allowing for a little exaggeration, this is broadly speaking true. The sign of that cross, to which Jesus had been led by his refusal to sanction or to lead a patriotic war, and on which he had died for the salvation of men, was now an imperial military emblem, bringing good fortune and victory. The supposed nails of the cross, which the Emperor's mother found and sent to him, he had made into bridle-bits and a helmet, which he used in his military expeditions.[3] In 314 A.D. the Synod of Arelate enacted a Canon, which, if it did not, as many suppose, threaten with excommunication Christian soldiers who insisted on quitting the army, at least left military service perfectly free and open to Christians.[4] Athanasius, 'the father of orthodoxy,'

also Harnack *MC* 83 ("Die Akten des Nereus und Achilleus . . . sind bei Seite zu lassen"—but this need not apply to the epitaph); Bigelmair 184f; Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 668b. Doulcet (42–44) puts them in the time of Nero.

[1] Cf. Cadoux *ECAW* 244–265.

[2] Bigelmair 201 ("Die konstantinische Zeit hat . . . den Rigorismus beseitigt und einer andern Stimmung Raum gegeben"); Harnack *MC* 44, 45 ("Die 'milites Christi' stellten sich den Kaisern zur Verfügung"), 87 ("Der Christengott hatte sich als Kriegs- und Siegesgott offenbart!"), 91 ("Nach diesem Siege" [i.e. of Constantinus over Licinius in 323 A.D.] "wurde auch im Orient die vollkommene Konkordanz von Heer und christlicher Religion hergestellt, welche im Occident bereits bestand"), 92 ("Dem Kaiser, der sie" [i.e. the Church] "begehrte, warf sie sich in die Arme," u.s.w.); De Jong 28 ("De gangbare opvattung is, dat de zegepraal van Constantijn ook op de houding der Christenen tegenover den militairen stand van beslissenden invloed zou zijn geweest").

[3] Socrates, *Eccles. Hist.* i. 17.

[4] *Can. Arel.* 3 (De his qui arma projiciunt in pace, placuit abstineri eos a communione). The difficulty in the way of the more obvious interpretation—which, however, is adopted by Dale (238f, 281), Doulcet (185: "l'Église condamne et frappe les lâches qui abandonnent les aigles romains"!), and Harnack (*MC* 87–89: ". . . Die Kirche machte mit dem Kaiser gemeinsame Sache, um die Soldaten bei der Fahne zu halten")—consists firstly in the words 'in pace,' and secondly the occurrence of numerous later events inconsistent with this interpretation. The ordinary meaning of 'in pace' is very difficult here. Why 'in peace,' only? Dale follows some earlier scholars in thinking that 'in peace' only was specified, because in time of war "the offender would receive an instant punishment, relieving the Church of all responsibility" (239; cf. 281). Others explain the words as referring to the peace now existing between Church and Empire (so, e.g., Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 670f). The second difficulty is not easily surmounted; for in later years we find several highly reputed saints both in eastern and western Christendom giving up military service, e.g. Martinus of Tours (cf. De Jong 37–42, 54). An alternative interpretation is to understand the Canon as forbidding Christians to take part in gladiatorial games, 'arma projicere' being equivalent to 'arma conjicere in alium.' This agrees better with the subjects dealt with in *Canons* 4f (charioteers and actors). The force of 'in pace' would then

declared that it was not only lawful, but praiseworthy, to kill enemies in war. Ambrosius spoke similarly, if less baldly; while Augustinus defended the same position with detailed arguments.[1] In 416 A.D. non-Christians were forbidden to serve in the army.[2]

Historians have not failed to notice, and in some cases to deplore, the immense compromise to which the Church was now committed.[3] But while the greatness and importance of this historic decision are not to be doubted, we must be careful not to imagine that the capitulation was more complete or decisive than was

be: 'when there is no need to use weapons.' On this theory the *Canon* implicitly permits Christians to use weapons in war-time, in other words to be soldiers (so Hefele 186; Bigelmair 182; and, fully and strongly, De Jong 28ff). How far the decisions of this Synod were supposed to have universal validity seems open to question (Hefele 182; De Jong 28 n). About 346 A.D. we find an Egyptian pastor interceding with a Christian officer Abinnæus for the pardon of a (? Christian) soldier who had deserted (Deissmann *LVO* 183–188).

[1] For Athanasius, see Migne *PG* xxvi. 1173; for Ambrosius, Migne *PL* xv. 1580, xvi. 61 (the passages are quoted in extenso in English by Cadoux in *ECAW* 257); for Augustinus, Migne *PL* xxxiii. 186f, 531f, 854f, xlii. 444ff. See also De Jong 50–54, where quotations and references are given. For Augustinus, cf. also Bigelmair 201; Westermarck i. 347; Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 672. Athanasius, however, attributed war to the machinations of demons, and spoke of the peaceful effect of Christianity on warlike barbarians (see the passage quoted from *De Incarnatione* 50–53 by Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 667 n).

[2] Bigelmair 201 (quotes *Codex Theodos.* xvi. x. 21 and adds: "Damit ist der Kampf beendigt"); cf. 172f.

[3] Milman *HC* ii. 287: ("And so for the first time the meek and peaceful Jesus became a God of battle, and the cross, the holy sign of Christian redemption, a banner of bloody strife"), 288 ("This irreconcileable incongruity between the symbol of universal peace and the horrors of war, in my judgement, is conclusive against the miraculous or supernatural character of the transaction," viz. Constantinus' vision. Milman adds in a footnote: "I was agreeably surprised to find that Mosheim concurred in these sentiments, for which I will readily encounter the charge of Quakerism." Then follows a quotation from Mosheim. The text above continues: "Yet the admission of Christianity, not merely as a controlling power, and the most effectual auxiliary of civil government (an office not unbecoming its divine origin), but as the animating principle of barbarous warfare, argues at once the commanding influence which it had obtained over the human mind, as well as its degeneracy from its pure and spiritual origin"); Lecky ii. 250 ("When a cross was said to have appeared miraculously to Constantine, . . . when the nails of the cross . . . were converted by the emperor into a helmet, and into bits for his war-horse, it was evident that a great change was passing over the once pacific spirit of the Church"); Bigelmair 8 ("Es war ein weiter Weg von dem Kreuze, zu dessen Füssen dereinst römische Soldaten das Los über das Gewand des jüdischen 'Volksverführers' geworfen, bis zu dem Kreuze, das als Feldzeichen den römischen Legionen voranschwebte"). Dr. Moffatt, however (*DAC* ii. 667b), considers it a fortunate thing that the views of the extremists failed, apparently on the ground that the victory of the Church in the fourth century and her alliance with Constantinus would not have been possible otherwise. But the 'triumph' of the Church, in the form of her alliance with the Emperor, was not an unmixed blessing, whereas her survival cannot be shown to have been dependent on military resistance or conquest: see below, pp. 614f. Cf. J. H. Newman's defence of the militarization of the Cross in his *Essay on Development*, 431.

actually the case. An important piece of evidence in this connection is the existence of the various Church-Orders. Unfortunately we know very little about the literary history of these regulations and the extent to which they were observed in the Church. Their requirements on this particular question have already been fully quoted,[1] and need not be repeated in full here. It may be observed, however, that the 'Testament of our Lord,' which forbids a soldier to be baptized unless he leaves the service, and forbids a Christian to become a soldier on pain of excommunication, was compiled in Asia Minor (or possibly Syria) not earlier than the middle of the fourth century.[2] The 'Egyptian Church-Order,' which lays down the same ruling, with the modification that, if a soldier has been received into membership and is commanded to kill, he is not to do it, and if he does he is to be rejected, is usually thought to belong to the first half of the fourth century.[3] The 'Canons of Hippolytus,' in their present form, introduce further relaxations, but are of very uncertain—probably still later—date. The 'Apostolic Constitutions,' in which the old stringency is unmistakably abandoned, are not earlier than the last quarter of the fourth century.[4] The existence of these Church-Orders is conclusive proof that, in large sections of the Christian community, the decision taken by official Christendom, as seen for instance in the 'Canons' of the Synod of Arelate, was not accepted.[5] Testimony is borne to the same effect from several other quarters. The 'Disputation of Archelaus with Manes,' a composition belonging probably to the second quarter of the fourth century, opens with an episode, one feature of which is the rejection of the military belt by a large number of soldiers at Carchar in Mesopotamia, on being converted to Christianity through the generosity of a certain Marcellus, who ransomed a crowd of captives from them.[6] Then

[1] See above, pp. 430–433. [2] Cooper and Maclean 41–45.

[3] Some carry it back to the time of Hippolytus; but, even so, it was regarded as authoritative long after his date: see above, pp. 288ff, 460.

[4] Funk *DCAp* I. xix. ('Mihi plura argumenta probare videntur, eam non prius quam circa annum 400 confectam esse. . . . Omnes autem eam saeculo IV medio posteriorem esse agnoscunt'); Maclean 97, 146, 149 (latter half of 4th cent.); R. W. Stewart in *DAC* i. 85a ("the 4th or early in the 5th century").

[5] On the Church-Orders, cf. Bigelmair 133, 171, 172 ("Zeit und Umstände haben ihr Recht gefordert"—à propos of the relaxation), 173 ("Derartigen Kirchenordnungen kam keine allgemein verpflichtende Kraft zu; aber sie prägen klar und deutlich die Stimmung aus, die weite Kreise beherrschten"); De Jong 39. For Dr. Moffatt's treatment of the Church-Orders in *DAC* ii. 671, see above, pp. 430f n 3.

[6] *Acta Archelai* (Routh v. 37f) (The soldiers were so struck 'ut plurimi ex ipsis adderentur ad fidem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, derelicto militiae cingulo; alii vero, vix quarta pretiorum portione suscepta,' etc.). These *Acts* are

we have the martyrdom of Theogenes of Phrygia, under Licinius, for refusing—exactly in the manner of Maximilianus—to allow himself to be enrolled in the legions, despite the existence and presence of other Christian soldiers ;[1] the sudden decision of the revered Martinus of Tours to leave the army the day before a battle (he met the taunt of cowardice by offering to stand unarmed in front of the ranks) ;[2] the similar step taken later by his friend, Victricius, afterwards archbishop of Rouen ;[3] the letter of Paulinus of Nola (about 400 A.D.), persuading a friend to do the same ;[4] the strictures passed by Gregorius of Nazianzus and by Chrysostomus on the military character ; and lastly, the opinion of Basilius that those who had shed blood in war should abstain from communion for three years.[5] It would carry us beyond the scope of our subject to go further in this direction ; but enough has been said to show that the decision to which the leaders and the majority were committed by the patronage of Constantinus was very far from winning the immediate and unanimous assent of Christendom. It is evident that in many quarters the settlement was accepted only gradually and with an uneasy conscience.[6] It was in the nature

dated between 325 and 347 A.D. by Harnack (*C* ii. 163f), and in the first half of the fourth century by Bardenhewer (268). We need not imagine that the story is historically true, but, as Harnack says (*MC* 84 n ; cf. *ME* ii. 63 n 1), it is " doch nicht wertlos."

[1] His *Acta* are quoted at length from the *Acta Sanctorum* (Jan. 3) by De Jong 34–38. Baronius (*Martyrologium Romanorum*, Jan 2, with note e) records the martyrdom (at Tomi on the Black Sea) of Marcellinus, a youth of about seventeen, executed by Licinius, as Baronius says, " non odio militiae . . . sed quod . . . Licinius suos milites litare praecepisset." Whether that was the only reason in this case we do not know. Licinius did persecute his Christian soldiers. Those who left his service permanently were indulgently treated by Constantinus (Eus. *Vit. Const.* ii. 33), those who left and then rejoined him were penalized by the Council of Nicaea, as if they were ' lapsi ' (*Can. Nicaen.* 12 in Hefele 417–419 : cf. Harnack *MC* 91f).

[2] *DCB* iii. 839b ; De Jong 40–42. De Jong also draws attention (48f) to the fact that the popularity of the Emperor Julianus (361–363 A.D.) with the army and the support it gave him in his reaction to paganism presuppose a comparatively small proportion of Christians in it.

[3] *DCB* iv. 1140b (" He . . . quitted military service for conscience' sake, a desertion which entailed such maltreatment as nearly lost him his life ") ; De Jong 42–46 (45 : Victricius' motive, in part at least, was " de afkeer van bloedvergieten "—arma sanguinis abiecisti).

[4] Migne *PL* lxi. 300ff. The letter is quoted by De Jong 47f.

[5] For Greg. Naz. see Migne *PG* xxxv. 608f ; for Chrysostomus, Migne *PG* lviii. 590f ; for Basilius (*Epist.* clxxxviii. 13), Migne *PG* xxxii. 681. Cf. De Jong 38–40.

[6] The sense of the incongruity between Christianity and political and military life survived also in the fourth and subsequent centuries in the strongly felt and strongly expressed disapproval of the participation of the Christian *clergy* in any activities of this kind, particularly the bearing of arms. See above, pp. 537f : also Eus. *DE* i. viii. 29b–30b (i. 48–50) (quoted above, p. 469 n 1 and p. 578) ; *Apostolic Canons* 81 (Hefele 489f : ? fourth century) (Εἴπομεν, ὅτι οὐ χρῆ ἐπίσκοπον ἢ πρεσβύτερον καθιέναι ἑαυτὸν εἰς δημοσίας διοικήσεις,

of the case that this should be so. For the settlement was itself the result, not of any attempt to solve the ethical problem on its merits, but of a more or less fortuitous combination of circumstances. During the period when the conditions of life in the Empire and the Church relieved all but a very few of the need of making a personal decision which involved any conflict with the State, with the result that the problem in its different bearings dawned on the Christian mind only fragmentarily and by slow degrees—during that period, I say, the simple-mindedness of some, the worldliness of others,[1] and the charitable tolerance (not necessarily the approval) of the rest, were already silently determining what the result was to be. The consequence was that, when the events of the years following 313 A.D. suddenly called upon the Church to come down definitely on one side of the fence or the other, she found that a free decision was no longer open to her. Her joy at the deliverance Constantinus had wrought for her was so great that it put her off her guard. She found herself compelled by the eagerness with which she had welcomed him, and by her own immaturity of thought and inconsistency of practice, to make his standards of righteousness in certain respects her own. Henceforth it was out of the question for her to insist on an ethical view and practice, on which her own mind was not clearly made up, and which her great protector would naturally regard as dangerous disloyalty to himself. Official Christianity was now committed to the sanction of war—so far as the practical conduct of Christian men as citizens was concerned—whenever the State chose to wage it. Further than that, the decision not only settled the practical question for the moment and doomed the dissentient voices—many as they still were—to ultimate silence, but it tied up the freedom of Christian thought, and made any unfettered discussion of the problem on its merits next to impossible for centuries to come.

GLADIATORIAL AND OTHER SHOWS.—Several reasons were given by leading Christian teachers why Christians should not frequent

ἀλλὰ προσευκαιρεῖν ταῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς χρείαις· ἢ πειθέσθω οὖν τοῦτο μὴ ποιεῖν ἢ καθαιρείσθω· οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν, κατὰ τὴν κυριακὴν παρακέλευσιν), 83 (Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος στρατείᾳ σχολάζων καὶ βουλόμενος ἀμφότερα κατέχειν, Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἱερατικὴν διοίκησιν, καθαιρείσθω· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Θεῷ); P. Onslow in *DCA* ii. 1183f; J. B. Mullinger in *DCA* ii. 2030; Moffatt in *DAC* ii. 672b n; Cadoux in *The Ministry of Reconciliation* (1916), 44f.

[1] De Jong 26 ("de toenemende verwereldlijking van 't Christendom had natuurlijk ook het aantal Christen-soldaten doen toenemen"): cf. Isaac Taylor, *Spiritual Despotism*, 57 ("In the next age learned theologians may be seen wasting their oil in confirming from scripture, practices of which knaves were the inventors"),

any of the public amusements of the pagans: but the wanton bloodshed of the gladiatorial games was the chief count in the case of one very popular class of exhibition. The common feature of manslaughter connected warfare and the amphitheatre closely in Christian minds.

Taking first *the criticisms of Christian authors* in regard to these shows—Novatianus, after mentioning the occasional occurrence of a human sacrifice at the games, proceeds: "Amid the pleasures of the spectators, the death of some men is asked for, so that, by means of the bloody spectacle, savagery may be learned, as if a man's own private frenzy were too little for him, unless he learn it also in public. A mad wild-beast is nourished with delicacies for the punishment of a man, so that he may rage the more cruelly under the spectators' eyes. The trainer teaches the brute, which would perhaps be too mild if a master more cruel (than itself) had not taught it to be savage."[1] Arnobius asks: "Did (God) send souls for this, that those (souls), which had long been mild and had not known (what it was) to be moved by feelings of ferocity, should make for themselves shambles and amphitheatres, places of blood and public impiety, in one of which they should see men devoured and torn to pieces by animals (and should see) themselves kill others, not because of any desert (on their part) but to gratify and please spectators, and should spend in general rejoicing and consecrate with festal hilarity those very days on which such great wrong was committed; and in the other (of which) they should tear asunder the entrails of wretched animals . . . ?"[2] "What," asks Lactantius, "can the robber or gladiator ask for when sacrificing, except that they may kill?"[3] Speaking of the philosophers, he says: "When they have eloquently exhorted us to despise earthly things, and urged us to gaze heavenwards, yet they (themselves) do not despise these public spectacles. And so they delight in them, and attend them freely: but since the (shows) are the greatest incitements to vicious acts and have a most powerful tendency to corrupt (our) minds, they ought to be taken away from (? or, by) us: for not only do they contribute nothing to a happy life, but they are also very injurious. For he who reckons it a pleasure that a man, even though deservedly condemned, should be slain in his sight, defiles his own conscience, just as if he looked on at and took part in an act of homicide committed secretly. And yet they call these (shows) in which human blood is shed, 'games.' Thus far has humanity departed from men, that when they destroy

[1] Novat. *Spect.* 5. [2] Arnob. ii. 41. [3] Lact. *Inst.* v. xix. 31.

the lives of men, they think they are at play, (while they are) greater offenders than all those (the shedding of) whose blood they regard as a pleasure. Now I ask whether they can be pious and just men who, (when they see) men placed beneath the stroke of death and begging for mercy, not only allow (them) to be killed, but demand it, and give cruel and inhuman votes for (their) death, and are not satisfied with (their) wounds nor content with (their) blood. Moreover, they order them, when smitten and prostrate, to be attacked again and their corpses to be destroyed by blows, lest any one should delude them by feigning death. They are angry too with the fighters, if one of the two is not speedily killed, and they hate delay, as if they are athirst for human blood. They demand that other fresher combatants should be given to them, so that they may satisfy their eyes as soon as possible. Imbued with this practice, they have lost their humanity. And so they do not even spare the innocent: but they practise upon all what they have learnt in the slaughter of the wicked. It is not befitting, therefore, that those, who are striving to hold (to) the way of justice, should be accomplices and participators in this public homicide.[1] . . . If, therefore, it is nowise lawful to commit homicide, it is not granted (to us) to be present at all (at gladiatorial shows), lest any blood(shed) should permeate the conscience, seeing that that blood(shed) is exhibited to the people." [2]

The public shows, both gladiatorial and athletic, were also condemned on account of the waste of money,[3] the idolatry, the idleness, and the obscenity,[4] which they involved. Arnobius derides the shows, including the dramatic performances in the theatre, as occasions on which the pagans insulted their gods, or else foolishly thought to entertain them.[5] Lactantius attacks the indecency of the stage, and the foolish excitement and idolatrous character of the chariot-races.[6]

Turning now to *the practice of Christian people*, while it is evident that some did attend the theatres and amphitheatres for their amusement, such pleasure-seeking was very widely regarded as culpable laxity; and the stricter and more consistent Christians

[1] Lact. *Inst.* VI. xx. 8–15.
[2] Lact. *Inst.* VI. xx. 26. Cf. Commod. *Carm.* 209f (Agonia inmittit [sc. diabolus], spectaculis ire cruentis Aut nimis obscenis, inpudica nosse pudicis).
[3] Lact. *Inst.* VI. xi. 22, xii. 15, 19f, 39f.
[4] Novat. *Spect.* 2–5; Commod. *Carm.* 209f (see note 2 above); Arnob. vii. 33.
[5] Arnob. iv. 35f, vii. 33, 36.
[6] Lact. *Inst.* VI. xx. 27–36, xxi. 1f.

insisted that the faithful should keep away from them altogether.[1] Nor was it tolerated that a Christian should take part in such shows as a performer. Our sources are unanimous on that point. In the case of a converted actor, who wished to continue in his calling and to instruct boys in the histrionic art, Cyprianus laid down the law very emphatically: the man was not to be allowed to communicate with the Christians until he had given up his trade. If poverty was the cause of his wishing to carry it on, he was to receive a small allowance from the church-funds.[2] Christians condemned in the persecution to undergo a boxing contest, went on hunger-strike, and refused to submit themselves to the necessary training.[3] The 'Canons of Hippolytus' and the 'Egyptian Church-Order,' which represent the practice at least of Syrian and Egyptian Christianity, possibly that of Italy also, during our period, definitely forbid an actor, charioteer, or gladiator to be admitted to the Church.[4] The western Synods of Illiberis and Arelate at the close of our period lay down similar rules.[5] Those enacted by the latter reveal the fact that there were Christians who had actually taken part in chariot-races and dramatic performances.

While on the part of serious-minded Christians, attendance at or participation in the public shows seems to have been definitely and unanimously discountenanced, yet no objection seems to have been felt to using metaphors drawn from the world of athletics to describe the experiences of the Christian life.[6] This fact is interesting as serving to show how little the use of illustrative metaphors can be taken as a guide to the views of those who use them in regard to the rightness or wrongness of that from which they draw them.

[1] Novat. *Spect.* passim; Commod. *Instr.* ii. 16

(Cum caterua Mali pergis ad spectacula uana,
Ubi a Satana fragoribus pompa paratur.
Licere persuades tibi, quodcunque placebit . . .
Indisciplinate quod libet licere praesumis,
Et choros historicos (? histronicos) et cantica musica quaeris,
Nec tali subolem insanire licentia curas).

Cf. *Didasc.* ii. lx. 2, lxi. 1f, lxii.; *Clem. Hom.* iv. 19 (*φευκτέον δὴ τοὺς τοιούτους μύθους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ θέατρα καὶ τὰ βιβλία*).

[2] Cypr. *Ep.* 2 (60).

[3] Eus. *Mart.* vii. 4, viii. 2f.

[4] See above, p. 442 n 3.

[5] *Can. Illib.* 62 (Si auriga aut pantomimus credere voluerit, placuit ut prius artibus suis renuntient et tunc demum suscipiantur, ita ut ulterius ad ea non revertantur: qui si facere contra interdictum tentaverint, proiciantur ab ecclesia); *Can. Arel.* 3 (see above, pp. 588f n 4), 4 (Ut aurigae dum agitant excommunicentur. De agitatoribus qui fideles sunt, placuit eos quamdiu agitant a communione separari), 5 (De theatricis, et ipsos placuit quamdiu agunt a communione separari). See also above, p. 503 n 4, 5, p. 504 n 1 for *Can. Illib.* 2, 3, 55.

[6] Cypr. *Zel. Liv.* 16, *Fort.* pref. 2; Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 16.

The tendency to draw fallacious practical inferences from such metaphors certainly existed as long ago as the times with which we are dealing; and Novatianus found occasion to controvert it. He tells us of Christians who justified themselves for attending the games, not only from the fact that it is not forbidden in Scripture and on the ground of certain fanciful scriptural analogies (such as David dancing before the ark and Elijah being the charioteer of Israel!), but also on the plea that "the apostle also in his struggle puts before (us) the contest of the cæstus and of our wrestle against the spiritual things of wickedness. Again, when he takes examples from the stadium, he also brings in the reward of the crown. Why, therefore, should it not be lawful for the Christian believer to look at what it was lawful to write in the Divine letters?" The author proceeds to urge quite rightly that this was an utterly illegitimate use of Scripture. The illustrations were given to incite us to be as zealous in regard to real spiritual benefits as the heathen are in regard to things of no advantage.[1]

The accession of a Christian Emperor to supreme power did not mean an immediate or even a speedy abolition of the gladiatorial shows. Constantinus himself had exposed great numbers of barbarian prisoners to wild beasts in the amphitheatre; but this was apparently in his earlier years. An edict forbidding gladiatorial games was issued at Berytus in 325 A.D.; but it certainly was not enforced in Italy, and may have been applicable to Phœnicia only. No gladiatorial games were ever allowed in Constantinopolis, chariot-races becoming there the great source of public amusement. It was not till 404 A.D. that gladiatorial shows were suppressed at Rome.[2]

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE INSTITUTIONS OF FAMILY-LIFE, PROPERTY, AND SLAVERY

FAMILY-LIFE.—In regard to *the position of women*, it is to be noticed that Christianity—in contrast to Mithraism, which reached its

[1] Novat. *Spect.* 2; cf 3.

[2] Lecky ii. 35ff; *DCB* i. 637a, 643b; Westcott *TE* 218f. On the attitude of Christians generally during this period towards the public shows and amusements of pagans, cf. Bigelmair 279–293.

climax about the commencement of our period, and was a religion for men only[1]—set no religious value on the distinction of sex. It was the frequent boast of Christian writers that their faith had given moral and spiritual renewal, and a fortitude that could defy the severest tortures, to men and women alike, not to mention children and slaves.[2] Women filled an important and recognized place in the life of the Christian community: but the association between Christians of opposite sexes had to be carefully guarded in certain places by such restrictions as would remove temptation from the parties themselves, as well as save the Church from scandal;[3] and the ecclesiastical duties which women were allowed to perform were still confined within certain strict limits.[4]

*Celibacy and virginity* were still looked upon as indicating a higher stage of perfection than married life.[5] At the same time, *marriage* was generally regarded as Divinely sanctioned and honourable:[6] but the purity of the marriage-bed was strongly insisted

[1] Scullard 114, 116.

[2] Cypr. *Ep.* 69 (75) 14, 6 (80) 3, *Laps.* 2; Arnob. ii. 5, 64; Lact. *Inst.* III. xxv.; Eus. *PE* 3a, 254ab. A mysogynistic view seems, however, to be represented in *Clem. Hom.* iii. 22–24, 27.

[3] See the regulations laid down in Cypr. *Ep.* 4 (61); *Clem. Ep. Virg.* i. 10–12, ii. 1–5, 8, 15; *Didasc.* III. xii. 1–4; *Ecclesiastical Canons* ap. Harnack *SAC* 11; *Can. Illib.* 27, 35, 81; *Can. Ancyra* 19.

[4] *Didasc.* III. v. 4f, 6 (see above, p. 472 n 3), vi. 1–4, ix.

[5] Cypr. *Ep.* 55 (51) 20, 66 (68) 7, 59 (54) 13, *Laps.* 2, *Mort.* 26; Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 2; Novat. *Bon. Pud.* passim; *Passio Mariani et Jacobi* iii. 1, viii. 1 (Aemilianus . . . ad quinquagesimum prope aetatis annum carnis continentia puer uenerat); *Clem. Ep. Virg.* (of virgins of both sexes) passim, esp. i. 8, ii. 7; Conybeare 158; Method. *συμπόσιον ἢ περὶ ἁγνείας* (each of the ten virgins has to deliver an *ἐγκωμιαστικὸν περὶ παρθενίας* [introd.: Migne *PG* xviii. 36]: it is granted that there are some to whom *οὐδέπω συνεχώρησε παρθενίας τυχεῖν* [ii. 7]: cf. also iii. 11–13); Eus. *Mart.* ix. 6 (*. . . τις γυνή, παρθενίας στέμματι καὶ αὐτὴ κεκοσμημένη*), *DE* 1. viiif 29–33 (i. 48–54) (celibacy a feature of the higher Christian life—see above, p. 469 n 1 and p. 578), III. v. 118c, vi. 126b, 129ab (i. 136, 145, 148); *Acta Felicis* 6 (Ruinart 391) (Virginitatem custodivi); *Passio Pollionis* 2 (Ruinart 435) (the governor speaks of the Christian 'lectores' as 'Illi qui leves mulierculas, dum vetant ne nubant, pervertere, et ad vanam castitatem suadere dicuntur; and Pollio speaks of the Christi regis pia et sancta mandata . . . quae virgines integritatis suae edocent obtinere fastigia'); Pierius of Alexandria ap. Routh iii. 429 (maintained that Paul *ἀντικρὺς ἀγαμίαν κηρύσσει*); Lact. *Inst.* vi. xxiii. 37–40; *Const. Eg.* viii.; *Can. Illib.* 13; *Can. Ancyra* 19. *Can. Illib.* 33 forbids the clergy to have intercourse with their wives: Pierius insisted that Paul had given up his wife to God for the sake of the Church and ceased to have intercourse with her (*TU* v. 2. 170: cf. *Can. Ancyra* 10).

[6] *Didasc.* iv. i. 1, ii. 2, xi. 6, vi. xii. 1; *Clem. Ep. Jac.* 7f; *Clem. Hom.* iii. 68, v. 25, xiii. 11 (marriage is definitely enjoined as a safeguard against fornication: Peter's wife is mentioned); Method. *Symp.* i. 2, ii. 1f, 7, iii. 11, 13; *Const. Eg.* x. 6; Eus. *DE* 1. viii. 30a, ix. 33d (i. 49, 53f) (see last note, and above, p. 578).

upon,[1] and intercourse except for the sole purpose of producing offspring was discountenanced.[2] Stern warnings had to be given against association with prostitutes[3] and against concubinage on the part of certain Christians, in some cases even confessors.[4] We read of Christian wives of pagan husbands;[5] but these would be for the most part women converted to the faith after their marriage: Cyprianus regards the marriage of Christians with unbelievers, such as had taken place prior to the Decian persecution, as a grave scandal.[6] In regard to *second marriages*, the 'Didascalia' disfavours them, though admitting them to be legal: but a third marriage is meretricious.[7] One of the standing qualifications for the higher clerical offices was that the bearer should have been only once married.[8] The so-called 'Epistle of Clemens to Jacob' seems to advise that widows should be either found employment or remarried.[9] Methodius refers to Paul's permission, but discouragement, of marriages.[10] The Synod of Illiberis forbids marriage with a deceased wife's sister or with a step-daughter."[11]

In regard to *divorce*, Lactantius says: "He is an adulterer who marries a woman sent away by her husband, and (so is) he who, except for the crime of adultery, dismisses his wife that he may marry another: for God did not wish the body to be separated and torn asunder."[12] In cases of adultery, the right to re-marry was denied to the innocent party during the lifetime of the guilty—to the wife, by the Synod of Illiberis, to the husband by the Synod of Arelate.[13]

[1] Novat. *Bon. Pud.* 4–6; *Clem. Hom.* xiii. 21 (were it not for the absolute necessity of baptism, perhaps even a gentile might have been saved by chastity); *Passio Pollionis* 2 (Ruinart 435); Lact. *Inst.* vi. xxiii. 23; Eus. *DE* i. ix. 33d (i. 54).

[2] *Clem. Hom.* v. 25; *Clem. Recog.* vi. 12: cf. Lact. *Inst.* vi. xix. 6, xxiii. 2f, 16–19.

[3] Ps-Cypr. *Aleat.* 6; *Didasc.* i. vii.

[4] Cypr. *Ep.* 14 (5) 3, 13 (6) 5; Lact. *Inst.* vi. xxiii. 23ff: cf. Cypr. *Unit.* 20; *Const. Eg.* xi. 15.

[5] *Didasc.* i. x. 1; Arnob. ii. 5; Eus. *HE* viii. xiv. 17: cf. *Const. Eg.* xi. 14 (faithful Christian slave-concubines [i.e. of heathen men] to be admitted to Christian instruction), xxxii. 20 (Christian husband with pagan wife).

[6] Cypr. *Laps.* 6: cf. *Can. Illib.* 15, 16, 17 (forbidding mixed marriages); *Can. Arel.* 11. The *Didascalia* (i. iii.–x.) explains at length the respective duties of husband and wife: cf. *Clem. Recog.* vii. 35. Lactantius (*Ira Dei* xvii. 16) names wives, along with children, slaves, and pupils, as the legitimate objects of disciplinary anger.

[7] *Didasc.* iii. if.

[8] *Didasc.* ii. ii. 2; *Ecclesiastical Canons* ap. Harnack *SAC* 9, 18.

[9] *Clem. Ep. Jac.* 8.

[10] Method. *Symp.* iii. 12.

[11] *Can. Illib.* 61, 66.

[12] Lact. *Inst.* vi. xxiii. 33.

[13] *Can. Illib.* 9 (Item femina fidelis, quae adulterum maritum reliquerit fidelem et alterum ducit, prohibeatur ne ducat; si duxerit, non prius accipiat

*Sexual sins* were of course known to be very prevalent among the pagans: but the literature of this period—notably the Canons of Illiberis and Ancyra—reveal in an amazing way their prevalence among professing Christians also. Hence the frequency of warnings, denunciations, and imposition of penances.[1] Besides illicit intercourse between two unmarried persons, the forms of crime most frequently deprecated were adultery[2] and sodomy.[3]

*Abortion and the exposure of children*, though common practices outside the Church, were forbidden by Christians as equivalent to murder or else as involving the risk of prostitution or incest.[4]

*Family obligations*, real as they are, are felt to be of minor importance when they come into conflict with the claims of the Christian faith. This often happened when the Christian had to choose between apostasy and martyrdom;[5] but the same principle was

communionem, nisi quem reliquit de saeculo exierit, nisi forsitan necessitas infirmitatis dare compulerit); *Can. Arel.* 10 (De his qui conjuges suas in adulterio deprehendunt, et iidem sunt adolescentes fideles et prohibentur nubere, placuit ut in quantum possit consilium iis detur, ne viventibus uxoribus suis licet adulteris alias accipiant).

[1] Cypr. *Ep.* 59 (54) 1 (deacon Felicissimus accused as 'stuprator uirginum, . . . matrimoniorum multorum depopulator adque corruptor'), *Unit.* 20 (caeterum numquam in confessoribus fraudes et stupra et adulteria postmodum uideremus quae nunc in quibusdam uidentes ingemiscimus et dolemus); *Clem. Ep. Virg.* ii. 8–12; *Didasc.* iv. xi. 6 (. . . ne adulescentes in impetu iuuentutis fornicentur instar gentilium); *Clem. Hom.* v. 9–26; Lact. *Inst.* iii. xxif (criticism of Platonic community of wives, etc.: cf. Eus. *PE* 708b–709a), vi. xxiii. 4–7; *Const. Eg.* x. 7 (unmarried candidate to be warned against fornication), xi. 2 (pandar not to be admitted to Church-membership), 12 (prostitute ditto), 14 (a slave-concubine, rearing her own children and attached to her [pagan] master only, may be admitted), 15 (male candidate for baptism not to be allowed to have a concubine); *Can. Illib.* 7, 12, 13f, 18, 30f, 67 (how various forms of immorality in Christians are to be dealt with), 44 (a converted courtezan, who has amended her life, may be received); *Can. Arel.* 10; *Can. Ancyra* 16, 21, 25 (punishments for various sexual offences); Eus. *DE* iii. v. 110 (i. 127), etc. etc. (various sexual sins are condemned as unchristian).

[2] Novat. *Bon. Pud.* 6, 13f; *Didasc.* i. iii. 3f; *Clem. Ep. Jac.* 7f; *Clem. Hom.* iii. 25, iv. 21–23, v. 18, vii. 4, xiii. 19 (Μάρτυς Θεός, πολλοὶ φόνοι μοιχεία μία); Method *Symp.* ii. 3–6; *Can. Illib.* 8–11, 47, 63–65, 68–70, 72, 78; Lact. *Inst.* vi. xix. 10, xxiii. 32–34, *Mort. Pers.* xiii. 1; *Can. Ancyra* 20. On the treatment of Christian women in persecution, etc., see *M. Pionii* vii. 6; *Acta Agapes* etc. 5f (Ruinart 426); Greg. Thaum. *Ep. Can.* 1; Eus. *HE* viii. xii. 3f, xiv. 14–17; *Can. Ancyra* 11, 20; Workman 371.

[3] *Const. Eg.* xi. 12; *Can. Illib.* 71; Lact. *Inst.* vi. xxiii. 8–14; Eus. *PE* 705d, 709b–710d. Cf. *Didasc.* iv. vi. 2 (on self-abuse).

[4] *Can. Illib.* 63, 68; Lact. *Inst.* vi. xx. 18–25; Eus. *PE* 709b; *Can. Ancyra* 21. Cf. Lecky ii. 20–32; Dale 130f.

[5] Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* vi. xli. 18 (ἡ πολύπαις μέν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τὸν Κύριον δὲ ἀγαπήσασα τὰ τέκνα Διονυσία); *Didasc.* v. vi. 1 (Renuntiemus ergo parentibus et cognatis nostris et omnibus, quae in hoc mundo sunt, et vitae quoque propriae); Cypr. *Laud.* 15, 17 fin., 18; *Passio Irenaei* iii. 1–3, iv. 5–8 (Gebhardt 163f—a typical and very striking case).

applicable under various other circumstances of life.[1] Cyprianus disregarded the dissuasion of his wife in disposing of his estate,[2] and he taught that men should not be deterred from almsgiving by a sense of the need of providing for their children.[3] His biographer tells us that the gentiles "have the same name as their parents; but we shrink from our parents in horror, if they persuade us against the Lord."[4] The strongest statements on this point occur in the Clementines: "A submissive son is, for the sake of salvation, separated from an unbelieving father, or a father from a child, the mother from (her) daughter, the daughter from (her) mother, and, in short, relatives from relatives, and friends from associates.[5] And let no one say, How (can) this (be) right, that parents should be separated from children and children from parents? It is perfectly right. For if they remain with them and, besides being of no advantage to them, perish along with them, how is it not right for him who wishes to be saved to be separated from him who does not wish (to be saved), but desires to perish together with (him)?"[6] Eusebius tells us of a young Palestinian Christian, Appianus, who left home because his parents were heathens and did not approve of his religion.[7]

PROPERTY.—The Christian *ideal of simplicity* was still held up before the mind of the Church. Novatianus condemns luxury in eating,[8] and commends simplicity of dress to Christian women.[9] Cyprianus, in commenting on the prayer for daily bread, enjoins the restriction of our wants.[10] Commodianus utters stern warnings against the luxurious and self-indulgent habits both of pagans and of Christians.[11] The Clementine 'Letters to Virgins' warn the readers to avoid the snares, pleasures, and luxuries of the world.[12] The Clementine 'Homilies' and 'Recognitions' describe the extreme simplicity of Peter's manner of life.[13] The 'Didascalia' requires the bishop to live and spend simply.[14] Arnobius and Lactantius both pass severe criticisms on the prevalent habits of

[1] Vict. *Comm. Apoc.* xxi. 5 (152) (quotes Mt xix. 29).
[2] Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 3: illum non penuria, non dolor fregit, non uxoris suadela deflexit.
[3] Cypr. *Op. El.* 16–20. [4] Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 11. [5] *Clem. Hom.* xi. 19.
[6] *Clem. Hom.* xi. 20: cf. *Clem. Recog.* vi. 4f (a close parallel to *Clem. Hom.* xi. 19f: see above, p. 484), vii. 24. Per contra, *Clem. Hom.* xii. 5 (= *Clem. Recog.* vii. 5: Peter disapproves of any one leaving a [? Christian] wife, parents, etc., for the sake of following him).
[7] Eus. *Mart.* iv. 5. [8] Novat. *Cib. Jud.* 4, 6.
[9] Novat. *Bon. Pud.* 12: cf. Commod. *Instr.* ii. 18f; *Didasc.* I. viii. 17.
[10] Cypr. *Dom. Orat.* 19–21; cf. *Laps.* 30.
[11] Commod. *Instr.* i. 23f, ii. 20. [12] *Clem. Ep. Virg.* i. 3.
[13] *Clem. Hom.* xii. 6; *Clem. Recog.* vii. 6. [14] *Didasc.* II. xxv. 1–5.

luxury.[1] Eusebius declares absolute poverty to be a part of the full and perfect life at which Christians of the highest grade aim.[2]

There can be no doubt that many Christians led lives in conformity with this demand for simplicity, *earning their daily bread by honest toil at their respective trades.*[3] Certain trades and professions were regarded as impermissible for Christians on account either of their immoral or of their idolatrous associations. The Church-Orders laid down in detail which these forbidden occupations were, and candidates for membership had either to give them up or to be rejected. Pandars, prostitutes, idol-makers, idol-priests, actors, charioteers, gladiators, sorcerers, and, in some places and to some extent, soldiers and magistrates, were not admitted.[4] We find, of course, a good deal said in *depreciation of secular affairs in general and trade in particular*, especially as to the impropriety of the clergy being busied with such things.[5]

[1] Arnob. ii. 41–43 ; Lact. *Inst.* vi. xxii.

[2] Eus. *DE* i. viii. 29d (i. 48) (see above, p. 469 n 1 and p. 578), iii. v. 109d, 118c (i. 127, 136), vi. 129c (i. 149) ("But the zealots of the teaching of Jesus are myriads in number, not one or two" [like the philosophers], "who have sold their goods and given them to the poor and needy, a fact to which I can witness, as I am specially concerned in such matters, and can see the results of the discipleship of Jesus not only in their words, but in their works as well").

[3] *Didasc.* i. iv. (Nec circumambules nec circumvageris otiosus in vicis, inanis male viventium spectator, sed arti tuae operique tuo animum intende, studeque facere, quae Deo accepta sunt, etc.), ii. iii. 1 (Et examinetur, an sine macula sit in rebus saeculi—of the bishop), liii. 6 ('Dissolve omnes colligationes iniquitatis, et rescinde omnia vincula violentiae ac fraudis' [Isa lviii. 6]), lxiii. 1 (Omnes vos igitur fideles, in omni die et in omni tempore, si non estis in ecclesia, operibus vestris studete, ut in omni tempore vitae vestrae aut in eis perseveretis, quae Dei sunt, aut in opere vestro operemini et nunquam otiosi sitis), iv. iii. 2, iv. 1 (on the duty of earning one's living and not receiving charity unless necessary), vi.–x. (contributions to church-funds not to be received from those who give false measure in trading or from those who are immoral in any way) ; *Clem. Ep. Jac.* 8 (τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀτέχνοις [some class of unemployed persons] διὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐννοούμενοι τὰς προφάσεις τῆς ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς· τεχνίτῃ ἔργον, ἀδρανεῖ ἔλεος), 10 (honesty demanded in business) ; *Const. Eg.* xxvii. 1, xxxii. 1 (see above, p. 446 n 6) ; Vict. *Comm. Apoc.* i. 8 (30) (ad eos scripsit, qui et laborant in saeculo et operantur de frugalitate laboris sui et patientes sunt), iii. 2 (40) (horum scilicet, qui humiles in saeculo et rusticani in scripturis, etc.) ; Eus. *DE* i. viii. 30a (i. 49f) (farming and trade permissible to second-grade Christians—see above, p. 469 n 1 and p. 578), iii. iii. 102d (i. 118) (see below, p. 604 n 2).

[4] *Const. Eg.* xi. (see above, pp. 448f) ; Cypr. *Ep.* 2 (60) (of a teacher of acting—see above, p. 595) ; *Didasc.* iv. vi. 3 (painters, gold- and silver-smiths, and workers in bronze among those from whom contributions are not to be received).

[5] Cypr. *Ep.* 1 (65) 1 (clerics not to be appointed executors or guardians by will), *Laps.* 6 (of clergy trading before Decian persecution—'per alienas prouincias oberrantes negotiationis quaestuosae nundianas aucupari, esurientibus in ecclesia fratribus habere argentum largiter uelle') ; *Clem. Ep. Jac.* 5f (bishop not to be surety or advocate or to engage otherwise in secular affairs—see above, p. 537 n 4) ; *Clem. Hom.* iii. 71 (church to find support for the bishop —so also *Didasc.* ii. xxv. 4) ; *Didasc.* ii. lx. 1, 6f, lxi. 3 (of those who excused

Arnobius and Lactantius seem to display an unreasonable and impracticable disdain of trade as such, failing to distinguish its uses from its abuses; but they are probably not to be taken as seriously contending that Christians should not engage in business. While there are in abundance the usual warnings against the snares of *wealth* and the usual encomiums upon poverty,[1] there is plenty of evidence to show that the Church contained a large number of rich people;[2] and the frequency with which we hear of rich Christians who became martyrs[3] would seem to show that, although the possession of wealth was a more or less frequent occasion of lapse,[4] yet it did not always go hand in hand with a relaxation of Christian moral and spiritual vigour. The treatise 'De Aleatoribus' shows us how the heathen gambling-habit—like the circus-habit—had got hold of Christians of a certain type, and how strongly the custom was condemned by the stricter, perhaps we may even say the average, believer.

Christians were deeply concerned for *the rectification of economic abuses*; though, in the nature of the case, there was not very much they could do besides almsgiving. In regard to that they were very zealous. We find Cyprianus declaring: "Whatever is of God is common in our use: nor is any one excluded from His benefits and gifts in such a way that the whole human race may

themselves from coming to church, 'praetextu operis saecularis'); Eus. *Mart.* iv. 5 (Appianus described as μηδὲν τῶν ἐφημέρων δαπανῶν ἐπιστραφείς); *Can. Illib.* 19 (Episcopi, presbyteres, et diacones de locis suis negotiandi causa non discedant; nec circumeuntes provincias quaestuosas nundinas sectentur: sane ad victum sibi conquirendum aut filium aut libertum aut mercenarium aut amicum aut quemlibet mittant; et si voluerint negotiari, intra provinciam negotientur). Yet it is clear that Maximus, bishop of Alexandria 264–282 A.D., through his assistant (? and successor) Theonas, acted as unofficial banker or depository for Christian traders from other parts of Egypt (Deissmann *LVO* 172–179).

[1] Cypr. *Dom. Orat.* 20, *Laps.* 35, *Op. El.* 9–13 (cf. Uhlhorn *Ch.* 209); Commod. *Instr.* i. 29f, *Carm.* 27f (Nec enim uitupero diuitias datas a Summo, Sed culpandus erit, qui superextollitur illis); *Didasc.* iv. v. 4; Eus. *HE* vii. xxx. 7 (the ill-gotten wealth of Paulus of Samosata); *Clem. Hom.* xv. 7–9; Lact. *Inst.* v. xv., vi. i. 8f, iv. 3, 8, vi. 10f, xii. 32–41, xvii. 10, xix. 10, vii. i. 17–22, v. 24, *Mort. Pers.* vii. 5 (the avarice of Diocletianus); Eus. *PE* 2a. Avarice had been prevalent among the Christians before the Decian persecution (see Cypr. *Laps.* 6—quoted in previous note): condemnations of and warnings against avarice appear in Cypr. *Dom. Orat.* 19, *Op. El.* 10; Commod. *Instr.* i. 34, ii. 23; *Didasc.* ii. vi. 1; *Clem. Ep. Jac.* 10; Arnob. ii. 40; Lact. *ll.cc.* Cyprianus had given away his property, and embraced voluntary poverty (Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 2f, 6: cf. *Acta Tarachi* etc. 2 (Ruinart 454)): cf. Lact. *Inst.* iii. xxiii. 1–7 (philosophers censured for futile dispersion of their wealth).

[2] *Didasc.* i. v. 1, v. xx. 9; Eus. *PE* 3a; *Can. Illib.* 40, 49 (of Christian 'possessores' or land-owners, receiving rent); Lact. *Inst.* v. xv. 5; Vict. *Comm. Apoc.* iii. 3 (42) (quoted above, p. 555 n 3). On the possession of property by the Church, see above, p. 552.

[3] Eus. *HE* vii. xv. 1, xvif, viii. ix. 6, xii. 3.

[4] Cypr. *Laps.* 11f, 30, 35, *Laud.* 17.

not enjoy equally the Divine goodness and bounty"; and he goes on to say that he who shares his goods with others is an imitator of God.[1] "Neither the Romans nor the Greeks," says Lactantius, "were able to possess justice, because they kept men unequal with one another by many degrees, from the poor to the rich, from the lowly to the powerful, in fact, from private persons up to the most exalted royal authorities. For where all are not equal, there is no equity; and inequality itself excludes justice, the whole force of which lies in the fact that it makes equal those who come with equal lot into the condition of this life."[2] "This is that perfect justice, which guards the human society of which the philosophers speak; this is the greatest and truest fruit of riches: not to use wealth for one's personal pleasure, but for the welfare of many, not for one's own immediate enjoyment, but for justice, which alone perishes not."[3] He was, however, no advocate of Platonic communism: apart from its undesirable effect on married life, it abolished frugality and abstinence (from others' property); and furthermore, though this is inconsistent with what he says elsewhere, the existence of wealth and poverty is not necessarily inconsistent with justice. "For when insolence and unfairness are taken from the rich, it will make no difference whether some be rich (and) some poor, since they will be equal in mind; and this nothing can effect, except the religion of God. . . . For the ownership of property contains the material both of vices and virtues, but communism contains nothing else but license for vices."[4]

It would have been fortunate if the Church had been ready to use the hour of her triumph to demand that the State should undertake to rectify the worst abuses of the economic system and to adjust the social conditions of the time as nearly as possible to the ideal implied in her own conception of justice and righteousness. But owing, partly, to an undue under-estimate of the importance of earthly conditions, and, partly, to the elementary state of economic science at the time, nothing of the kind was

[1] Cypr. *Op. El.* 25.
[2] Lact. *Inst.* v. xiv. 19f (see below, p. 610 n 3).
[3] Lact. *Inst.* vi. xii. 1.
[4] Lact. *Inst.* iii. xxii. 4, 7; cf. also xxi., xxii., passim, and *Mort. Pers.* vii., xxiii. (aspersions on the political economy of Diocletianus and Galerius). His views on property are fully summarized by Bartlet (*P* 104–107) as being "the most explicit statement bearing on the Christian idea of property and its duties to be found in the first four centuries" and as specially representative of the Latin Christianity of the West. For Lactantius' criticism of communism, see Carlyle 134.

attempted. Much less was the Church able, or even inclined, in the years preceding her final liberation, to formulate far-sighted schemes for the establishment of economic justice in society at large. What she did effect, however, was to promote within her own limits those habits which not only sprang from sound and generous motives, but also, as far as the simple economic knowledge of the day seemed to show, told in the direction of social betterment. As we have seen, she discouraged luxury and selfishness, advocated simplicity of personal habits, and insisted on her members refraining from anti-social occupations. Further than that, she strongly disapproved of usury.[1] But the main economic duty clearly recognized by Christians, and no doubt very extensively practised—sometimes, it may be, with the main object of earning the favour of heaven, but very often from an unselfish desire to supply the needs of others in the most obvious way—was the habit of *giving alms to the poor*.[2] This habit was, of course, mainly exercised within the limits of the Church, and the church-funds were apparently reserved exclusively for the relief of Christians; but it is clear on several grounds that private benevolence was frequently extended to needy pagans. Such ministry was very effective in reconciling the pagan world to Christianity.[3]

[1] *Didasc.* IV. vi. 5 (money for the Church not to be accepted from those who take usury); *Can. Illib.* 20 (Si quis clericorum detectus fuerit usuras accipere, placuit eum degradari et abstineri. Si quis etiam laicus accepisse probatur usuras, et promiserit correptus iam se cessaturum nec ulterius exacturum, placuit ei veniam tribui: si vero in ea iniquitate duraverit, ab ecclesia esse proiciendum); *Can. Arel.* 12 (De ministris qui foenerant, placuit eos juxta formam divinitus datam a communione abstineri). For some remarks on the early Christian view of usury, see above, p. 450 n 3.

[2] Cypr. *Dom. Orat.* 33, *Mort.* 26, *Op. El.* passim (e.g. 2: 'eleemosynis et fide delicta purgantur' . . . 'eleemosyna extinguet peccatum' [quotations from Prov xvi. 6 and Sirach iii. 30]: Uhlhorn points out [*Ch.* 123] that this treatise was the first to be written on the subject, and conjectures that the fact that it was necessary to write upon it, indicates that early Christian ardour was beginning to abate); Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 3 fin., 6; Commod. *Instr.* ii. 22; Ps-Cypr. *Aleat.* 11; *Didasc.* IV. i. 1, ii. 1f, ix. 2; Christian Hymn in *Amherst Papyri* i. (1900) 26, ll. 13f; *Clem. Ep. Jac.* 8; *Passio Pollionis* 2 (Ruinart 435) (pauperibus misericordiam); Lact. *Inst.* VI. x. 9–12, xif (censure of pagan ethics for defective view of mercy, etc.: cf. Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* VII. xxii. 10, pagan neglect of their sick in time of plague); Eus. *DE* III. iii. 102d (i. 118) ("He trained His disciples to share their goods with the needy, and set industry and benevolence in the front rank"), vi. 129c (i. 149) (see above, p. 601 n 2). On Cyprianus' view of almsgiving, cf. Bartlet *P* 103f. On the growth of the idea of merit in almsgiving, cf. Uhlhorn *Ch.* 152f, 211–215. A consciousness of the risk of the custom of almsgiving being abused by greedy idlers, and a stern denunciation of such abuse, appear in *Didasc.* IV. iii. 2, iv. 1.

[3] Pont. *Vit. Cypr.* 9 (in time of plague, Cyprianus protests that Christians must not do good only to those who do good to them, and urges them to relieve the sufferings of the heathen), 10 (fiebat itaque exuberantium operum

SLAVERY.—Slavery as actually practised often appears in Christian literature as *one of the abuses of pagan life*,[1] and severe censures are passed on the cruelty with which slaves were often treated by their pagan masters.[2] The words addressed by Cyprianus to Demetrianus, though rhetorical, may be taken as fairly representative of Christian feeling. "Thou thyself exactest servile duty from thy slave; and thou (who art but) a man compellest (him who is also) a man to obey thee and submit (to thee): and though (both of) you have the same lot of birth, the one condition of death, similar substance of bodies, a common order of souls, though ye come into this world or depart afterwards from the world with equal right(s) and by the same law, yet, unless he serve thee according to thy pleasures, unless he obey thee in conformity with thy will, thou—an imperious and excessive exactor of servitude—floggest (and) scourgest (him), afflictest and torturest him with hunger, thirst, nakedness, and often with sword

largitate, quod bonum est ad omnes, non ad solos domesticos fidei); Eus. *HE* IX. viii. 11–14 (humanity shown by Christians to sufferers in a plague in the time of Maximinus Daia). The Christian practice of adopting exposed children and training them up in the Church as Christians seems already to have been in vogue (Uhlhorn *Ch.* 186; cf. 188). "Julian attests not only the excellence of the church's system of relief, but its extension to non-Christians. He wrote to Arsacius (Sozom. v. 16): 'These godless Galilæans feed not only their own poor but ours; our poor lack our care.' This testimony is all the more weighty inasmuch as our Christian sources yield no satisfactory data on this point," etc. (Harnack *ME* i. 162; cf. 173). Cf. also Bigelmair 245f: "Von grossem Einfluss zur Milderung der Gegensätze und zur Gewinnung der Heiden war die Fürsorge des Christentums für die Armen und die Kranken, die zwar zunächst den Brüdern galt, die aber auch die Heiden nicht ausschloss," u.s.w.

On the failure of the Church to undertake social reform and on almsgiving as her contribution to the problem, see the interesting discussion in Troeltsch 125f, 134–139, 171f, 175; Meyer 4, 14f; Bartlet *P* 113f ("... on the whole a great chance was missed. ... There are no signs that the Church of the fourth century had or tended to create any new and constructive ideal of social well-being even for its own members, much less for the commonweal at large; while the economic aspects of the problem in any comprehensive sense lay quite below the horizon of its thought. That is, it simply shared the conventional ideas underlying the existing economic order, and the hand-to-mouth methods of dealing with its anomalies and evils").

[1] Cypr. *Laud.* 8 (nihil foedius seruitute); *Clem. Recog.* iv. 31 (hinc [i.e. from idol-worship] bellorum rabies exarsit, hinc praedae, rapinae, captivitates, et libertas in servitutem redacta); Arnob. ii. 39; Lact. *Inst.* VI. i. 8 (luxurious rich have crowds of slaves).

[2] Cypr. *Mort.* 16 (the plague shows 'an misereantur seruorum languentium domini'); *Didasc.* IV. vi. 1 (negligent bishops censured: 'accipiunt enim ad victum pupillis et viduis subministrandum a divitibus, qui homines captivos in carcere tenent vel qui servis suis male utuntur vel dure tractant oppida sua vel pauperes premunt.' The contributors in question are undoubtedly pagans); Eus. *PE* 711–714 (criticism of Plato's severe legislation as to the punishment of slaves).

and prison. And thou dost not acknowledge the Lord thy God, while thou thyself bearest rule thus." [1]

We know that, from the early days of Christianity, there had always been a fairly large proportion of *slaves in the Church.* In the literature of our period, as of previous periods, they are mentioned—along with women, children, and barbarians—in enumerations of apparently unpromising classes of people, with whom Christianity, in contrast to other systems, had been strikingly successful.[2] The martyr Pollio said that the laws of God bade slaves do their duties more in love than in fear: [3] but the Church regarded the master's authority, even if he were a heathen, as something to be reckoned with and respected.[4] The Synod of Illiberis forbade an emancipated slave to be ordained to clerical office as long as his patron lived.[5] Peter of Alexandria laid it down that a Christian slave, who in time of persecution had been sent by a hitherto Christian master to offer sacrifice on that master's behalf, and had done so, might be readmitted to Christian communion after only one year's penance, the major responsibility in such a case being the master's.[6] On the other hand, the Christian slave-girl Sabina seems to have been aided and abetted by Christians of good standing in escaping from her tyrannical mistress.[7]

Except in the very rare cases, like those of Sabina, where escape was possible without detection, the Christian slave had no option but to remain a slave: he was not in any way responsible for his condition. But a master always had the power of emancipating his slaves; and the responsibility for keeping them in that condition rested entirely upon him. What view then did the Church take of this responsibility? What, in other words, was *the Christian view at this time as to the moral rightfulness or otherwise of slavery as an institution.* Very little by way of answer to this question is contributed by illustrative allusions. Thus, Eusebius' argument that, as a prudent master would not calmly see his slave led away by his enemies, so the gods, had they been good, would not have

[1] Cypr. *Demetr.* 8.

[2] Arnob. ii. 5, 64; Lact. *Inst.* III. xxv. 12, 15; Eus. *PE* 254.

[3] *Passio Pollionis* 2 (Ruinart 435).

[4] On the consideration shown to a master in connection with the admission of a slave-candidate to the Church, see *Const. Eg.* x. 3–5, and above, p. 454.

[5] *Can. Illib.* 80 (Prohibendum ut liberti, quorum patroni in saeculo fuerint, ad clerum non promoveantur); Dale 138.

[6] Peter of Alex. *Ep. Can.* 6 (Routh iv. 29f): . . . οἱ μὲν δοῦλοι ὡς ἂν ὑποχείριοι ὄντες, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ φυλακισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν δεσποτῶν, καταπειληθέντες τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν, κτλ.

[7] *M. Pionii* ix. 3f.

suffered mankind to be deluded by the demons, and so are proved to be evil, leaves us with next to no idea as to what Eusebius really thought about slavery.[1] The same may be said of Methodius' comparison of the sea to a slave obeying his master unwillingly and with angry mutterings.[2] A passage in the Clementine 'Recognitions' seems to imply more. "(To illustrate the fact) that the fear of God has great power to repress lusts, take an example of the fear of man. Who is there among men, who does not lust after what belongs to others? And yet he is curbed by fear of the penalty ordained by the laws, and acts more restrainedly. On account of fear, nations are subject to kings, and an armed army obeys. Slaves, though they are stronger than their masters, yet on account of fear endure their masters' rule."[3] And there are other passages in which — if only for the sake of argument — Christian writers speak as if they approved of the severe, though normal, methods by which slaves were punished. Arnobius speaks of a slave who had been scourged and afterwards crucified in the circus as paying "the penalties and punishments of his deserts"; and, on the ground that "nothing unjust was being done, but a wrong-doer was being punished with appropriate penalties," he ridicules the idea that Jupiter could have been angry at the sight.[4] Lactantius asks: "If he is held to be the most wicked of slaves, who runs away and deserts his master, and is judged to be most worthy of stripes and chains and prison and cross and every evil," how much more wicked is he who forsakes God? "For what benefit does he who buys a slave confer upon him, besides the nourishment which he supplies to him for the sake of his own advantage?" but God on the contrary supplies us with all things.[5] To establish and justify his thesis, that God is sometimes angry, he appeals more than once to the custom of punishing bad slaves, in a way that suggests that he saw nothing in it to disapprove of. A master honours and promotes a good slave, "but he punishes the bad one with curses, stripes, nakedness, hunger, thirst, shackles, so that the latter may be an example to the others to keep them from sinning, and the former to secure their

[1] Eus. *PE* 165b. Still less of course can we get anything out of references to Christians, in the traditional style, as the slaves of God (e.g. *Const. Eg.* i. 7, 32, ii. 4f, etc. etc.).

[2] Method. *On Free Will* (Migne *PG* xviii. 244 top).

[3] *Clem. Recog.* ix. 15.

[4] Arnob. vii. 39, 41, appendix.

[5] Lact. *Inst.* v. xviii. 14–16. The advisability of feeding a good slave well is used in Eus. *PE* 332b as an illustration to enforce the need of due care for the body.

goodwill, so that fear may coerce some, honour incite others."[1] He asks of his opponents whether, if a household of slaves rebelled against a wise and kind master and pillaged his property, the master would not avenge the insults. "What patience as great as that can be found in any one?—if indeed it is to be called patience, and not a kind of insensible stupor." If a slave were to kill his master's wife and children, it would be cruelty rather than kindness to pardon him, and not to inflict the severest punishment.[2] He blames Archytas for telling his slave that he would have slain him with stripes, if he had not been angry, but adds: "I should, however, praise him, if, when he had got angry, he had given space to his anger, so that, the excitement of his mind subsiding in an interval of time, his chastisement might be confined within (moderate) limit(s)."[3] He separates off one's slaves, children, wife, and pupils, from the rest of humanity, as being "in our power," and therefore legitimate objects, when they do wrong, of our anger and punishment.[4] Eusebius mentions it as one objection among others to the doctrine of Fate that we do not feel ourselves compelled by any external cause "in chastising sons and whipping slaves who are at fault."[5]

These last quotations seem unmistakably to commit the authors to an approval, not only of owning slaves, but also of punishing them with the scourge, if not by severer methods. That *many Christians actually owned slaves* we know both from what we may infer from these illustrative allusions of Lactantius[6] and Eusebius, as well as from more direct testimony. Lactantius, as we shall see presently, admits the fact in so many words.[7] Mention has already been made of the backsliding Christians who sent their slaves to sacrifice for them in time of persecution.[8] The Synod of Illiberis

[1] Lact. *Ira Dei* v. 12.

[2] Lact. *Ira Dei* xvii. 8–10.

[3] Lact. *Ira Dei* xviii. 4–9 (esp. 7).

[4] Lact. *Ira Dei* xvii. 16–19 (see above, p. 489 n 3), xviii. 2, 12 (. . . seruorum autem filiorumque peccata non coercere peccatum est: euadent enim ad maius malum per inpunitatem. hic non cohibenda ira, sed etiam, si iacet, excitanda est).

[5] Eus. *PE* 244c: ἐναργῶς ἑαυτῶν αἰσθανόμεθα μὴ βιαζομένων . . . ἐν τῷ παιδεύειν τοὺς υἱεῖς, καὶ μαστίζειν τοὺς οἰκέτας ἁμαρτήσαντας.

[6] To those quoted above, add *Inst.* iv. xxviii. 8 (non enim nobis odiosi uidentur ii famuli qui adsidui et frequentes ad obsequium fuerint, sed magis cari); cf. also vii. xxiv. 4 (Lactantius looks forward to the "perpetual slavery" of the surviving heathen under the rule of the righteous in the millennial reign of Christ).

[7] Lact. *Inst.* v. xv. 2 (see below, p. 610).

[8] See above, p. 606 n 6. Possible references to Christians owning slaves occur in Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* vi. xl. 3 (ἐγώ τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες—but Feltoe [25] says this means his sons) and Greg. Thaum. *Ep. Can.* 10 (Routh iii. 264)

legislates for the case of a Christian owning so many heathen slaves as to make it impossible for him to keep their idol-images out of his house.[1] As for the punishment of slaves by Christian masters, it is impossible to resist the impression which the allusions of Lactantius and Eusebius make upon us, viz. that the lash was frequently used. What this might mean in a district or country that was but imperfectly permeated by the Christian spirit, we see from a 'Canon' of the Synod of Illiberis, which provides for the case of a Christian woman beating a slave-girl so severely as to cause death. If the death were caused intentionally, the offender was excommunicated for seven years; if accidentally, for five years.[2]

*The duties of Christian masters* are occasionally referred to. Theonas bids Lucianus teach his slaves the true doctrine patiently and charitably, but to dismiss the negligent and discreditable.[3] Pollio says that the Divine laws persuade masters to rule their slaves more by piety than by anger, and by the remembrance of the condition they both share.[4] Peter of Alexandria recalls the familiar instructions of Paul.[5]

At the same time, despite all these indications that slavery was regarded as a fixture, it was inevitable that, both in theory and practice, *the principles of Christianity* should modify it very materially. Gregorius Thaumaturgus vehemently condemns those who tried, during a period of confusion, to enslave others.[6] The 'Didascalia' forbids bishops to receive contributions for the Church from those who "keep men captives in prison," and requires Christians to spend money for the liberation of slaves.[7] We have seen that the church of Smyrna helped Sabina to make good her

(Christians not to claim, presumably from one another, μήνυτρα ἢ σῶστρα ἢ εὕρητρα after the raid of the Gothi and the Boradi into Pontus: σῶστρα means a reward paid either for saving one's life or for bringing back a runaway slave).

[1] *Can. Illib.* 41: . . . si vero vim metuunt servorum, etc. See above, p. 502.

[2] *Can. Illib.* 5 (Si qua femina furore zeli accensa flagris verberaverit ancillam suam, ita ut intra tertium diem animam cum cruciatu effundat, eo quod incertum sit voluntate an casu occiderit; si voluntate, post septem annos, si casu, post quinquennii tempora, acta legitima poenitentia ad communionem placuit admitti; quod si intra tempora constituta fuerit infirmata, accipiat communionem). The case contemplated is apparently that of a husband's infidelity (furore *zeli*): cf. Schmidt 224; Lecky ii. 66f (where the facts are inaccurately stated); Dale 139f, 162f; Harnack *ME* i. 170.

[3] Theonas 8 (Routh iii. 444).

[4] *Passio Pollionis* 2 (Ruinart 435): quae dominos servis plus pietate quam furore persuadent, unius conditionis contemplatione, dominari.

[5] Peter of Alex. *Ep. Can.* 7 (Routh iv. 30f): E vi. 9, C iii. 11, iv. 1.

[6] Greg. Thaum. *Ep. Can.* 6 (Routh iii. 262f).

[7] *Didasc.* iv. vi. 1 (see above, p. 605 n 2), ix. 2.

escape from her mistress.[1] Even Lactantius, whose evidence has so far borne a somewhat unfavourable appearance, lets us know that in the Church the condition of master and slave was something very different from what it was in the world outside. With God, he says, "no one is a slave, no one a master: for, if we all have the same Father, we are all free by an equal right."[2] In reply to the question: "Are there not, among you (Christians), some poor, others rich, some slaves, others masters? Is there not some difference between individuals?" he replies: "None at all: nor is there any other reason why we give one another the name of brothers, except because we believe we are equals. For since we measure all human things, not by the body, but by the spirit, although the(ir) bodily condition is diverse, yet to us they are not slaves, but we regard them and speak of them as brothers in the spirit, as fellow-slaves in religion. . . . Although, therefore, we are equals in lowliness of mind, the free with the slaves, and the rich with the poor, yet in God's sight we are distinguished (from one another) by virtue: each one is elevated in proportion to his justice."[3]

[1] *M. Pionii* ix. 3f. [2] Lact. *Inst.* v. xiv. 17.

[3] Lact. *Inst.* v. xv. 2, 3, 5: cf. Carlyle 112 (as regards the principles of human equality and Divine Fatherhood, "Lactantius finds fault with Roman and Greek institutions as not recognising these principles of equality sufficiently, but it does not appear that he is really attacking the institutions so much as what he considers the wrong temper with which men regard these institutions; for when he considers the objection which some one might make, that the same differences of rank and condition exist also among Christian people, he replies not by denying that the differences exist, nor by condemning their existence, but by urging that Christian people do really recognise each other as brothers and equals, that they estimate all things by their spiritual and not by their material value").

On the Constantinian legislation in regard to slavery, see above, p. 564 n 2.

# EPILOGUE

ALTHOUGH I have already detained the reader for so long with the detailed exposition of the views of individual Christians on particular points, it would yet be unfitting to bid farewell to this enumeration of details without making some attempt to indicate the wider meaning of the ethical development whose history we have been tracing, and without offering some reflections and suggestions in regard to its permanent significance.

In the first place, then, it must be clear even to the most casual observer that, in the work of the pre-Constantinian Church, whatever else we may or may not have, we certainly have a moral reformative movement on a scale and with a potency unparalleled at any other epoch before or since. Make whatever allowance you like for the exaggerations of Christian rhetoric, for actual moral shortcomings of increasing prevalence and gravity, and for the lofty ethical attainments of other reformers and their followers; and it yet remains true that the achievements of the early Church can defy comparison with those of any other moral or religious movement known to history. Without, however, entering upon any laboured comparison with other religions, let us simply observe the more outstanding moral attainments of pre-Constantinian Christianity. Consider, for instance, the Church's gift to the world of a well-established and lofty standard of sexual purity. When we bear in mind the strength imparted to the sex-passion by previous generations of laxity, the unmeasured self-indulgence of pagan society, and the ease with which moral rules can usually be made to adapt themselves to the natural inclinations of men, we shall perhaps realize how great an achievement it was to have effected the lasting enthronement of so high a standard of purity as even the most average Christian sex-ethic is understood to be, and to have done this in the teeth of the most insistent, the most unruly, and the most masterful of human passions.

In a similar, if in a less striking way, the early Church successfully curbed the all-pervading hunt for riches and love of luxury. It succeeded in making numbers of men believe, not only theoretically, but practically, in the existence and the claim of the higher

values of life, and to be prepared for the sake of them to sit loose to its material amenities and securities. It gave them a grasp of spiritual and moral interests so strong that, in loyalty to these interests, they had courage to endure and defy physical torments, the very thought of which appals us as we read of them to-day. It immensely strengthened human sympathy for the afflicted and the sorrowful, and immensely increased the sense of the value and sanctity of even the humblest human life. It set on foot unprecedented schemes for the relief of want and suffering—schemes not based on political considerations, nor enforced by political poor-laws, but springing directly out of the love of man for man, and appealing simply to the private generosity of Christian individuals. But besides breaking the tyranny of sexual lust, of the love of property, and of the fear of wounds and death, the early Church liberated the mind of man from the fetish of punishment and revenge as the one practical cure for human wrong-doing. It let loose in human society a new policy for the conquest of sin —a policy that boldly abandoned the age-long and deep-rooted trust in coercion and retaliation. It sallied forth into the midst of a hostile world, helplessly and defencelessly exposed to every blow that bigotry or antipathy might aim at it, and trusting solely for its security to its power to change foes into friends. The occurrence of innumerable failures in particular cases, the sacrifice of scores or hundreds of martyrs in the process of spreading the faith, did not frighten the Christian conscience out of its glad confidence in the sanity and ultimate victory of the Sermon on the Mount. To appeal, as Lactantius and Eusebius did, and that at the very end of the pre-Constantinian period, to the moral improvements wrought everywhere by the Christian faith, to the sexual purity, the simplicity and unselfishness, the winsomeness and forgiving charity, of Christian life, and to refer to these things as matters not to be argued about or proved or even investigated, but to be simply observed everywhere, was to advance a claim which, if it should fail to pass the easily applied test, would simply reduce the whole case of those who made it to an absurdity. And not only is the very boldness of the plea in this instance a guarantee of its soundness, but historical evidence itself also warrants us in admitting its substantial truth. In the life of the early Church, as in no other phase of history before or since, we see a moralizing movement at work, visibly cleansing human society of its glaring transgressions, and bidding fair to establish the kingdom of God on earth.

But the same historical evidence that proves the substantial accuracy of the Apologists' plea, also proves that during the pre-Constantinian period there was a steady and serious falling-off from the high idealism of primitive times. The falling-off was not indeed sufficient to conceal or cancel the broad success; but it was very real and noticeable, and in the ensuing centuries became accentuated to an alarming degree. The several achievements of the Church were gradually perverted and corrupted in different ways. The opposition to wrong sexual habits overreached itself and developed into an unhealthy horror of all sex-life and a morbid idealization of celibacy and virginity. Along with the disparagement of the normal sexual relationship went the tragic disparagement of home-ties. It is only a hundred years, more or less, after the termination of our period that we come upon stories like that of the saintly Paula sailing away to her eastern hermitage and disregarding the outstretched arms and tearful face of her little son Toxotius, or the still more revolting story of the wilful maltreatment of Mucius' eight-year-old child in order that his father might grow disgusted with him and lose his paternal affection.[1] Folly of this kind resulted not only from the glorification of celibacy, but from the general growth of asceticism. Just as the reaction against sexual indulgence overshot the mark, so did the reaction against luxury and love of possessions. Decent, clean, and healthy personal habits became marks of second-grade Christian morality. Charity, which might have been developed into a useful attempt to secure fair economic conditions of life for all, came often to take the form of a supposedly meritorious abandonment of all property, which, unlike true mercy, blessed neither him that gave nor him that took.

While asceticism as a kind of over-ripeness thus blighted these Christian ideals in the lives of some, there were others in whom Christian ideals were blighted by an agency of another kind, viz. downright forgetfulness and abandonment. Prosperous ecclesiastics soon came to enjoy the possession of great wealth and to live in great luxury, while little account was taken of the Gospel-command to love one's enemies, when those enemies happened to be heretics and schismatics. The policy of bloodshed so eagerly pursued by mediæval Catholicism in the interests of orthodoxy had its germ in the rancorous Christological disputes of the fourth century and the bitter anti-Gnostic and anti-schismatic struggles of even pre-Constantinian times. The Church of Jesus and of the

[1] See Lecky ii. 125ff, for these and other violations of the domestic sanctities.

martyrs readily allowed Constantinus to cure her of her strange aversion from the use of the sword; and it is his triumph that inaugurates the history of sixteen centuries of warfare waged by professing Christians. It is indeed thought by some that, had the Church not abandoned her earlier pacifism, she would not only have been undutiful to the Empire that kindly provided a Pax Romana for her benefit, but she would never have won the regard of Constantinus, and so perhaps never have emerged alive from the fierce persecution carried on by his immediate predecessors. Others observe, with some truth, that the Roman Empire never did its best in its struggle against the Church; and the suggestion is that, had it done its best, the Church might not have survived at all. The ethic to which Jesus trusted when He preferred to die rather than declare a Messianic war, was indeed an ethic which demanded a willingness to fail and to suffer martyrdom in an indefinite number of particular cases, in the sure and certain hope that, the cause being God's, it must ultimately win all along the line. Whether those failures in particular cases could ever become so numerous as to quench altogether the larger hope of ultimate success is a difficult question to answer. We may well hesitate, therefore, to say whether imperial persecution could conceivably have been so severe as to extinguish Christianity altogether. On the other hand, if our belief in the infinity of God's love and the consequent infinity of His resources is real to us, it is hard to see that the very continuance of His cause upon earth could ever depend on the success of a military campaign, however decisive and epoch-making, or on the favour of a military empire, however powerful to foster or to repress. And we are confirmed in this judgment by remembering that the heart and centre of God's cause—the death of His Son on the Cross—came into existence as an historical fact just because that Son refused to undertake any such campaign or to found any such empire. Certainly no Christian of the first three centuries would ever have admitted for a single moment that the Christian name might possibly be blotted out if persecution were only sufficiently prolonged and sufficiently intense. On the contrary, the contention always was that the more the Christians were persecuted, the more they multiplied. Theodore Beza had well grasped the secret of the Church's vitality when he said to the catholicizing king of Navarre, the secret ally of the persecuting Duke of Guise, "Sire, it belongs in truth to the Church of God, in the name of which I speak, to receive blows and not to give them; but it will please you to remember that it is an anvil that has worn out many hammers."

The acclimatization of the Christian conscience, therefore, to the use of the sword is not to be considered as an accession of superior wisdom or as a necessary condition of the survival of the Church, any more than is any other aspect of the general Christian surrender to the spirit of the world, such as the love of wealth and luxury, intrigue, and unbrotherly strife. These things were as truly perversions of the Christian ideal as the morbid extravagances of monasticism, though they were perversions along a different line. Into the real causes of his whole process of corruption it is impossible to penetrate, beyond the bald statement that many Christian people fell short as a result of blindness or strong temptation. But it may perhaps not be irrelevant to remark that, concomitant with the process of decreasing moral strength and insight, there ran the dual process of increasing elaboration of ritual and of doctrine. The concomitance does not, of itself, prove a causal connection; and many doubtless would stoutly deny the existence of any such connection. Certainly, in regard to the elaboration of doctrine and the eager defence of it against heresy by the liberal use of the power to excommunicate, modern writers of nearly all schools of thought agree in justifying the Church in the course she took, as unquestionably the one and only possible means of maintaining the purity of her faith. And yet it is easy to perceive that, however essential some outward and ceremonial observance of religion may be up to a certain point, beyond that point any emphasis laid on such observance cannot help withdrawing emphasis from the truly moral and spiritual side of the religion in question. Nor again can one overlook the close resemblance between the contentious worldliness that is the saddest mark of the Church's decline, and the bitter spirit generated in the course of the long struggles with heresy and schism. "The common run of Christians," say Drs. Bartlet and Carlyle, "seem largely to have lost their savour as the salt of society. What made things worse was the dreadful lack of charity and good-feeling, even of fair-mindedness and honesty, shown by otherwise holy men in the doctrinal controversies of the fourth century, in which the Emperor and Court took a leading part. Surely, too, there was something amiss with the ideal of religious truth and value lying behind such rancorous zeal, when the fruits were so bitter. Somehow or other the Church had here missed its Founder's way." [1]

[1] *Christianity in History*, 107f. Cf. Deissmann *LVO* 187 ("von den Bischöfen des vierten Jahrhunderts wussten wir mehr als genug").

The facts are there; the fruits are there; the similarities and the concomitance are there. Is there any causal connection? Or alternatively, are the several sets of phenomena alike symptoms of a single inward malady of degeneration? To be driven to answer in the affirmative is not to brand all ceremonial as un-Christian or to disapprove of all definite formulation of doctrine. But it does mean a realization of the grave tendency of ritual, when emphasis is placed on it, to degenerate into magic and to blunt the ethical sense: and it does call for some reconsideration of the generally accepted approval of the early Christian doctrinal exclusiveness. The mind of man ought to, and must, philosophize and formulate doctrines: the Church must not only teach, but plead in defence of, all the truth she sees. Nor is there any necessary incompatibility between zeal for doctrinal truth and other forms of Christian excellence. Our modern credalists are well entitled to appeal with pride to the scene at Nicæa, where numbers of the bishops who had assembled to oppose Arius bore only too visible marks of what they had suffered in the recent persecution. But does all this carry with it an approval of reckless excommunication on doctrinal grounds? The taste of the 'bitter fruits' of this policy may well give the modern Christian pause. Was there not another way? Does God's truth need for its preservation perpetual ruptures in the fellowship of men, all alike professing to be Christian, and differing only in the varying degrees of imperfection with which they can appropriate that truth? "Vast numbers were cut off from the Church—Arians, Nestorians, Monophysites and the rest—many of whom were just as truly Christian as those who accepted the formulæ and the discipline. The Church had not the courage to trust . . . the 'scent for truth' that would eventually have kept these, or brought them, into a right relation to Jesus Christ. The real remedy for 'heresy' is a vigorous spiritual life, and a trust in the healthy instinct which knows what doctrine ministers to life and what does not, which will adopt the one and refuse the other." [1]

When it becomes a question of applying the dictum that "History is the schoolmistress of the present," we are often obstructed, not only by fixed liturgical and doctrinal interests, but also by the wide difference between ancient and modern eschatology. The prevalence and strength of the belief in the Saviour's early return to earth for the winding-up of human history is well known. It was impossible that such a belief should not leave its mark on

[1] Ed. Grubb, *Authority in Religion*, 111f.

the ethics of those who professed it. It lent to the Church's otherworldliness a certain shortsightedness in regard to mundane issues, which somewhat qualified the value of that otherworldliness as an affirmation of the supremacy of moral and religious interests over interests purely secular. There can be little doubt that eschatology had something to do with the Church's failure to see the inherent iniquity of slavery, and her failure to work out a wise Christian policy for the economic side of life. Further, it was but a crude way of expressing the spiritual basis of the Christian hope ; and its symbolism too often left room for the discharge of vindictive passions, the exercise of which in the actual relationships of human life was understood to be forbidden. On the other hand, it did serve over a long period as an extraordinarily helpful vehicle for Christian optimism, and as a powerful ally of Christian courage. In its chiliastic form it kept alive, for a time at least, the Church's aspirations towards a renewed human society on earth. That it discounts to some extent the value of early Christian economics for to-day, cannot be denied ; but it is a mistake to suppose that the same must be said of every aspect of the Church's ethics which seems difficult of appropriation to the modern mind. In particular, we must be on our guard against the hasty decision of some modern teachers, that eschatology suffices to discredit the early Christian repudiation of war and bloody coercion. That repudiation may occasionally have been brought into connection with eschatological ideas, but it certainly was not based upon them. It was based upon Jesus' interpretation of the law of love. Its independence of eschatology may be seen in the fact that the most thoroughgoing exponent of what is generally but inadequately called non-resistance, namely, Origenes, was almost one of ourselves in matters eschatological. It was as if a Divine instinct guided the Church, when she was without true vision as to the future development of any Christian political life, to that policy of reckless love by means of which alone we may hope that the kingdoms of this world will some day become the kingdom of our God and His Christ. Whatever influence eschatology may have had, it did not prevent Origenes from being able to claim, and to claim truly : " Christians benefit their countries more than the rest of men, by educating their fellow-citizens and teaching them to be devout towards the God of the State, and by taking up into a sort of Divine and heavenly State those who have lived well in the smallest states."

It is customary to speak of the gradual waning of the eschatological hope in the course of the first three centuries ; and such a waning

there certainly was, and it was of value, both theoretically and practically, in removing at least one element of error. Only we must not be led into supposing that the beliefs that were abandoned were the real basis of the distinctive early Christian ethic, and that the abandonment of them (accompanied pari passu as it was by a slackening of primitive moral rigour) either brought Christian beliefs about the future into accord with the modern knowledge, or introduced far-reaching improvements in the ethical views and practices of Christian people.

One last reflection may be offered in regard to the comparison between those days and these. In those early times there was a 'clean cut' between the Church and the world. No doubt the distinguishing marks of the Christian were fewer and less conspicuous towards the end of the pre-Constantinian period than they were at the beginning; but throughout the period, except for the few great schisms like Novatianism, there was no disagreement as to what 'being a Christian' meant, and no doubt as to the persons to whom the word 'Christian' was to be applied. To-day all that has long been changed. The claimants to the Christian name comprise so many and such different types of creed, polity, and ethic, that mutual recognition between different groups is in many cases withheld; and there is no longer any one solid, comprehensive, and easily recognizable, if imperfect, Christian phalanx facing the forces of worldliness and materialism. The spirit of the world has eaten deep into the vitals of the Christian commonwealth, so much so that the charge can be made not justifiably indeed, but at least without obvious absurdity, that the average moral life within the Church is little higher, if at all, than the average moral life without, that the Church is as much the home of lazy reactionism and selfishness as it is of idealism and progress, and that "if the Church ever really offered any clear guidance in 'long-range ethical problems' . . . it has entirely abdicated this office to-day."[1] On the other hand, the Church, partly through making her terms of membership often merely nominal, has permeated the whole of society with her views, so that many who own no allegiance to her doctrines and accept no responsibilities as her members, are dominated by Christian and sub-Christian ideals, and pursue them with a fervour and loyalty not unworthy of the finest traditions of Christian discipleship. Instead of the old 'clean cut,' we have a gradual shading off between the

[1] J. H. Muirhead (quoting G. Wallas) in *The Hibbert Journal*, October 1921, 180.

highest and lowest types: every grade between black and white is represented. The line dividing Christian from non-Christian humanity has long ceased to coincide with that dividing Church from non-Church, and no human finger can trace these boundary-lines with unchallenged accuracy. However we may deplore the secularization of the Church, we cannot but rejoice that the world at large has not been insensible to the appeal of at least some tangible Christian values. At the same time the removal of the old visible landmarks undoubtedly makes the determination of duty for Christian individuals, and still more for Christian groups, often a far more complicated problem than it was in earlier times. But while we can no longer divide human beings sharply into Christians on the one hand and pagans on the other, we can still distinguish as clearly as ever the Christian ideal and principle from the pagan ideal and principle. Ready recognition of the natural goodness of the human heart and of the world's partial acceptance of the guidance of Jesus, and ready co-operation with others who differ from us, it may be, in almost all except the thing wherein we co-operate, need not necessarily obscure or enfeeble for us the claim of that full-orbed ideal which was set forth in living power by the Author of our faith, and to which His Church has always professed herself to be committed.

THE END

# PREFACE TO INDEX

It is next to impossible to construct within manageable limits a really complete index for a work of this nature. The one here provided is primarily an index of ancient authors and documents quoted. (Quotations from modern authors are not indexed, except in cases where their opinions are controverted.) In the second place, it includes virtually all proper names mentioned in the book—both personal (with the exception just indicated) and geographical. In the third place, it is in some measure a subject-index.

As an index of authors and documents quoted, it does not specify minor or minute subdivisions, except in the case of the books of Scripture; it gives titles in the most convenient form, without regard to the special abbreviations used in the footnotes throughout the book; and, for the period dealing with the teaching of Jesus, it often includes only one of two or three parallel passages in the Synoptic Gospels. In the case of minor documents, the bare references to the places where they are quoted or mentioned are given. In the case of some of the more important ones, besides details as to where their several sections are given as references, the places where they themselves are explicitly mentioned in the text and notes of this book are also enumerated. For a few of the most prominent authors, a sub-index of subjects is provided in addition to the index of passages.

In regard to the subject-index, it would obviously have been impracticable for reasons of space to provide a classified list of passages under some obvious headings, e.g. 'Jesus,' 'Church,' 'Persecution,' 'Paganism,' etc., while it would have been well-nigh useless to give simply long undifferentiated lists of page-numbers. Hence several such headings have had to be omitted: and it is hoped that what is given, along with the fully classified Table of Contents at the beginning of the book, will enable the reader to discover what he wants. He will find it convenient, in the case of those extended lists of page-numbers that he does find in the Index, to remember that

pp. 1–66 deal with the Teaching of Jesus;
pp. 67–136 deal with the Earlier Apostolic Age, 30–70 A.D.;
pp. 137–201 deal with the Later Apostolic Age, 70–110 A.D.;
pp. 202–286 deal with the Period of the Earlier Apologists, 110–180 A.D.;
pp. 287–455 deal with the Period of the Great Thinkers, 180–250 A.D.;
pp. 456–610 deal with the Period of Final Struggle and Settlement, 250–313 A.D.; and
pp. 611–619 comprise the Epilogue.

The headings in the subject-index correspond to the passages specified under them as regards topic and content, not always as regards the actual terms used.

Figures in heavy-faced type refer to the divisions of the documents quoted.

Figures in ordinary type refer to the pages of this book. (These figures are s p a c e d, when it is desirable to indicate specially the pages containing the main discussion of the topic specified.)

Small ' superior ' figures, [1], [2], etc., refer to the footnotes.

A small ' superior ' letter [n] refers to the latter part of a footnote which has over-run from the page previous to that indicated.

When ' f ' is inserted between page-number and footnote-number, the reference is to the *whole* of a footnote which runs over on to the page following that indicated.

Figures in brackets indicate footnotes where a subject, or passage from an ancient author, is referred to not directly, but by means of a cross-reference to another footnote.

A reference to a footnote includes a reference to the whole of the *text* of the page on which it stands, particularly to that part of the text with which the footnote is connected.

In order to save space, ' bis,' ' ter,' ' quater,' etc., are *not* inserted where a page or a footnote refers more than once to the thing or passage indexed.

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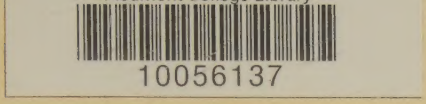
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